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STOCKHOLM



Bulletin N:o 18

Stockholm 1946

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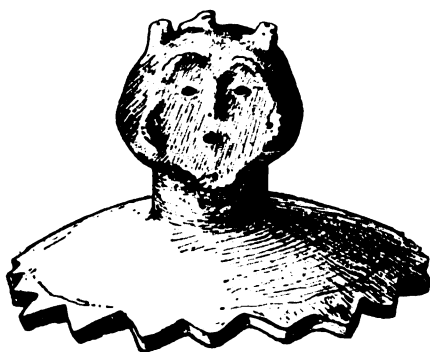
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STOCKHOLM. *Östasiatiska Samlingarna*
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Bulletin N:o 18

STOCKHOLM 1946

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BULLETIN OF THE MUSEUM OF FAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

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GLOSSES ON THE TA YA AND SUNG ODES

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN

This paper is a direct sequel to my articles *Glosses on the Kuo feng Odes*, BMFEA 14, 1942, and *Glosses on the Siao ya Odes*, BMFEA 16, 1944.

Ode CCXXXV. Wen wang.

Yu Chou p'ei hien, se gl. 410; Ti ming pu shi, se gl. 553.

751. Wen wang chī kiang, tsai ti tso yu 1.

A. From Mao's paraphrase of the first line it appears that he referred it to Wen wang when still alive: »Wen wang (ascended =) upwards communicated with God, and (descended =) downwards communicated with mankind» (he was the mediator between God and Man). — B. Cheng (after Erya): tsai 2 = 3 'to examine', thus: »Wen wang, ascending and descending, tsai ti observed God and tso yu (was to left and right of him =) followed all his actions». For tsai, cf. Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien) 4 »He examined the turning sphere»; Li: Wen wang shi tsi 5 »He unfailingly examined and looked to the temperature (of the food)» (Cheng 2 = 3); Yi Chou shu: Ta tsü 6 »The king himself examined it». Ho Yi-hang (comm. on Erya) thinks that tsai 2 is loan char. for ch' a 3 »the change of one sound», which is impossible (2 *dz'ag: 3 *ts'at). Chu Tsün-sheng believes that 2 *dz'ag is loan char. for 7 *sī'ag 'to spy' (look carefully); we should then rather say that the two words are cognate. But probably it is only an extension of meaning: tsai 2 'to dwell upon, keep the mind on'. But even if Cheng thus has text par. for his expl. of tsai, his interpr. as a whole is very forced. — C. Chu: the line refers to the soul of the dead Wen Wang, thus: »Wen wang ascends and descends and is on the left and the right of God» (the spirits »descend» when coming to accept sacrificial gifts). — C is simple and convincing.

752. Wei wei Wen wang 8.

A. Mao (after Erya): wei wei 9 (*mīwər / mjwgi / wei, cf. gl. 374) = 10 'vigorous', thus: »Vigorous was Wen wang». Ode 238, phr. 11 »Vigorous (active) is our king» is quoted 12 in Sün: Fu kuo and in Han Shī wai chuan. Cf. Li: Li k'i 13 »The noble men expanded their influence vigorously». Lu (ap. comm. on Ch'u) defines wei wei as = 14 'to advance, go forward', and Han (ap. comm. on Wsüan) = 15 'water flowing forward', which gives the idea of advancing force, essentially agreeing with Mao. — B. Another school (ap. Ts'uei Ling-en's comm.) reads 16 »Beautiful was Wen wang». For

1. 文王降降在帝左右 2. 在 3. 察 4. 在璫璫 5. 必在視寒暖 6. 王親在之 7. 司伺 8. 豐豐
文王, 豐 10. 勉 11. 勉勉我王 12. 豐豐我王 13. 君子達豐豐 14. 進 15. 水流進見 16. 娓娓文王

17 (**mīwər* / *mjwəi* / *wei*) cf. gl. 344. — C. Mo: Ming kuei reads 18, which is due to a confusion with st. 4. — A is best attested in the three ancient schools.

753. Ch'en si tsai Chou, hou Wen wang sun tsī, Wen wang sun tsī, pen chī po shī 19.

Ch'en si:

Mao has no gloss. A. Cheng: ch'en 20 = 21, thus: »He spread bounties». Cf. the phr. 22 'to spread the rules' in ode 275, phr. 23. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: ch'en 20 is loan char. for 24 (24 entering as phonetic in the char. 20 in its old form). Cf. ode 302 phr. 25, on which Mao: 24 = 26: »There are repeated bounties without limit». — B is a quite unnecessary loan speculation. The par. in ode 275 on the contrary strongly supports A in so far that 20 'to display, to spread out' has its ordinary sense here.

The line as a whole:

A. Mao: tsai 27 = 28, and hou 29 = 30 (a particle). In Tso: Sūan 15 and Kyū: Chou yū the line is quoted 31, and Mao evidently took the tsai 27 of his own version to be equivalent to 28 (both **tsəg* / *tsāi* / *tsai*). Both 27 and 28 can have the meaning of 32 (see gl. 311) 'to start, to initiate'. Thus: »He spread bounties and initiated Chou; there were Wen wang's grandsons and sons; Wen wang's grandsons and sons — the trunk and the branches (of the family) for a hundred generations». That tsai is = 'to initiate' was an idea already held by the Tso author, who paraphrases it by 33 'to create'. — B. Cheng follows Mao as to tsai, but says: hou 29 = 34, curiously twisting the line into meaning: »He spread bounties and initiated Chou; (the world) made rulers Wen wang and his grandsons and sons». This is decidedly wrong. For hou 29 = the particle wei 30 we have the par. in st. 5, phr. 35 »They submitted to Chou», and to our 36 here corresponds 37 in st. 4. See further D below. — C. Chu: 27 is the correct reading (28 being loan char. for 27, both **tsəg*) and 27 is 38 »a grammatical word». From Chu's paraphrase it appears that he took 27 **tsəg* to be equivalent to 39 **dz'əg* (the phonetic 40, i. e. 41, forming part of both 42 and 39). Chu takes 'God' as understood subject, paraphrasing 43 »(God) widely gave bounties to Chou». Waley, likewise taking 27 = 39, turns it differently: »He (Wen wang) spread his bounties in Chou». Both miss a most important par. in the ode, see D next. — D. Chu rightly takes 27 to be the correct reading and 28 in the Tso and Kyū quotations a loan char. (the two char. being often interchangeable, see gl. 311); and it is right that tsai 27 is a »grammatical word», but not in the sense of 44 (39); it is the ordinary exclamatory particle. This is proved by a par. in our ode. To our st. 2, phr. 19 corresponds exactly in st. 4 phr. 45 »Great, indeed, was the appointment of Heaven; there were Shang's grandsons and sons» etc. To the kia tsai t'ien ming »Great, indeed, was the appointment of Heaven» corresponds our ch'en si tsai Chou here, and the whole passage means: »(Spreadingly, widely =) amply endowed, indeed, was (the house of) Chou; there were the grandsons and sons of Wen wang; the grandsons and sons of Wen wang, (they are) the trunk and the branches (of the family) for a hundred generations». For the construction with the predicate first, followed by the interjection tsai, and then the subject, cf. ode 258, phr. 46, ode 282, phr. 47.

754. P'ei hien yi shī 48.

A. From Mao's paraphrase we can gather that he took yi 49 in its ordinary sense: »(All the officers of Chou), their being greatly illustrious is also for generations». — B. Another school (ap. Hou Hau shu) reads 50: »They are greatly illustrious for (ample =) many generations». The yi 49 of the Mao text is then a short-form for the homophonous 51 'great, ample' (common w., see gl. 466). Indeed, in Kyū: Chou yū we find this very phr. wr. 52, which, as pointed out by Ma Juei-ch'en, in an inscription on a Han-time grave-stone (Wu Jung pei) is likewise abbreviated into 53. — It gives much better

balance and rhythm: p'ei hien — yi shī, to take the first and third words as adjectives than to take the third word as an adverb. Hence B is preferable.

Küe yu yi yi, see gl. 433.

756. Sī huang to shī, sheng ts'ī wang kuo 54.

For sī = a particle, see gl. 700.

A. Mao: huang 55 = 56, considering it equivalent to huang-t'ien 57 'the august Heaven'. Cheng paraphrases: »... that Heaven bears worthy men in this kingdom«. This would mean that to shī as an object is placed before the transitive verb sheng, which is grammatically unsatisfactory. If huang were to mean 'Heaven', we should have to turn the phrase thus: »Heaven's many officers are born in this kingdom«.— B. Huang 55 fundamentally means 'lordly, august' (Erya 55 = 58), see gl. 661. A variation of the same idea is Erya (Shī ku): huang = 59 'beautiful (fine, admirable)', adopted here by Chu, and by Mao in odes 269, 274, 299. Thus: »August are the many officers who are born in this kingdom.«

Tsi tsi to shī, see gl. 263.

757. Mu mu Wen wang 60.

Mu 61 is a common honorific term already existing in the Western Chou inscriptions (cf. MBFEA 8, p. 54), but its precise value is obscure. Mao here (after Erya) says mu u = 59 'beautiful, fine'. But in Erya we also find mu u = 62 'respectful, reverent', and this is followed by pseudo-K'ung in comm. on Shu: Kin t'eng. Again, Shuowen defines mu as = 63 'great'. In ode 260, Cheng defines mu as = 64 'harmonious' (cf. below). Yi Chou shu: Shī fa (rules for posthumous names) says 65 »he who spreads virtue (goodness) and holds righteousness is called mu«. In Huai: Yüan tao, Kao Yu defines it as = 66 'formless', i. e. 'mysterious', and Chu in our ode here expounds this into 67, Legge: »Profound was Wen wang«. Attempts have been made to get at the fundamental sense by etymology. Ho Yi-hang in comm. on Erya: Shī ku (= 59) makes mu 61 (*mîôk / mîuk / mu) cognate to 68 *mîôg / mîu / mo u 'luxuriant, beautiful'; in his comm. on Erya: Shī hün (= 62) he thinks it is »loan char.« for 69 *mîôk / mîuk / mu 'harmonious, concordant'. This latter may seem confirmed by the fact that as loan for mu 61 we sometimes find 70, which properly is read *mîôg / mîu / m i u, e. g. Ch'un ts'iu: Yin 3: Tso 71, Kung-yang 72: a loan of *mîôg for *mîôk is plausible, a loan of *mîôg for *mîôk is less good. Yet we dare not draw any conclusions from such etymological theories. To sum up the content of these various definitions, the word seems to denote something that is imposing: stately and dignified. In the early Chou inscriptions (BMFEA vol. 8) I rendered it by 'august', and that is also the translation chosen by Waley. Thus: »August was Wen wang.« — We should study here:

Ode 260. Ki fu tso sung mu ju ts'ing feng 73.

17 提 乃 綽 綽 文 王 19 陳 錫 哉 周 侯 文 王 孫 子 文 王 孫 子 本 支 百 世 20 陳 21 敷 22 陳 常 23 陳
常 于 時 夏 24 申 25 申 錫 無 疆 26 重 27 哉 28 載 29 侯 30 維 31 陳 錫 載 周 32 始 33 造 34 考 35 侯
服 于 周 36 侯 文 王 孫 子 37 有 商 孫 子 38 語 辭 39 在 40 于 41 才 42 哉 43 上 帝 敷 錫 于 周 44 于
45 假 哉 天 命 有 商 孫 子 46 鞠 哉 庶 正 47 假 哉 皇 考 48 不 顯 亦 世 49 亦 50 不 顯 奕 世 51 奕 52
奕 世 載 德 53 亦 世 載 德 54 思 皇 多 士 生 此 王 國 55 皇 56 天 57 皇 天 58 君 59 美 60 綽 綽 文 王
61 綽 62 敬 63 大 64 和 65 布 德 報 義 曰 綽 66 無 形 67 深 遠 之 意 68 茂 69 睦 70 綽 71 綽 公 72 綽

A. Cheng: *m u* 61 = 64, and (expounding a short note of Mao's) he paraphrases: »Ki-fu has made the song, its harmonizing the feelings of the people is like the pure wind's nourishing all the things of nature«. Thus briefly: »Ki-fu has made the song, it is harmonizing like the pure wind«. All later comm. have accepted the idea that *f e n g* 74 has the double meaning of 'wind' and 'transforming influence' (75), a common metaphor in the classics (e. g. in *Li : Ta hüe*). — B. Ch'en Huan: *m u - j u* 76 = 77, and the second line does not refer to the poem but to Chung Shan-fu who is celebrated in the ode: »Ki-fu has made the poem; fine is the pure wind« (Chung Shan-fu is like a pure wind, transforming the people by his influence). — C. Waley: »Ki-fu made the ballad, gentle as a clean breeze«. — D. Another interpr. Ch'en Huan rightly says that *j u* is the enclitic adverbial particle, and *m u j u* 76 is equal to 78 or 79; for many *Shi* par. see gl. 729. But *f e n g* 74 'wind' is no symbol for any transforming influence (A, B), nor is it a simile for the gentleness of the ode (C), but follows up the word *s u n g* 'song' in the first line and means simply 'air, tune, melody', thus: »Ki-fu has made the song, stately is the pure(-sounding) air.« *F e n g* 'wind' often means 'a current', here a stream of sounds, i. e. an air. Cf. Tso: *Siang* 18, phr. 80 »I have often sung northern airs and also southern airs; the southern airs are not forceful, they have many dying sounds«. (Similarly, when the first part of the *Shi* has sections called *Ts'i feng*, *Pei feng* etc., this certainly does not mean the (currents =) customs of *Ts'i* etc., a generally accepted but typically scholastic interpr., but simply »the airs of *Ts'i*«). That *f e n g* 74 means 'air' and that the second line logically balances the first (the poem: the melody) is proved by a par. in ode 259 phr. 81 »Ki-fu has made the song, its verse is very great, its air is extensive and fine«. Here, right enough, Chu (foll. by Waley!) says *f e n g* 74 = 82 'sound', and it is astonishing that he has not realized that it means 'air' also in our quite analogous ode 260. *W u t s' i h i k i n g c h i*, see gl. 618.

758. *Kia tsai t'ien ming* 83.

A. Mao: *kia* 84 = 85, thus: »Solid, indeed, was the appointment of Heaven.« Mao took 84 **kā* / *ka* / *kia* to be a loan char. for 85 **ko* / *kuo* / *ku*. — B. Chu (after Erya): *kia* 84 = 86, thus: »Great, indeed, was the appointment of Heaven.« The w. is id. with 87 (**kā* / *ka* / *kia*) 'great', which is well attested, see gl. 708. Li: *Li yün* 88 »That is called ample greatness« (Cheng 84 = 86); Yili: *Shi kuan li* 89 »It is suited to the greatness« (Cheng same gloss); Ch'u: *Chao hun* 90 »The fragrance of the Orchis is great; Lü: *Hia hien* 91 »How grandly he despises the vulgar blame and praise«. Mao says 84 = 86 in two odes, 301 and 302, but erroneously, see gl. 333. — B is much better substantiated. — We should examine here:

Ode 240. *Lie kia pu hia* 92. A. Mao: *lie* 93 (**liat* / *liät* / *lie*) = 94 'achievements', an extension of meaning: 'brilliance': 'brilliant achievements'. It is better, with Chu, to take it in its primary sense (= 95); further *kia* 84 = 86. Thus: »His brilliance and greatness had no flaw«. — B. Cheng reads 96, defining 97 (98 was **liad* / *liäi* / *li*) as = 99 'sickness' and *hia* 100 as = 1 'to stop'. Evidently he took 97 to be loan char. for 2 and 100 as loan char. for 3 ('to remove'). Thus: »The sicknesses (epidemics), he did not stop them« (they ceased by themselves!). (Ma Juei-ch'en tries to improve this by saying that *pu* 4 is an »empty particle«: »The sicknesses, he stopped them«; quite unwarranted). Cheng's interpr. may have been influenced by a knowledge of the reading of yet another school, see C next. — C. Another school (ap. an inscr. in the *Li shi*: T'ang Kung-fang pei, Han time) reads 5: »The epidemics, he did not remove them« (as in B). *Ku* 6 was **ko* / *kuo* / *ku*. — The reason for B and C is that the preceding line in the opinion of some commentators (erroneously, see gl. 815) speaks of disasters that ceased through the good influence of the king. Yet A, the oldest version preserved, takes all the words as they stand, with well-attested meanings, and there is really no

good reason for abandoning it. In ode 160 we have the phr. 7 »His reputation has no flaw», a good par. to A, which strongly corroborates it.

Ode 249. *Kia lo kün tsi* 8. A. Mao (after Erya): 84 (**kā*) = 9 (**ka* / *ka* / *kia*); **kā* would then be a loan char. for **ka*. Thus: »Fine and happy be the lord». This may be influenced by Mao's knowledge of the B reading, see next. — B. Ts'i (ap. Li: *Chung yung*) reads 10, meaning as in A. So the line is also quoted in Tso: *Wen* 4 and *Siang* 26. — C. Waley: 84 is equal to 87 (both **kā*, see ode 235 above). — D. Lu Tê-ming (Shiwen) reads 84 **g'd* / *ya* / *hia*, which means that he took 84 to be a loan char. for 3 (**g'd*); thus: »A far-reaching happiness to the lord». An unnecessary loan speculation. — There is no reason for taking 84 **kā* as a loan char. for a **ka*, with Mao. We have two text versions: A 8, where 84 (with C) has its ordinary meaning: »Greatly happy be the lord»; and B 10 »Fine and happy be the lord». It is undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shi.

Ode 267. *Kia yi yi wo* 11. A. Mao: 84 = 9 (as in ode 249), and (after Erya) 12 = 13, thus: »With fine (principles) he (sc. *Wen wang*) admonishes us». Lu Tê-ming thinks that Mao took 12 (**d'iet* or **d'iot*? / *iet* / *y i*) to be a loan char. for 14, variant of 15 (*? / *d'z'i* / *s h i*) 'posthumous name', which he explains as etym. id. with 16 (**d'ior* / *d'z'i* / *s h i*) 'to signalize, show, inform', which Mao possibly did. Erya further says: 17 »*y i* and *s h e n* both mean 'quiet, to make quiet' (presumably by warning words). But though Mao thus bases himself on Erya, his speculation is very forced. — B. Cheng takes *y i* 12 in its ordinary sense of 'to overflow' (ex. in Li etc.), expounding: »With fine (principles) he whelms us». — C. Waley: 84 = 87 great, greatness, ampleness': »With (ampleness =) ample blessings he whelms us». — D. Another school (ap. *Shuowen*) reads 18 (or, in one *Shuowen* version 19), defining 20 (**ngā* / *ngā* / *n g o*) as = 21. The 22 (**miēt* / *miēt* / *m i*) is defined in Erya as = 23 'quiet, to quiet' (cf. A above), in *Shuowen* as = 24 'tranquillizing words'. Thus: »With fine (words) he tranquillizes us». The char. 20 is known from no other text. 22 occurs as variant (ap. *Sin shu*) for 25 (**miēt*) 'quiet' in ode 271. Ch'en Huan and Ma Juei-ch'en think that Mao's (A) 12 was a loan char. for this 22, which is phonetically excluded. — E. Another school (ap. Tso: *Siang* 27) reads 26: »(By what =) how shall he show kindness to us». Ch'en Huan and Ma Juei-ch'en believe that 27 (**g'ā*) is merely a loan char. for 20 (**ngā*) of D above, and that 28 (**siwēt* / *siwēt* / *s ü*) is a loan char. for the 22 (**miēt*) there, but the latter, at least, is phonetically impossible. They adduce in support that in *Shu*: Yao tien (*Shun tien*) 29 (*Ku wen* version) the *Kin wen* version (acc. to Sū Kuang) had 30. But this uncertainty in the *Shu* text tradition of course cannot prove that a **siwēt* could serve as loan char. for a **miēt*. Chu goes even further: he thinks that the Tso version 26 is the primary and correct reading and that Mao's (A) *kia* 84 (**kā*) is a loan char. for 27 (**g'ā*), and that his *y i* 12 is a scribe's error for *s ü* 28; a violent and unsatisfactory emendation. —

公 73 吉甫作誦穆如清風 74 風 75 化 76 穆如 77 美然 78 穆而 79 穆然 80 吾駭歌北風又歌
南風南風不競多死聲 81 吉甫作誦其詩孔碩其風肆好 82 聲 83 假哉天命 84 假 85 固 86
大 87 瑕 88 是謂大假 89 宜之于假 90 蘭芳假些 91 假乎其輕俗誹謗 92 烈假不瑕 93 烈 94
累 95 光 96 厲假不瑕 97 厲假 98 厲 99 病 100 瑕 1 已 2 癘瘕 3 題 4 不 5 癘瘕不題 6 疊 7
德音不瑕 8 假樂君子 9 嘉 10 嘉樂君子 11 假以溢我 12 溢 13 慎 14 謚 15 謚 16 示 17 溢慎
靜也 18 謚我以謚我 19 誠以溢我 20 誠 21 嘉善 22 謚 23 靜 24 靜語 25 密 26 何以恤我 27 何 28

Version D is attested only in a comparatively late source (Shuowen, 1st c. A. D.), and even there some Shuowen versions have 12 (like A) inst. of 22; its *ng o 20* lacks the support of par. texts; so D is decidedly inferior to versions A-B-C and E, which represent two entirely different traditions. Both (the former with interpr. C) make good sense, and it is undecidable which of them best repr. the orig. Shī.

Ode 282. *Kia tsai huang k'a o 31*. A. Mao: 32 = 33 'fine'. — B. Chu: 32 = 34: «Great was my august Father».

759. *K'i li pu yi 35*.

Li 36, which often means 'a pair, several', here, with Mao, means 37 'number'. In W. Han coll. (Fang yen) we have 38 (enlarged form) = 37.

A. Cheng: «Their number was not (merely) a hundred thousand» (but many more!). — B. Wang Yin-chī and followers: *pu 39* is an «empty particle», so the line is equal to 40 «Their number was a hundred thousand». I have often had to point out the fallacy of this theory of *pu 39* as an «empty particle». Always in cases of this kind (which are frequent in the Shī) the *pu* has its proper force, and (as Chu has often clearly expressed by his paraphrases: 41) the formulation is then an oratorical question: «Their number, was it not a hundred thousand». Cf. st 3 here: 42 (in Tso: Wen 2 quoted 43), acc. to Mao = 44, properly: «Should you not think of your ancestors». Wang and his followers here likewise say that *w u* (45) is 46 'an initial auxiliary'. Since in both constructions it is a question of negations (*pu*, *wu*), they should have realized that there is a definite meaning and stylistic value in *pu* and *wu*, as clearly expounded by Chu. (Waley thinks that 42 is a scribe's error for 47 «do not disgrace your ancestors»; this is tempting with a view to ode 196, phr. 48, but it means a quite unnecessary text alteration).

760. *Hou yü Chou fu 49*.

Mao's comm. does not explain the line. A. Cheng: «They became princes in the dependencies of Chou» (the 50 nine classes of dependencies). — B. Wang Su: *hou 51* = 52, as often, thus: «And so they became subject to Chou». — The next st. begins with 53, i. e. the same line with a different word sequence. Here the A interpr. is impossible, which should have told Cheng that he was on the wrong track.

761. *Kuan tsiang yü king 54*.

Kuan tsiang:

A. Mao: *tsiang 55* = 56, taken as a transitive verb, thus: «Their libations were presented». A common meaning; for par. see gl. 660. — B. Cheng: *tsiang* = 57 'to assist', also a common meaning of the word, thus: «They assisted at the libations». — B operates with a wrong word sequence. If *tsiang* meant 'to assist', the phr. should be 58.

Yü king:

A. Mao (after Erya): *king 59* = 60 'great'. This has been differently explained: α. Ch'en Huan thinks Mao meant 'great' in an abstract sense, so that *yü king 61* would mean 62: «The libations proffered then were great». This is very strained. Yet such a general and abstract sense is not without par., for we find in Tso: Chuang 22, phr. 63 «Nobody will be so great as they». β. K'ung thinks that Mao really meant 'the great place, the expanse', in the sense of 64 'the capital'. That this was Mao's meaning is possible, for he may have based himself on Kung-yang. To Ch'un ts'iu: Huan 9, phr. 65 «She went (as bride) to the capital» Kung-yang says: «What is meant by *king shi* 64? It means the abode of the son of Heaven; 66 what does *king* mean? It means great». Thus our ode line: «Their libations were presented in the capital». γ. It is possible, however, that Mao had yet another idea, for on ode 241, phr. 67 he says: *king 59* = 68 'a great mound'. This is based on Erya, section «hills»: 69 'the very highest is called *king*'. This meaning is well attested. Ode 50, phr. 70 «He measured by the shadow mountains and hills»; ode 211, phr. 71 «Like islands, like hills»; Li: T'an kung

72 »to the nine mounds» (tumuli of the dignitaries of Tsin), etc. But if so, Mao took 'mound, hill' in the sense of 'elevated place, height' as referring to the site of the capital, for else our phrases 54 and 67 would make no sense. *δ*. In yet another place, ode 250, phr. 73, Mao defines king shī 64 as = 74 'the great multitude', thus taking king 59 in the general, abstract sense of 'great', as in *α*. above. This, however, would involve two different applications of the two king in the same line, one concrete and one abstract: »He looked at the expanse (or: height), the lands for the great multitude», which is unreasonable. In short, Mao's ideas on the subject are quite difficult to discern. — B. Cheng has no gloss on our ode 235 here, but on ode 236, phr. 75 (where Mao repeats his 59 = 60) he says: King 59 is a place name, a special name for the place where the Chou resided when they still were a small state. Thus yü king 61 would mean »in Kings». But in ode 250, phr. 73, he takes king as = 'a height'. — In cases like ode 244, phr. 76, king cannot very well be a place name (if so, the place would have two names, here combined into a binome, which is utterly unlikely) but must be an appellative, either 'capital' or 'expanse' or 'height'. So interpr. B is inadmissible. Now shī 77 certainly means 'a host, a multitude', but it also meant 'great city, capital' at an early age, cf. Shu: Lo kao 78 »I came to the capital Lo», and when in several odes (153, 250, 253) we find the phr. king shī 64, it is quite obvious that this is a binome of synonyms: 'capital'. So king really means 'capital' in 76: »the capital of Hao» and in ode 153, phr. 79 »I think of that capital of Chou». And so we have it here: 54 »Their libations were presented in the capital». It is easy to see why the scholasts have hesitated on this point in regard to ode 250, phr. 73: when prince Liu surveyed the place, the city was not yet built; but this is in no way any obstacle, for the clause 73 means: »(He ascended the southern ridge), he looked at the (planned) capital, the lands for the capital», the king in the first line and the king shī in the second being synonymous. — We have thus three meanings of the char. king 59 safely attested: 'a height, hill, mound'; 'capital'; and 'great'. Of these that of 'capital' is in fact the oldest attestable, for both in Yin-time inscriptions and in the very earliest Chou inscriptions (see Karlgren, Grammata p. 321, 322) the char. is 80, which is clearly a picture of some palace building, not of a hill or mound. On the other hand, there is a great probability that the words are etym. identical, the palace, the capital meaning fundamentally 'the great elevation', either because a high and dominating site was chosen for it or because the palaces were raised (as we know from the An-yang excavations) on a terrace of stamped earth.

Ch'ang fu fu hü, see gl. 453.

762. Yü siu küe tē 81.

A. Mao: yü 82 = 83. This is because Mao knew of the Lu version, see B next. K'ung therefore expounds Mao: »Transmit and cultivate their virtue». — B. Lu (ap. Han shu) reads 84. Ch'en Huan (like K'ung above) thinks that shu 83 here has its

恤²⁹惟刑之恤哉³⁰惟刑之謚哉³¹假哉皇考³²假³³嘉³⁴大³⁵其麗不億³⁶麗³⁷數³⁸
 敷³⁹不⁴⁰其麗億⁴¹不⁴²豈不⁴³無念爾祖⁴⁴毋念⁴⁵念爾祖⁴⁶無毋⁴⁷發聲助⁴⁸無忝爾
 祖⁴⁹無忝爾所生⁵⁰侯于周服⁵¹九服⁵²侯⁵³維⁵⁴侯服于周⁵⁵裸將于京⁵⁶將⁵⁷行⁵⁸
 助⁵⁹將裸于京⁶⁰京⁶¹大⁶²于京⁶³于是大⁶⁴莫之與京⁶⁵京師⁶⁶歸于京師⁶⁷京者何
 大也⁶⁸依其在京⁶⁹大車⁷⁰絕高謂之京⁷¹景山與京⁷²如坻如京⁷³于九京⁷⁴乃觀于
 京⁷⁵京師之野⁷⁶大衆⁷⁷曰殯于京⁷⁸鎬京辟廬⁷⁹師⁸⁰至于洛師⁸¹念彼周京⁸²南⁸³

full value of a verb, as in the phr. 85 (Meng: Liang Huei wang, hia) »to transmit (the facts of) one's office» (to report about one's office); thus: »Transmit and cultivate their virtue». — C. Chu: y ü 82 is merely an initial particle: »And so cultivate their virtue». And Yen Shi-ku, in comm. on Han shu, paraphrases the Lu school line so as to show that he likewise regarded the s h u 83 in that text as a particle. — Y ü 82 (**biwət*? / *iüēt* / y ü) is common as particle in the Shī, e. g. in odes 114, 156, 207. Cf. particularly ode 209, phr. 86 »The divine protectors then return» (y ü = 'then, thereupon, and so'). And our phr. here 81 is quite analogous to ode 236, phr. 87, where y ü is evidently no more than an initial particle; since Cheng here in ode 236 says 82 = 83, it is clear that he (like Yen Shi-ku some centuries later) considered s h u 83 to be a particle as well. Now this s h u 83 occurs in an early bronze inscription (Po Mou-fu Kuei, in Lo Chen-yü, Cheng sung t'ang tsi ku yi wen 6: 6) in the sense of 88 'to proceed', and it is very natural that just like its synonym 88 it came to mean ('proceed' >) thereupon, then' (a Mandarin semasiological par. is 89). Since s h u 83 of the Lu version corresponds to the y ü 82 of the Mao version, and since the latter is unquestionably an initial particle in the phr. 87, Cheng and Yen Shi-ku are decidedly right in assuming that s h u 83 is also a particle. 82 and 83 were synonymous but not homophonous. 83 was **d'iwət* / *d'üēt* / s h u. As to 82, Anc. Chin. *iüēt*, the Archaic sound is uncertain. It would be tempting to reconstruct a **d'iwət*, which would make it cognate to 83 **d'iwət*. But probably it was **biwət*, since it forms part of 90 **pliat*. — We should study here:

Ode 237. Y ü lai s ü y ü 91. A. Cheng.(after Erya): y ü 82 = 92. This has been misunderstood by K'ung: »He himself (in person) came» etc. — B. Erya's gloss means 92 in the sense of 'to follow' (synon. and in the same line with 93), hence as particle = 'following thereupon, then, thereupon'. »And so he came» etc

763. Yi kien y ü Yin, tsün ming pu yi 94.

Ts'i (ap. Li: Ta hüe) reads 95. 96 and 97 were homophonous (**ngia*, even tone) and etym. identical, and hence interchangeable. 98 **tsiwan* / *tsiuən* / t s ü n (etym. s. a. 99) 'great' and 100 **siwan* / *siuən* / s ü n 'high, lofty' are cognate words; undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī. — Kien 1 (**klam* / *kam* / *kien*) means 'to examine, to inspect' generally, but also, in a narrower, special sense, 'to mirror oneself, to look at in a mirror' (the fundamental sense is the general one: 'to look, to examine': **klam* is closely cognate to 2 **glâm* / *lâm* / l a n 'to see, to watch'). The early »mirror» was a tub with water as the mirroring surface. In Shu: Tsiu kao we find: 3 »Men should not (examine:) mirror themselves in water, they ought to mirror themselves in the people», which is alluded to in Kyü: Wu yü 4. The char. 1 was made for this narrower sense of the word stem. In the famous inscr. of the Sung Ting (Western Chou, see Lo Chen-yü: Cheng sung t'ang tsi ku yi wen 3: 36) it is wr. 5: a man, an eye and a vessel with a stroke marking its content, the water (the meaning of 6 is not 'blood' here). Later the bronze mirror was created, but it is difficult to determine its earliest appearance. Ta Tai: Wu wang tsien tsu mentions a »mirror» with inscription from the very beginning of the dynasty, but on the one hand this is probably a mere legend, on the other hand, if not, the inscription may have been applied on the mirroring water tub. In Tso: Chuang 24 (670 B. C.) it is mentioned how a 'girdle mirror' of the queen's was given as a present, and this is probably the earliest safe date. Here the w. is wr. 7 **klam* / *kam* / *kien*. This is etym. the same w. as the simple 1, the char. enlarged by rad. 8 'metal, bronze'. This enlarged char., however, may reach back to the time of the »water-bowl mirror», for the same char. 7, in the reading **g'âm* / *yâm* / h a n (Shiwen), means 'tub, big bowl, basin' (i. a. used for ice, see Chouli: Ling jen). In the famous inscr. of king Fu Ch'ai of Wu (died 473 B. C.) we find the shorter form 1 in this sense on the big bronze bazin now in the Museum f. Völkerkunde in Berlin (cf. BMFEA 8, pl. 12).

P u y i:

A. Shīwen says that Mao read 9 **diēg* / *iē* / y i 'easy'. Why it attributes this to Mao is not clear, for Mao has no gloss here. Thus: »The great appointment (of Heaven) is not easy (to keep)«. — B. Cheng reads 9 **dīēk* / *īäk* / y i 'to change', thus: »The great appointment cannot be changed«. — A is logically much better: the warning example of Yin is precisely that their appointment was lost through their incompetence. Moreover **dīēg* suits the rime (**tieg*) better than **dīēk*.

764. W u n g o e r k u n g 11.

A. Mao (after Erya): n g o 12 (**ât* / *ât* / n g o) = 13 'to stop' (common w.). Cheng expounds: »Do not (yourself) (stop =) put an end to your (own) persons«, i. e. do not ruin yourselves. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen): n g o 12 = 14 'to suffer', here 'to cause to suffer', thus: »Do not cause your own persons to suffer«. Ch'en Huan thinks that Han took 12 **ât* to be a loan char. for 15 **g'ād* 'to harm', which is quite unacceptable; if a loan char. at all, it would rather stand for 16 'to exhaust'. — C. Ch'en Huan follows Mao (12 = 13) but construes differently from Cheng: »(The appointment of Heaven is not easy to keep), may it not (stop =) cease in your persons« (may you preserve the mandate). Ch'en adds that 12 (**ât*) »is the same word« as 17 (**χīāt*), which of course is quite wrong. — C forms a much better logical sequence to the preceding line than A or B. That there is no preposition (e r k u n g = y ü e r k u n g »in your persons«) is no obstacle, for the absence of a y ü 18 where later classical Chinese demands it is very common in the Shī: ode 3, phr. 19, ode 13, phr. 20, ode 35, phr. 21, ode 36, phr. 22, ode 48, phr. 23, ode 207, phr. 24, ode 189, phr. 25 etc.

765. S ü a n c h a o y i w e n 26.

A. Cheng (after Erya): s ü a n 27 = 28 (Chu = 29) 'to spread out everywhere, to display', the fundamental and common meaning of the word. Cheng interprets: »Display the brightness and about what is right ask (reliable men)«, an impossible construction. — B. K'ung: w e n 30 = 31 (common) and 32 = 33 (cf. the common 34), thus: »Display and make bright your good fame«. — C. Ch'en Huan: s ü a n 27 = 35, and s ü a n - c h a o is a binome = 'to make bright'. He refers to the binome 36 in odes 273 and 276. He further adduces Tso: H i 27, where Tu Yü defines 27 as = 35, and Kyü: Tsin yü, where Wei Chao says the same. But m i n g 35 as a gloss word is ambiguous: it frequently means 'to make known, to display', and that is in fact the meaning of the s ü a n 27 in both Tso and Kyü. Ch'en further says that in ode 257, phr. 37 »He holds a heart which has (everywhere-reaching =) all-embracing plans« (Cheng 27 = 28), s ü a n 27 again means 'bright' (plans), and in ode 282, phr. 38 »Of all-embracing wisdom was the man« (Cheng again 27 = 28) he likewise interprets: »Of bright wisdom«. But there is no reason whatever for not giving the w. its ordinary meaning in all these cases.

車修厥德 22 車 23 述 24 述修厥德 25 述職 26 神保車歸 27 車懷多福 28 迓 29 就 30 第 31 車
來晉宇 22 自 23 遵率循 24 宜鑒于殷駁命不易 25 儀鑒于殷駁命不易 26 宜 27 儀 28 駁 29
俊 30 峻 1. 監 2 覽 3. 人無于水監當于民監 4 王其盍亦鑑於人無鑑於水 5 盍 6 血 7
鑑鑒 8 金 9 易 10 帝 11 無過爾躬 12 遏 13 止 14 病 15 害 16 竭 17 歇 18 于 19 賓彼周行 20 于
以用之公侯之宮 21 薄送我餞 22 公庭萬舞 23 爰采唐矣沫之鄉矣 24 靖共爾位 25 載懷
之壯 26 宣昭義問 27 宣 28 徧 29 布 30 問 31 聞 32 義問 33 善聞 34 令聞 35 明 36 明昭 37 秉心

766. Yu yü Yin tsī t'ien 39.

A. Mao simply (after Erya): yü 40 = 41 'to measure, calculate, consider'. Cheng adds: yu 42 stands for 43 (both *g'üŋ). He interpr.: »And further you should consider how Yin followed Heaven (in its actions)». — B. Chu: tsī 44 = 'from': »You should consider how (the rise and fall of) Yin came from Heaven». — C. Ma Juci-ch'en (after Erya): yin 45 = 46, in the sense of 47 'the middle way', paraphrasing 48, whatever he means by that nonsense. — D. Legge: »And look at (the fate of) Yin (from the point of view of =) in the light of Heaven». — E. Waley translates: »Consider what Heaven did to Yin», but in his notes he adds that the phr. tsī t'ien »is not intelligible as it stands». — F. Another interpr. Yü 40 was the feudal name of Shun 49, one of the great legendary sages and emperors, see Shu: Yao tien. Acc. to the Shu tradition he ceded the throne to Yü 50 and did not found a dynasty. But legends preserved in Tso: Ai 1 show us the descendants of Shun, called Yu Yü 51 the lords of Yü as rulers of Yü well into the Hia dynasty. Moreover, other Chou texts indicate some traditions aberrant from that of the Shu, which show us Yu Yü shī 'the lords of Yü' as a real dynasty preceding the Hia dynasty. Li: T'an kung (one of the most ancient chapters of the Li, as shown by its language) 52: »The lords of Yü used earthenware coffins, the lords of Hia surrounded these with brick-work; the people of Yin had inner and outer wooden coffins; the people of Chou made wooden walls and placed feather ornaments (on the coffin)». Here quite evidently Yu Yü shī cannot mean simply »the lord of Yü» = Shun alone, but it speaks of an era, a dynasty, preceding the Hia. And the existence of such a tradition is definitely confirmed by Lü: Shen ying lan 53: »Now of Yü, Hia, Yin and Chou there are none preserved». Here it is obvious that Yü cannot mean Shun alone but is the first of four dynasties. Now in our ode line we find first Yu Yü 51 »the lords of Yü», then Yin 45, the house of Yin, and later in the line we meet with Wen wang, the founder of the Chou dynasty. It can hardly be a coincidence that Yu Yü is here combined with Yin and Wen wang, and the attempt to escape it by taking yu 42 as = 43 and yü 40 as a verb is doomed to failure; in fact all the interpr. A—E are hopelessly strained. The line means: »The lords of Yü (i. e. the earliest dynasty) and (the house of) Yin came from Heaven (i. e. obtained their investiture from Heaven); but the actions of Heaven have no sound, no smell (i. e. they are inscrutable, Heaven has rejected Yin); you should (now) make Wen wang your model». For tsī t'ien 54 = 'came from Heaven' cf. ode 236, phr. 55 »The appointment came from Heaven».

767. Shang t'ien chī tsai 56.

A. Mao (after Yi Chou shu: Shī fa): tsai 57 (*tsæg / ts'äi / tsai) = 58, thus: »The actions of Heaven». This has been variously explained. Ma Juei-ch'en says that 57 (*tsæg) and 58 (*dz'äg) were »anciently similar in sound» and hence interchangeable, which is far from convincing. Cheng (in comm. on Li: Chung yung) thinks that 57 should be read *dz'æg / dz'äi / ts'äi, being loan char. for 59 = 60 'creating the things', which is no better. Tsai 57 is common in the meaning 'to start, to initiate, to undertake' (see gl. 311 and 683), id. w. 61 in this sense. Cf. also Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien) 62 »... the (initiatives:) undertakings of the emperor», paraphr. by Sī-ma Ts'ien: 63, and defined as = 64 »the emperor's actions» by Cheng Hsün. The meaning 'action' is simply an extension of meaning from 'to start, to initiate'. — B. Lu (ap. Han shu) reads 65. This 66 (tsæg / ts'äi / tsai), unknown from texts, is defined in Kuang ya as = 58. Ma Juei-ch'en thinks it is a loan char. for 67 (*tsæg), which is possible, though it may just as well be a loan char. for 57 (*tsæg). Meaning the same as in A. — We should study here:

Ode 236. Wen wang ch'u tsai 68. A. Mao: tsai 57 = 69. Cheng ex-

pounds this: »When Wen wang first had knowledge» (i. e. became capable of thinking, as a lad), and Ch'en Huan believes that Mao explained 57 *tsag by 69 *s'jak because of similarity in sound, which is not plausible. I think that Mao read 69 *t'jag / t'ji / ch' i 'to record, to inscribe', for this is a common meaning of tsai 57; thus: »When Wen wang first was put into the records» (family or state records, upon his birth); i. e. when new-born he was already betrothed to his future wife. — B. Chu: tsai 57 = 70 (common meaning): »In Wen wang's first year». — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: tsai 57, cognate to 59 ts' ai, means 71 'to bear', thus: »When Wen wang first was born». — D. Waley: ch' u tsai = 'to begin the task'. This accords with the meaning of tsai in our ode 235 above. Thus: »When Wen wang had started his (initiative =) action». — D is strongly confirmed by the combination with ch' u 72.

768. Yi hing Wen wang 73.

Hing 74 is a loan char. for 75 (as often), and Lu (ap. Ts'ien fu lun) reads 76. Mao says 74 = 77, which is ambiguous, as fa may mean both 'law' and 'to make a law, to imitate'.

A. Cheng takes 78 yi hing = 79 as a binome = 'to imitate, take as a pattern'. This, however, is forbidden by a par. in ode 272, see C below. — B. Fu K'ien (2nd c. A. D.): yi 80 = 81, interpreting: »One who well used the laws was Wen wang». — C. In ode 272 we have a par. but fuller line: 82. Here Mao says 80 = 81, and Cheng interprets: »Yi finely we shi hing make our pattern the norms of Wen wang». Legge (following Cheng in ode 235 above) takes all three words as synonymous: »Yi shi hing I imitate and follow and observe the statutes of Wen» (Couvreur: »Imitans, sequens, observans Wenn regis statuta»), but that is impossible: such a combination of three words goes against the rules of classical Chinese. Waley therefore: »Yi shi our ritual hing is patterned on the rules of king Wen», which is grammatically better. But after all it is shi hing 83 which forms the binome, and yi 80 is equal to 84. These two are etymologically the same word (both *ngia, even tone) and interchangeable. In the same ode 235, in which we have our 73, we have another line where the Ts'i version reads 85 but the Mao version correspondingly 86 »You ought to mirror yourself in (the fate of) Yin». The word is cognate to 87 (*ngia, falling tone) 'right', and yi 80 fundamentally, means 'what is right', and yi 84 'it is right that', hence 'ought'. The line in ode 272, phr. 82 therefore means: »We yi should shi hing make Wen wang's statutes our pattern», and our line 73 in ode 235: »You should make Wen wang your pattern».

769. Wan pang tso fu 88.

A. Mao says simply: fu 89 = 90, and Cheng paraphrasing it simply skips the tso 91: »all the states will trust you». (Waley refers the line to the Wen wang, just mentioned: »in whom all the states put their trust»). — B. K'ung paraphrases 92: »Then with all the states you will establish trust». — C. Chu: tso 91 = 93, thus: »All

宣猶 38 宣哲維人 39 有虞殷自天 40 虞 41 度 42 有 43 又 44 自 45 殷 46 中 47 中道 48 又度中
道於天 49 舜 50 禹 51 有虞 52 有虞氏瓦棺夏后氏堅周殷人棺槨周人牆置嬰 53 今虞夏
殷周無存者 54 自天 55 有命自天 56 上天之載 57 載 58 事 59 載 60 生物 61 哉 62 有能奮庸
熙帝之載 63 帝之事 64 帝之行 65 上天之緯 66 緯 67 率 68 文王初載 69 識 70 年 71 生 72 初
73 儀刑文王 74 刑 75 形 76 儀形文王 77 法 78 儀刑 79 儀法 80 儀 81 善 82 儀式刑文王之典
83 式刑 84 宜 85 儀監于殷 86 宜鑑于殷 87 義 88 萬邦作孚 89 孚 90 信 91 作 92 則與天下葉

the states will rise and trust you». This is a common meaning of *tso*, cf. ode 133, phr. 94 »Together with you I will start (on the expedition)«, etc. — *C* is certainly to press the *tso* too strongly. *Tso fu* 'to make confidence' means no more than 'to have confidence', thus: »All the states will have confidence«.

Ode CCXXXVI: Ta ming.

770. Shī pu tsie sī fang 95.

A. Mao: *tsie* 96 (* ? / *tsiep* / *tsie*) = 97. Cheng takes this to mean simply 'to reach', and makes an understood »Heaven« the subject: »It (Heaven) caused (his orders) not to reach the four quarters«. But the preceding words: *t'ien wei Yin ti* are obviously the subject of the clause (*shī* 98 being in the passive), and Mao's *ta* 97 has the well-known sense of 'to reach everywhere, all round', as in Li: *Chung yung* 99 »the (everywhere-reaching =) universal law of the world«; thus we obtain: »(The lawful heir of the Yin on the throne of Heaven) was (caused not to =) not permitted to (encompass:) embrace the (states of) the four quarters«, i. e. he could not maintain his power over the whole world. The archaic sound of *tsie* 96 in this sense is somewhat uncertain, but probably we have to reconstruct **tsiap* / *tsiep* / *tsie*, for very likely *tsie* was cognate to 100 **tsap* / *tsâp* / *tsa* 'all round'. For *tsie* 96 we find the variant 1 in Han *Shī wai chuan*. The same word is often wr. 2 **tsiap* / *tsiep* / *tsie*. Cf. Chouli: *Ta sī ma* 3 »a (complete round =) cycle of (ten) days«; same phr. wr. 4 in Kyū: *Yüe yü*; Sün: *Kün tao* 5 »All round, everywhere under Heaven«; Sün: *Wang pa* 6; Sün: *Chī shī* 7 »If you can reach everywhere with the rules of propriety«; Tso: *Ch'eng* 9, phr. 8 »In the lapse of a (complete round): cycle of *ch'en* (12 days)«, etc. (very common). — B. Chu: 96 = 9, thus: »(Heaven) did not permit him to possess the (states of) the four quarters«. I suppose that Chu thought of the meaning 'to pinch, to grasp' of the char. 96, see below. — A is strongly corroborated by good text par. — We must examine here:

Ode 180. *Ki hie* (*tsie*) *wo shī* 10;

Ode 246. *Ki hie* (*tsie*) *sī hou* 11.

Shīwen in ode 180 reads 12 **tsap* / *tsap* / *tsa* or **tsiap* / *tsiep* / *tsie* or **g'iap* / *γiep* / *hie*. In ode 246 it reads the same w. **tsiap* / *tsiep* / *tsie* or **tsap* / *tsâp* / *tsa*. The char. 12 is fundamentally read **g'iap* / *γiep* / *hie* (in Pekinese irregularly *kia*) and means 'to clasp under the arm' (common), secondarily 'to pinch', cf. Kuan: *Ti tsī chī* 13 »with the right hand he holds the pincher (for eating vegetables) and the spoon«. But this primary reading **g'iap* *Shīwen* has only alternatively in ode 180.

Mao has no gloss on phr. 10 and 11. Cheng (under ode 246) refers to Yili: *Ta shē li* 14 »He inserts three (arrows) in the girdle and 12 one«. Cheng defines this 12 as = 'to fit on to the string', thus: »He inserts three in the girdle and fits one on to the string«. *Shīwen* in Li: *Yüe ling* (see below) reads 12 in the phr. 15 alternatively **tsiap* / *tsiep* / *tsie* and **g'iap* / *γiep* / *hie*, and later comm. trying to follow Cheng and *Shīwen*, have explained that 12 **tsiap* is cognate to 16 **tsiap* / *tsiäp* / *tsie* 'to bring into contact'. But that will not do, for we should compare Li: *Yüe ling* 17 (*Shīwen*, as just stated, reads alt. **tsiap* and **g'iap*). Here 12 cannot possibly mean 'to fit on to the string', and Legge and Couvreur therefore take it in its fundamental sense (**g'iap*) of 'to carry under the arm', thus: »The Son of Heaven then in war garments seizes his bow, carries arrows under his arm and goes to hunt«. But this again is not applicable in our odes 180 and 246 (phr. 10, 11), and must therefore be wrong, for it is evident that 15 must mean the same in all these texts. In order to reconcile them, we have to take 12 in its secondary or more general sense derived from the fundamental one of 'to pinch', i. e. 'to grasp'. Thus in Yili: *Ta shē li* 14: »He inserts three (arrows) in the girdle and grasps one« (holds one in the hand); Li: *Yüe ling* 17: »The Son of Heaven... seizes his bow, grasps his arrows and

goes to hunt»; ode 180, phr. 10: «We have grasped our arrows»; ode 246, phr. 11: «They have grasped the four arrows». And we may thus be quite sure that in all these cases the word should be read *g'iap / yiep / hie (Pek. kia), the reading alternatively given by Shīwen in ode 180 and in Li: Yüe ling, and not *tsiap or *tsap or *tsap, as Shīwen alt. proposes in the various places quoted above. These Shīwen readings are due to the fact that the char. 12, as shown above, sometimes serves as loan char. for a quite different word *tsiap / tsiep / tsie, cognate to 100 *tsap / tsāp / tsā, and Lu Tê-ming has erroneously confused the two series.

Siao sin yi yi, see gl. 433.

771. Yü huai to fu 18.

Another school (ap. Ch'un ts'iu fan lu) reads 19. For y ü 20 as a mere particle, see gl. 762.

A. Cheng: huai 21 = 22, thus: «(Brightly he served God on high), and so he could aspire to much happiness». Huai 21 'to carry in the bosom, have feelings for' in the sense of 'to long for, to hope for' is very common. — B. Chu (after Erya): huai 21 = 23, thus: «And so there came much happiness». — It is very doubtful, in spite of Erya, whether huai ever could mean 'to come', see gl. 110 a. A is therefore preferable.

772. Yi shou fang kuo 24.

A. Cheng: «And so he received the states of the (four) quarters». — B. Ma Juei-ch'en (after Kuang ya): fang 25 = 26, thus: «And so he received the great realm». Wang Nien-sun has adduced the foll. texts in support of Kuang ya's definition: Kyü: Tsin yü 27, where Wei Chao says: 25 = 26: «Now as to the (greatness =) size of the Tsin state, it is a border realm, its soil is small and a great state is at its side»; Wei is obviously wrong: fang 25 (as often) means 'region, territory', thus: «Now the territory of Tsin is a border realm» etc. Shu: Yao tien 28, which Shī ki renders by 29; here, acc. to Wang, 25 and 30 mean 'great', which is very doubtful. Similarly ibid. 31, equally doubtful. Chu Tsün-sheng adds some more Shu ex. in which he proposes that fang 25 means 'great', all of them likewise disputable. The meaning 'great' of fang is thus far from safely attested. — C. Waley: shou 32 (*d'ig) is loan char. for 33 (*s'ig): «To protect his frontiers, his realms». An arbitrary and unnecessary loan speculation. — In st. 1 it was said of the Yin king that he could not embrace the sī fang 34 (states of) the four quarters. As a direct counterpart to this we have the statement here that the Chou king «received (as his subjects) the fang kuo 'quarter states', i. e. sī fang chī kuo states of the four quarters. This confirms A.

Wen wang ch'ü tsai, see gl. 767.

773. Tsai Hia chī yang 35.

A. Mao reads thus: «To the north of the Hia (river)». — B. Another school (ap. Shuowen) reads 36 «To the south of (the city) Ho». — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

774. Wen wang kia chī 37.

國作信²¹與²⁴與子偕作²⁵使不挾四方²⁶挾²⁷達²⁸使²⁹天下之達道³⁰匝³¹帀³²。挾³³日³⁴挾³⁵日³⁶周挾³⁷于天下³⁸周挾³⁹能⁴⁰以禮挾⁴¹挾⁴²辰之間⁴³有⁴⁴既挾我矢⁴⁵既挾四鍤⁴⁶挾⁴⁷右執挾⁴⁸比⁴⁹搯三挾一个⁵⁰挾矢⁵¹接⁵²天子乃厲飾執弓挾矢以獵⁵³車懷多福⁵⁴允懷⁵⁵車⁵⁶懷⁵⁷思⁵⁸來⁵⁹以受方國⁶⁰方⁶¹大⁶²今晉國之方偏侯也⁶³其土又小大國在側⁶⁴共工方鳩僝功⁶⁵共工旁聚布功⁶⁶旁⁶⁷洪水方割⁶⁸受⁶⁹守⁷⁰。

Mao says simply (after Eyra): *kia* 38 = 39 'beautiful, fine', which does not tell us how he understood the line.

A. Cheng takes *kia* as a transitive verb: 'Wen wang found her beautiful' (*ch i* 40 being the common final particle). — B. Chu: *kia* 38 = 41 'the marriage ceremony', thus: 'Wen wang consummated the marriage'. Ma Juei-ch'en goes even further, proposing that *ch i* 40 is not a particle but means 42 (after Cheng's gloss on ode 52, treated in our gl. 142), which is inadmissible. Ma further believes that in Chouli: Ta tsung po 43 the *kia li* means 41 'marriage ceremony', but this goes against the ancient comm. and is not supported by any par. Again, when Legge translates Tso: Chao 30, phr. 44 by: 'Only on occasions of marriage, friendly alliances, complimentary missions' etc., he has no support in the commentaries (and Couvreur translates differently). The only support would be Ch'en Huan's idea: *kia* 38 = 45 'a good partner' (thus: 'Wen wang got a fine partner' i. e. bride), for in Tso: Huan 2 it is said 46 'A fine (good) partner is called *fei* a consort'. But all this B interpr. is a very forced scholastic speculation. — C. Waley: 'Wen wang was blessed'. This could, perhaps, be supported by Li: Li yün 47 'And so one makes happy the souls'. But this is a very rarely occurring extension of meaning of the word. — D. Another interpr. There is really no reason for not taking (with Mao? see above) *kia* in its ordinary and normal sense of 'fine', as in ode 161, phr. 48 'I have a fine guest', ode 170, phr. 49 'It is good (fine)', ode 186, phr. 50 'He is a fine guest here' etc. (very common). The idea of the st. is to express that a fine man obtained a fine wife: 'Wen wang was fine; and in a great state there was the young lady...' (whose excellence is then praised).

775. K'ien t'ien ch'i mei 51.

A. Mao: *k'ien* 52 (**k'ian / k'ien / k'ien* and **g'ian / yien / hien*, both readings in Sh'wen as well as in Ts'ie yün) = 53. The latter here means 'to compare, to look like', see B next. Mao evidently knew of the B version. Thus: 'She looked as if she were a younger sister of Heaven'. Of the word-stem 54 **kian / kien / kien* 'to see': 54 (55) **g'ian / yien / hien* 'to be visible, to be manifest, to appear' we have here a third aspect **k'ian* or **g'ian* 'to appear, to have the appearance of, to look like, to be like'. — B. Han (ap. Sh'wen) reads 56, the 53 **k'ien / k'ien / k'ien* defined as = 57 'to compare, to be like'. Thus the meaning of the line is the same as in A. K'ung says that in his time (T'ang dyn.) the w. was still coll. current (58 'to compare, be like' being called 59). Cf. Hanfei: Wai ch'u, tso shang 60 'They are visible before you both morning and evening' (61 **k'ien* = 53): just as in the case of 52, the sense 'to be visible, to appear' by extension of meaning becomes 'to appear as, to look like': 'She (appears as =) looks like a younger sister of Heaven'. — The two words **k'ian* and **k'ien* could not, as the Chinese scholars believe, 'be interchangeable' because of 'sound similarity'. They are hardly even cognate, simply synonymous. Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Sh'.

776. Wen ting küe siang 62.

A. Mao refers the line to the *wen t'ê* 63 'refined virtue' of the lady, and says *siang* 64 = 65 'good', thus: 'Fine and well-established was her goodness'. — B. Cheng and Chu render *wen* 66 by 67: 'By the fine ceremonies (gifts) he fixed the auspicious affair' (Couvreur: muneribus praestituit suas faustas nuptias). But *wen* surely can have no such meaning. — C. Waley: 'Wen fixed on a lucky day.' *Wen* is short for *Wen wang* (a line *Wen wang ting küe siang* would fail in the rhythm). Cf. ode 262, phr. 68, where *Wen* and *Wu* are short for *Wen wang* and *Wu wang*. — C is borne out by the context: 'Wen fixed on a lucky day, and went in person to meet her on the Wei (river)'.

777. Tsuan nü wei Shen 69.

A. Mao: *tsuan* 70 = 71 'to continue, succeed', thus: 'The lady-successor was a

(girl from) Shen». The «successor» refers to st. 2, where T'ai-jen, the lady from Chi is described, the mother of Wen-wang. Here his consort, the lady from Shen, is the successor of the former in the position as queen. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: 70 (*tsuân / tsuân / tsuân) is loan char. for 72 (*tsân / tsân / tsân), Shuowen = 73 'white and beautiful', Kuang ya = 74 'beautiful'. Thus: «The beautiful lady». The w. 72 is known from no text, and B is a futile loan speculation.

778. Chang tsi wei hing 75.

A. Mao reads the line in the light of the phr. 76 (together with Wang Ki «the virtue she practised») in st. 2, and interprets «The eldest daughter (of the house in Shen) practised (the virtue)». — B. Chu Pin (77, 18th c.): 78 in both cases should be read h a n g = 79, thus: 76 «In virtue she was (on a rank with =) on a par with him»; 75 «The eldest daughter was on a par with him». — C. Chu takes the second line in a quite different sense from that of the first: h i n g 78 = 'to go to be married' (common: ode 39, phr. 80 «When a girl makes her journey» = goes to be married), thus: 75 «The eldest daughter went to be married (to him)». — D. Waley likewise treats the lines differently: 76 «She joined in works of power»; 75 «The eldest of her family» (properly: «ranking as eldest daughter»). — It is quite obvious (with A and B) that the two lines are parallel and that h i n g 78 has the same sense in both. Now the first is clear and unambiguous: «the virtue she practised»; to translate it differently would be to force the text. So 78 must be read h i n g and is a verb in line 75 as well. H i n g 'to practise, to act' is very common, and here it refers to the young consort who took up her duties as the wife of Wen wang: her greatest duty was to bear him sons, and so we have it here: «The eldest daughter (of Shen) (acted =) did her functions, and she staunchly bore Wu wang». H i n g in this sense is mostly a transitive verb: 81 etc., and here 76. But it also frequently occurs absolute = 'to act', e. g. Lun: Shu er 82 «When used (in office), then to act, when discarded, then to keep aloof» (only you and I are capable of that); Tso: Yin 3, phr. 83 «If one acts with intelligence and mutual consideration»; ibid. 84 «If the ruler is righteous and the minister acts»; Tso: Chuang 22, phr. 85 «(The spirits) act according to (the feelings) of men»; Tso: Wen 10, phr. 86 «In my position as an officer I act»; Li: Ts'i yi 87 «Their actions can be spoken of without risk» (common).

779. Tu sheng Wu wang 88.

A. Mao: t u 89 = 90, expounded by Cheng: «Staunchly she bore Wu wang». T u 'solid, reliable, firm, staunch' is common. — B. Chu takes Mao's 90 in another of the meanings of this char.: 'ample' = 'to treat amply, to favour', thus: «She was amply favoured (by Heaven) and bore Wu wang». But for t u in this sense there are no text par. — C. Chu Pin, followed by Ma Juei-ch'en: t u 89 is a «particle», our 88 being analogous to ode 300, phr. 91. As a support for this Ma adduces four lines in Shu: Lo kao,

四方 15. 在洽之陽 16. 在郤之陽 17. 文王嘉止 18. 嘉 19. 美 20. 止 21. 婚禮 22. 禮 23. 以嘉禮親萬
民 24. 唯嘉好聘享三軍之事 25. 嘉耦 26. 嘉耦曰妃 27. 以嘉禮 28. 我有嘉賓 29. 維其嘉矣
30. 於焉嘉客 31. 俛天之妹 32. 俛 33. 磐 34. 見 35. 現 36. 磐天之妹 37. 譬 38. 譬喻 39. 磐作 40. 旦暮
磐於南 41. 磐 42. 文定厥祥 43. 文德 44. 祥 45. 善 46. 文 47. 禮 48. 文武受命 49. 續女維莘 50. 續 51.
維 52. 續 53. 白好 54. 好 55. 長子維行 56. 維德之行 57. 朱彬 58. 行 59. 列 60. 女子有行 61. 行禮行
道 62. 用之則行舍之則藏 63. 明恕而行 64. 君義臣行 65. 依人而行 66. 當官而行 67. 行不危
言矣 68. 篤生武王 69. 篤 70. 厚 71. 是生后稷 72. 保右命爾 73. 遂命之爾 74. 爾 75. 之 76. 保右命

in which he thinks that *t u* is likewise a particle, but this is quite arbitrary, the *t u* having its real sense of 90 in all these cases. It is a far from commendable tendency with several Ts'ing-time scholars to explain various words which offer some difficulties of interpretation as »empty particles». In the present case it is not plausible.

780. *Pao yu ming er* 92.

A. Cheng paraphrases *ming er* by 93: »and so it (Heaven) appointed him», taking the *er* 94 as a final particle. But *er*, exceedingly frequent in the *Shi*, invariably means 'you' and is never a particle in the odes. — **B.** Ch'en Huan: *er* 94 is equal to *ch i* 95 'him', thus: »(Heaven) protected and helped and appointed him», the line being par. to ode 249, phr. 96. But *er* can have no such meaning. — **C.** K'ung rightly takes *ming er* as a direct quotation of Heaven's command: »(Heaven said:) I shall protect and help you and appoint you (to attack the great Shang)».

781. *Sie fa ta Shang* 97.

A. Mao (after Erya): *sie* 98 = 99 'concordant, to harmonize'. Cf. *Shu*: *Ku ming* 100 »to make the whole world concordant and harmonious». This has been variously explained. *a.* Cheng: 1 »to (harmonize =) coordinate the affairs of attacking Shang». *β.* Chu: »(concordantly =) in agreement with (the will of Heaven) to attack Shang». *γ.* Ch'en Huan: »uniting (Heaven and mankind) to attack Shang». — **B.** Ma Juei-ch'en, realizing the hopeless impossibility of the attempts under A, takes 98 **siap* / *siep* / *sie* to be a loan char. for 2 **dz̥iap* / *ziap* / *si*, thus: »to surprise and attack the great Shang». This is phonetically unsatisfactory. — **C.** Another interpr. *Sie* 98 is a short-form for the homophonous 3 (*siap* / *siep* / *sie*) 'to go, to march', thus: »to march and attack the great Shang». This char. 3 is not known from pre-Han texts, but the binome 4 (**siap-d'iap*) is registered in the very earliest fragments of the *Ts'ie yün*, and it was largely current in the poetry of the Six dynasties (e. g. in an ode by emperor Liang Wu ti). Now, in *Ch'u*: *Kiu chang* we find correspondingly the binome 5 **ts'iap-d'iap* in phr. 6 »The crowd trots along and everyday comes forward» (comm. 5 = 7). Evidently **ts'iap-d'iap* and **siap-d'iap* are two variations of the same binome (just as **b'wo-b'ək*: **b'wo-b'ïk*: **b'ïwo-b'ïk* 'to crawl', gl. 98; **b'wá-sá*: **b'wár-sá*: **b'wán-sá* 'to dance', gl. 334), and the pre-Han existence of the word stem **ts'iap* ~ **siap* 'to go, walk along, march' is sufficiently attested. — C obviates the absurdities of A and is phonetically much better than B.

782. *K'i huei jul in* 8.

A. Mao reads thus, taking 9 (**g'wád* / *yuái* / *h u e i*) in its ordinary sense, and Cheng expounds: »(The cohorts of Yin-Shang) were massed like a forest». — **B.** Another school (ap. *Shuowen*) reads 10. The *Shuowen* article, as it now stands (the comm. have suspected corruptions in the text of the entry) first defines 11 (**kwád* / *kuái* / *k u e i*) as = 'a big beam on top of which were placed stones to be thrown against the enemy', briefly 'a catapult'. Then it quotes Tso: Huan 5, phr. 12 and finally our ode line. For his 'catapult' definition Hū bases himself on his master Kia K'uei, who explained the Tso phr. 12 thus: »When the catapults move, then beat the drum». But Tu Yü on the same phr. says: *k u e i* 11 = 13 'a flag, standard' (»When the standards move, then beat the drum»), and in this Tu follows Ma Jung, who in a poem says: 14, clearly alluding to our ode here. The ode line would thus mean either: »Their catapults were like a forest», or: »Their standards were like a forest». The radical 15 in 11 favours the interpr. 'standard', but we cannot know whether the char. is only a Han-time graph or existed earlier. But I suspect that 11 is cognate to 16 (**g'wád* / *yuái* / *h u e i*, which again is etym. s. w. a. 9) 'variegated' and that it really means 'the varicoloured ensign' (embroidered in several colours). — Lu (ap. *Feng su t'ung yi*) reads like Mao 8. Since it is unlikely that both these ancient schools (much older than *Shuowen*) should have 9 as a short-form for 11, A seems safest.

783. Shī yū Mu ye 17.

A. Mao (after Erya): shī 18 = 19 (connecting with the preceding): »(The cohorts) were marshalled at Mu ye». Cf. ode 241, phr. 20 »They did not marshal their forces on our hills». — B. Ma Juei-ch'en (after Erya): shī 18 = 21 'to make an oath'. It is very common that 18 is equal to 21, e. g. ode 56, phr. 22 »Forever, he swears, he will not forget me». But shī 21 'to make oath' is also the technical term for 'solemn declaration (of the general) before the battle', e. g. the title of the chapter 23 »The Great Declaration» in Shu, which is so quoted in Tso: Ch'eng 2. Cf. also Lun: Yung ye 24 »The master made (an oath:) a solemn declaration and said: Wherein I have done wrong, may Heaven reject me»; Shu: P'an Keng 25 »He made a solemn declaration». Thus: »A solemn declaration was made at Mu ye». — Both interpr. are possible and well supported by par. But since the following lines are a quotation (oratio recta) of precisely such a solemn exhortation, and since we know that Wu wang harangued the troops before the battle of Mu ye (Shu: Mu shī: »In the morning, the king came to Mu ye, in the suburbs of Shang, and then he made [an oath:] a solemn declaration»), B is much more plausible.

784. Wei yū hou hing 26.

A. Mao says: »This expresses that the whole world longed for Chou», and hence K'ung, taking hou 27 as the particle, interpr.: »It was we whom (the people) raised» (i. e. helped to victory and power). — B. Cheng takes y ü 28 = 'to give' and hou 27 = 'prince', thus: »(Heaven) has given our prince to rise» (and become king). — C. Chu: y ü 28 = 'we' and hou 27 is the particle: »It is we who are rising». — D. Waley takes y ü 28 in the dative and hou 27 = 'target', thus: »(The forces of Yin are) a target set up for us»; very far-fetched. — C is certainly most simple and natural.

Sī yūan pang pang, see gl. 218.

785. Shī wei ying yang 29.

A. Mao: »He was like an eagle who (rises:) flies up». — B. Wang Chao-yüan and Sun Sing-yen: Erya has an entry: 30 or 31 = 32 'y a n g is a white sparrow-hawk', and our y a n g 33 is a short-form for this: »He was an eagle, a hawk». And, as Ma Juei-ch'en points out, from a memorial to the throne by Kao Piao (34, Hou Han shu), where it is said of this martial Shang-fu that »the poet made a song about him, that he was 35 like an eagle, like a hawk», it appears that already in Han time some school took both words of our line to denote birds. This opinion about the line is shared by Ho Yi-hang (comm. on Erya). — With A we have a bad word sequence: the line ought to run: shī wei y a n g y i n g, and we should have to say that an inversion was demanded by the rime, which is a poor expedient. B therefore seems preferable.

786. Liang pi Wu wang 36.

A. Mao: liang 37 (*gliang) = 38, thus: »He assisted Wu wang». Han reads 39, defining 40 as = 41 'to assist'; this 40 (*gliang) was already defined in Erya as = 42 'to guide' and as = 43 'to assist', and also as = 44 'to assist'. Mao must have known

之 11 變伐大商 12 變 13 和 14 變和天下 1. 變和伐殷之事 2. 變 3. 踐 4. 踐蹀 5. 踐蹀 6. 衆
踐蹀而日進 7. 行兇 8. 其會如林 9. 會 10. 其旂如林 11. 旂 12. 旂動而鼓 13. 旂 14. 旂旂揚
其如林 15. 旂 16. 繪 17. 矢于牧野 18. 矢 19. 陳 20. 無矢我陵 21. 誓 22. 永矢弗諼 23. 泰誓 24. 夫子
矢之曰 25. 出矢言 26. 維予侯興 27. 侯 28. 予 29. 時維鷹揚 30. 鷹 31. 鷹 32. 白鷹 33. 揚 34. 高處 35.
如鷹如鸛 36. 涼彼武王 37. 涼 38. 佐 39. 亮彼武王 40. 亮 41. 相 42. 導 43. 右 44. 左右 45. 諒 46. 明明

of this Han version and considered the 37 (Shīwen var. 45 **gliang*) of his own text as a loan char. for 40, and based himself on Erya. Yet 40 fundamentally means 'bright, enlightened' (see below), and by an extension of meaning it means 'to enlighten' by good counsels, hence 'to guide, to assist'. Here in our ode line: »He (enlightened =) guided Wu wang» makes poor sense. — B. Another interpr.: »Bright was that Wu wang», analogous to ode 262, phr. 46 »Bright is the Son of Heaven». — B is obviously preferable, if it is true that 40 primarily means 'bright'. But that is precisely the contested question. All through the middle ages (from the poet Ki K'ang, 3rd c. A. D. and onwards) it has always meant 'bright, brightness' and does so in modern Mandarin (48). But was that already so in Archaic Chinese? In Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien) 49, Si-ma Ts'ien followed Erya and paraphrased 50 »You shall assist me in the service of Heaven»; *ibid.* 51 »Help me in the affairs» (Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: 52; yet here Ts'ai Shen, Sung school, says: li a n g 40 = 53, paraphrasing 54 »to throw light on all the affairs»); in both these cases, if the meaning was really 'to assist' (and not 'to illuminate, shed light on'), the extension of meaning stated above: 'to enlighten' > 'to guide, to assist' is the most plausible, and they prove nothing against a fundamental sense of 'bright'. The decisive case is, I think, the much-discussed phrase 55 in Shu: Wu yi: »The king 56 lived in seclusion and did not speak for three years». The phr. is variously wr. 57 (Lun), 58 (Han shu), 59 (Li), 60 (Shang shu ta chuan), 61 (Shī ki), with the same loan char. variation as in our ode above. There has been much speculation about the fundamental sense of the phr., but to me it is evident that since the second member invariably is a word meaning 'obscure, darkness', there is an antithesis here, and the first member means 'bright, brightness'; 40 is the primary graph, 62 are loan characters. The phr. means simply: »the light (brightness) was obscured», i. e. the brilliant ruler withdrew into dark seclusion. Here we obtain the final proof that 40 fundamentally means 'bright', in archaic Chinese just as well as in ancient, medieval and modern Chinese. Hence, in our ode, interpr. B is well established.

787. Sī f a t a S h a n g 63.

A. Mao: s ī 64 (*siəd / si / s ī*) = 65. Waley therefore translates: »He swiftly fell upon the great Shang». But that was hardly Mao's idea, for his gloss recurs in ode 241, phr. 66 (Waley here: »He attacked, he harried»), which shows that he rightly took s ī as a verb coordinated with f a. Erya says s ī 64 = 67 'force, forceful, to force', and Mao's t s i 65 must have meant 'violent, to do violence to': »He violently struck and attacked the great Shang». In support of this Chu Tsün-sheng adduces Lun: Yang huo 68 »The (wild ones): irascible men of old were ruthless» (comm.: outspoken); but this is no good par., for s ī 64 here properly means 'to let loose, unbridled' (common meaning of the w.). He further cites Tso: Wen 12, phr. 69 »If you let the light troops attack them, it will do»; but s ī 64 here is defined by Tu Yü as = 'to go forward for a short while and then withdraw', and the true meaning of the w. here is quite obscure. Thus there is really no good text support. Ch'en Huan says that since Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien) 70 in Shuowen is quoted 71, which shows that these two char. can serve for each other, and since Shuowen defines 71 as a kind of wild beast, our s ī - f a means »He wild-beasted and attacked», i. e. he overpowered and attacked — a comic attempt at etymology. — B. Cheng: s ī 64 = 72 'therefore now', i. e. a particle introducing the following line: »And so he attacked the great Shang». S ī in this sense is very common, but Cheng misses the par. in ode 241, phr. 66, where, in the wake of Mao, he explains s ī by 73 'to rush against' (!). — C. Chu: s ī 64 = 74 »He let loose (the troops) and attacked the great Shang». S ī in the sense of 75 'to let loose, to indulge, give free course to' is quite common, but in phr. 66, in which we have the object 76 placed before the transitive verb: »Them he attacked, them he let loose (his soldiers against)» this becomes exceedingly strained. — D. Another interpr. In Ta Tai: Hia siao cheng we find: 77 »The

wild cat begins to s i; ch a o means 'to begin'; s i means s u e i 'to proceed'; it means 'the wild cat begins to proceed'; others say that s i means 'to kill' (the wild cat begins to kill)». The first 4 words are the Chou text, the rest is the comm. of Tai Tê (early Han). The first alternative interpr.: »begins to proceed» makes poor sense, whereas the second: »begins to kill» is excellent, said of a beast of prey. And yet because of Tai's hesitation between two explanations we should not dare to accept the one definitely if it were not that it is confirmed by etymology. 64 *sɿəd / si / s i 'to kill' is clearly cognate to 78 *sɿər / si / s i 'to die' (cf. 79 *lɿəd 'sharp': 80 *lɿər 'plow', etc.) and with 81 *sɿər / si / s h i 'corpse'. Moreover there is a w. 82 (*sɿəd / si / s i), homophonous with 64, which means '(corpse-place =) provisional grave' (Yili), which clearly belongs to the same stem. Thus a 64 *sɿəd 'to kill' is well substantiated. This is the word we have in our two odes: 63 »He killed and smote the great Shang (people)»; 66 »Them (the enemies) he smote, them he killed». — E. Lu (ap. Feng su t'ung yi) reads 83 »He surprised and attacked the great Shang». — The A text reading in our ode 236, phr. 63 is supported by that in ode 241, phr. 66; and interpr. D suits it best.

788. Huei chao ts'ing ming 83b.

A. Mao paraphrases: »In less than a morning the whole world became pure and bright». — B. Cheng: »He huei collected (his troupes) when the morning was bright». — C. Chu: Huei chao = 'the morning of the encounter': »In the morning of the encounter there was purification» (of the world). — D. It is certainly right, with Chu, to take huei in the sense of 84 'the encounter, the battle', cf. Tso: Ai 2, phr. 85 »If we then (encounter =) engage them, we shall certainly vanquish them grandly»; Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou, shang 86 »To calculate the chances of victory and then (meet, encounter =) engage». But ts'ing ming is evidently but a description of the morning of the battle. All accounts of the famous engagement at Mu ye state that the battle was fought in the morning, e. g. Shu: Mu shi. Thus: »The morning of the encounter was clear and bright». — E. In Ch'u: T'ien wen we find a line 87 »On the morning of the encounter there was a dispute about the agreement», referring to a legend told in Lü: Kuei yin (see A. Conrady, T'ien wen p. 254); to this there is the variant 88 (which makes no sense in the T'ien wen context), and Waley (with hesitation) has taken this to be the correct reading of our ode line: »Who before daybreak begged for a truce». — The Han school (ap. Wai chuan) reads like Mao (83), so the text is well established.

Ode CCXXXVII: Mien.

Ts i Tu Ts' i Ts' ü, see gl. 300.

789. T'ao fu t'ao hüe 89.

A. Mao expounds: 90. Tuan Yü-ts'ai and his followers think that Mao took 91

天子 47 懿康 48 月亮 49 惟時亮天功 50 惟時相天功 51 亮采 52 相事 53 明 54 以明亮庶事
55 亮陰 56 亮陰三年不言 57 諒陰 58 涼陰 59 諒闇 60 梁闇 61 亮闇 62 涼諒梁 63 肆伐大商
64 肆 65 疾 66 是伐是肆 67 力 68 古之狂也肆 69 若使輕者肆焉則可 70 肆類于上帝 71 禘
類 72 故今 73 犯突 74 縱兵 75 縱 76 是 77 狸子肇肆肇始也肆遂也言其始遂其或曰肆故
也 78 死 79 利 80 犁 81 尸 82 肆 83 襲伐大商 84 會朝清明 85 會戰 86 於是會之必大敗之 87
虐勝而後會 88 會罪爭盟 89 會罪請盟 90 陶復陶穴 91 陶其土而復之陶其壤而穴之 92

(**d'ôg* / *d'âu* / *t' a o*) to be loan char. for 92 (**d'ôg* / *d'âu* / *t' a o*) 'to bale out, pull out, scoop out', thus 90: »He pulled out the (hard) earth and made covers (covered, roofed caves, 93 then, with K'ung = 94), he pulled out the (soft) earth and made caves». Shuowen quotes 95, defining *fu* 96 as = 97 'earth room', this being merely a variant of 93, 94 in this sense. The line 89 thus briefly: »He scooped out covered (caves), he scooped out caves». Ma Juei-ch'en points out that the former may be such dwelling caves in vertical earth sections as are frequently seen even today in north-western China. But this 92, registered in Kuang ya as = 98 'to bale out', is earliest attested only in Ts'ien fu lun (2nd c. A. D.). Wang Nien-sun says that 92 and 99 »are one and the same character», which is wrong, for 99 was **t'ôg* / *t'âu* / *t' a o*, and the most we could say is that the two were cognate words (**d'ôg* : *t'ôg*). Now this 99 **t'ôg* properly means 'to strike' (see our gl. 221), but Shuowen defines it as = 100 'to scoop out, to pull out'; unfortunately there is no real support for this, for the ex. Shuowen adduces is doubtful: it quotes »Chou shu» (i. e. the lost T'ai shi) as saying 1, explaining this as: »The army then drew their weapons from their sheaths in order to strike»; it is obvious that 99 here is better taken in its well-attested sense of 'to strike'; moreover Shang shu ta chuan quotes the line as 2 »The army rejoiced», so the ex. is very unsafe. Briefly, there is no support whatever for either 92 or 99 having had, in pre-Han time, the meaning 'to pull out' which they have in the later language. That (with Tuan Yü-ts'ai) the 91 of Mao's text and comm. could be a loan char. for this 92, which is quite unattested earlier than the 2nd c. A. D., is quite inadmissible. (At most we could say that 91 **d'ôg* is loan char. for 3 **d'ôg* / *i'qu* / *y u* 'to bale out', existing in ode 245, see gl. 876, but this would not be very plausible). Indeed I am not at all convinced that Tuan has understood Mao right, see D below. — B. Cheng: *fu* 93 = 'to place a cover over the earth', and *h ü e* 4 'to bore the earth', 5 'both in the kiln (or: potter) fashion'. He thus takes *t' a o* as an adjunct to *fu* and *h ü e* as verbs: »He kiln-covered, he kiln-holed', or, as Legge renders it more freely: »He made kiln-like huts and caves». The commentators say that Cheng took 91 as equal to 6 'kiln'. — C. In Huai: Fan lun we find: 7, on which Kao Yu: *fu h ü e* 8 = 9: »Anciently the people in marshy ground lived in double pits» (one upper which remained dry, one lower where the moisture gathered), thus taking *fu* 93 not as = 94 but in its common sense of 'to repeat, double'. Huai may have had our ode in mind, but Kao's interpr. will not do for the ode line 89, for the repetition *t' a o*: *t' a o fu t' a o h ü e* cannot then be explained. — D. Another interpr. *T' a o* 91 is no loan char. but has its proper value both in the Mao text and in his comm. 91 certainly may sometimes mean 'kiln', but its primary sense is 'pottery, earthenware', and also 'potter'. It should be remembered that the potter's craft was not only firing in kilns but also, and particularly, the working of the clay, the moulding, fashioning of the objects, cf. Chuang: Ma t'i 10 »The potter says: I am skilful at working the clay». We have *t' a o* here in this sense: to work and fashion the earth, to mould. Thus: »He moulded covers, he moulded caves» (for the people to live in). And this, I believe, was Mao's idea with his paraphrase above 90: »He moulded the earth and made covers, he moulded the soil and made caves».

790. Yü lai s ü y ü 11.

For the particle *y ü* 12 see gl. 762.

A. Mao (after Erya): *s ü* 13 = 14. Now *s ü* 13 frequently means 'mutually, together', and so does *s i a n g* 14, and this is the meaning of the Erya gloss. But the char. *s i a n g* 14 also serves for quite another word *s i a n g* 'to look at', and Mao has curiously thought that since *s ü* 13 is synonymous with *s i a n g* 14 'together', it should also be synonymous with *s i a n g* 14 'to look at', and through this false analogy he here creates a meaning 'to look at, to inspect' for *s ü* 13: »He came and inspected the (place

for an) abodes». In quite the same way, in ode 250, phr. 15, Mao says 13 = 14 »He inspected the plain». (These two cases are quite analogous, really forming but one, and cannot prove each other: if 'to inspect' is right in one, it is so in both, if it is wrong in the one, it is wrong in the other; Waley takes y ü a n 16 here not as = 'a plain' but = 'the aborigines', the people who lived there before, but that is impossible, for a few lines later we have 17 »again he descended in the plain»). Now it would be strange indeed if there existed, parallel with the word-pair siang 'mutually' and siang 'to look at' a word pair s ü 'mutually' and s ü 'to look at, to inspect'. The improbability of this is so great that even Legge has hesitated. In our ode 237 here, phr. 11, he says s ü 13 = 'together': »He came and together (with her) y ü took up an abode». But in ode 250, phr. 15, he has realized that this was not applicable, so there he says: »s ü 13 = 14 = 'to look at, to survey'; it is necessary to give s ü this meaning here, though it is not found in the dictionary»(!). The Chinese comm. have tried to support their s ü 13 = 'to look at, to inspect' in odes 237, 250 by the foll. par. Kuan: Ch'u yen 18, where the T'ang-time comm. says 13 = 19 'to look at': »(The one who) in advancing and retiring, in working and resting with other men (mutually looks =) looks for (an example)»; but this is plainly wrong, the line means: »(The one who) in advancing and retiring, in working and resting (acts mutually with others =) acts in concert with others». Kuan: Kün ch'en 20 »That is to inspect the orders and then act» (T'ang comm. 13 = 19); here again the line has a quite different meaning: s ü 13 = 'to wait' (see B below), thus: »To wait for the orders and then act». Chouli: Shao si-t'u 21, which Cheng Hün explains as = »and so assists in chuei driving out (enemies) and s ü spying (for rebels)», paraphrasing s ü 13 by 22 'spying to catch rebels' (Chu Tsün-sheng therefore: 13 *sjo loan char. for 23 *sjo 'to spy, observe', an impossible speculation). The Chouli passage means, with Biot: »pour régler les escortes et les suites (s ü 13 having here one of its most common meanings: 'to assist, to wait upon'). Briefly, s ü 13 is synon. with siang 14 'mutually', but there is no support for its ever having been synon. with siang 14 'to look at'. — B. Another interpr. The char. s ü 13 frequently serves for a word *sjo / sjuo / s ü 'to wait, to tarry, to linger', and is then synon. with and closely cognate to 24 *sju / sju / s ü. Kuan: Ta k'uang 25 »Let us wait, and there will be a settlement» (the T'ang comm. 13 = 26 'to wait, tarry'); ibid. 27 »Let us for the time being wait (tarry) a little, and he will come (right) by himself» (comm. 13 = 26); Sün: Kün tao 28 »In a (not lingering time =) short while he will fall», Hanfei: Ch'i fen 29 »(The people) dare not wait for rewards»; Chuang: Ch'i lo 30 »The butterfly after a (lingering =) while is transformed and becomes a grub» (the same line in Lie: T'ien juei, the T'ang comm. there 13 = 31); Meng: Wan chang, shang 32 »The emperor will wait for the empire (to be ready) and then transfer it» (to Shun), on which Chao K'i (2nd c. A. D.) comments: 13 = 24 (etc., common). Now in our two odes 237 and 250 it is described how a prince travelled in search of a settling place and how, when he had found a suitable one, he halted and took up his abode there. S ü 13 therefore has this very

陶₂₂掬₂₃復₂₄覆₂₅陶覆陶穴₂₆覆₂₇地室₂₈抒₂₉搗₃₀搗₃₁師乃搗₃₂師乃搗₃₃搗₃₄
穴₃₅皆如陶然₃₆窰₃₇古者民澤復穴₃₈復穴₃₉重窰₄₀陶者曰我善治埴₄₁車來胥宇₄₂
車₄₃胥₄₄相₄₅于胥斯原₄₆原₄₇復降在原₄₈進退勞佚與人相胥₄₉視₅₀胥令而動₅₁
者₅₂以比邇胥₅₃伺捕盜賊₅₄伺₅₅須₅₆將胥有所定₅₇侍₅₈姑少胥其自及也₅₉不胥₆₀
時而落₆₁不敢胥₆₂胡蝶胥也化而為蟲₆₃少時₆₄帝將胥天下而遷之₆₅曰止日時

meaning: to wait, to linger, to desist from going further: our ode here, phr. 11 «And so he lingered (there) and took up an abode»; ode 250, phr. 15 «He went and (lingered:) stayed in that plain». — A takes *sü* in a sense quite unsupported by valid par.; B takes it in a well substantiated and common sense.

Chou yüan wu wu, see gl. 580.

791. *Yüe chī yüe shī* 33. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: 34 = 35, and he paraphrases so as to show that he took the second *yüe* 36 as a mere particle: «It (the oracle) said: halt there». Chu thinks that the phr. refers to the prince: «He said: halt there». — **B.** Another interpr., alternatively proposed by Chu: *shī* 34 = 'time': «He said: halt, he said: it is time» (for the building work). — **C.** Wang Yin-chī (King yi su wen): 34 (**d'æg / zi / shī*) is loan char. for 37 (**d'æg / d'i / chī*), and this is cognate to 38 (*æg / tsi / chī*). The latter means 'a foot' and, as a verb, '(to stand on the feet =) to stand, to stand still, to stop, to halt'. Erya (Shī kung) says: 39, which Yü p'ien quotes as 40 'the centre of the room is called *chī*'; here 34 is clearly a variant for 37. The words 34 and 38 of the ode line should be synonymous, cf. the quite analogous ode 31, phr. 41 «And then we stop, and then we remain». 34 as equal to 42 'to stop, to remain' occurs in Chuang: Siao yao 43 «Like a girl remaining (at home)» (an unmarried girl), on which Si-ma Piao: 44 = 45. Wang is undoubtedly right. We might add that the full form 37 'to stop, to remain still' occurs in Chuang: Ts'iu shuei and in Huai: Siu wu. From the par. 41 we can moreover conclude that our *yüe* 36 here does not refer to the oracle: «it said» but is merely the particle, so common in the odes (46 **giwän* and 36 **giwät* as particles are cognate and synonymous). For the repeated particle *yüe* cf. ode 167, phr. 47 «Oh, to go home, to go home». Our line 33 thus means: «And so he stopped, and so he halted». The same idea is repeated in the first line of next st., and corresponding to our particle *yüe* 36 here (and the *yüan* 46 in ode 31) we there have the particle 48 'and then': 49 «And so he remained quiet and so he stopped». Such a repetition, connecting with the preceding, is common in the Shī, cf. ode 235: st. 4 «... and so they became subject to Chou»: st. 5 «They became subject to Chou...». Ode 235: st. 6 «... the great appointment is not easy (to keep)»: st. 7 «The appointment not being easy (to keep)».

791 a. *Nai süan nai mou* 50. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: *süan* 51 = 52 'to work the soil according to the seasons'. K'ung, who paraphrases: 53 «He taught them the seasonal works», thinks that Cheng meant *süan* 51 = 'to announce, to proclaim' (as in Chouli: Siao sī k'ou 54), thus: «He gave out announcements» (successively in each season), but that was surely not his idea. *Süan* 51 is defined by Mao (after Erya) in ode 250 as = 55 'all round', and Cheng probably meant: «He made all-round work» (the cycle of the year). — **B.** Chu: *süan* 51 = 56, thus: «He spread them out (settled them all round) and made acres». Chu mentions another theory acc. to which *süan* would be to lead out the water-channels (for which there is no support at all). — **C.** Ma Juei-ch'en: *süan* 51 means 'to open up the ground, break the soil', but he gives no text par. — **D.** Another interpr. The whole passage describes how the prince laid out the ground for agriculture: «He went to the left, he went to the right, he made boundaries, he made divisions, he *süan*, he made acres.» It is obvious that *süan* cannot refer to the seasonal works, nor to the breaking of the soil on already defined and divided lots but describes the work of planning the plots. Now *süan* 51 is the technical term for a certain length measure: Chouli: Kü jen 57 etc. (followed by the terms for various measures of length). A *kü* 58 'a ruler', a long, straight rib is the measure which serves as point of departure in this enumeration, and 57 «half a *kü* ruler is a *süan* 51». There have been various theories about the true length of these measures, all of them entirely speculative and unreliable.

From the Chouli chapter it would seem that in late Chou time the *süan* (half a ruler) was about a third longer than the *ch'i* 59 'foot' (the Chou length of which is likewise uncertain); but nothing has varied more with the centuries than Chinese measures, and the *süan* of Shī times may have been different from that of Chouli. As a rough approximation we may translate *süan* by 'cubit'. It seems evident to me that it is this word that we have in our ode line. It might be objected that such a small measure was unsuitable for measuring the land, but the word is chosen purposely: the plot of the farmer was small, and the line indicates the scrupulous fairness of the prince: «He (cubited) = measured to the cubit, he laid out acres». — We should study here also:

Ode 250. *Ki shun nai süan* 60.

A. Mao says simply (after Erya): 51 = 55 'all round'. Cheng expounds: 61: «He adjusted the affairs and then he made them do their seasonal field work» (as in the ode above). Word for word: 60 «He adjusted and then all-rounded» (arranged the work of the year cycle). — B. Chu: *shun* 62 = 63 and 51 = 55, thus: «They were (compliant =) at peace and settled all round». — C. Ch'en Huan: «He was complaisant, and then they were all-round submissive»(!). — D. Ma Juei-ch'en: *süan* 51 = 64 or 65 'to expand': «They were submissive, and then their feelings were expanding»(!). — E. Yü Sing-wu: *shun* 62 (**d'iwən* / *dé'iuən* / *shun*) is a loan char. for 66 (**dziwən* / *ziwən* / *süan*), thus: «He made an inspection tour, and then he made a proclamation». He adduces as text par. ode 262, phr. 67, adding that both 62 and 68 stand for 66. As to *shun* 62 this is an unnecessary loan speculation. — F. Another interpr. All the comm. take the preceding line 69 to refer to the people (which is not mentioned: «They (the people) were numerous, they were abundant». But this is not convincing. The st. describes how the prince came and took up a settlement in the plain: «He went and lingered in the plain, 69 it was (multitudinous, rich in many things =) abundant, it was flourishing; 60 it was suitable and so he made his proclamation (to settle there)». For *shu* 70 = 'abundant', cf. ode 166, phr. 71 «So that there is nothing which is not abundant».

792. *So pan yi tsai* 72.

A. Mao (basing himself on Erya): *so* 73 = 74 (**d'iang*) which is a loan char. for 75 (**d'iang*) 'rope, to rope, to lash'. There is no real par. text in which *so* means 'rope' or 'to bind', but it often (Tso, Li etc.) means 'to strain wine', and *so* in this sense fundamentally means 'a bundle': «to bundle the wine» is to pass it through a bundle of white grass: 76 «to bind together white grass and pour the wine over it is *so*» (Tu Yü on Tso: Hi 4). There can be no doubt that 73 **sîók* / *sîuk* / *so* is closely cognate to 77 **sîuk* / *sîwok* / *shu* 'to bind' and to 78 **sák* / *sák* / *so* 'a rope' etc. (it belongs to a great and richly varied word-stem, see BMFEA 5, p. 72). Cheng further expounds the line: «They lashed the planks (building frames) and piled them up (one section over the other)». *Tsai* 79 'to load, to pile up' (common) has two readings (Ts'ie yün): **tsag* / *tsái* / *tsai* and **dz'ag* / *dz'ái* / *tsai* (both falling tone). Shīwen as a rule gives no sound gloss on

34 時 35 是 36 日 37 時 38 止 39 室中謂之時 40 室中謂之時 41 爰居爰處 42 處 43 猶時女 44 時女 45 處女 46 爰 47 日歸日歸 48 迺 49 迺慰 50 迺止 51 迺宣迺啟 52 宣 53 時耕 54 敬之時耕 55 乃宣布于四方 56 徧 57 布 58 散而居也 59 半矩謂之宣 60 矩 57 尺 61 既順迺宣 62 既順其事 63 矣又乃使之時耕 64 順 65 安 66 通 67 暢 68 巡 69 來旬來宣 70 旬 71 既庶既繁 72 庶 73 以莫不庶 74 縮收以載 75 縮 76 乘 77 繩 78 束茅而灌之以酒為縮酒 79 束 80 索 81 載 82 水

the word, except in ode 192 where, as a noun ('a load'), it is given as *dz'ag / dz'âi / t s a i. — B. Waley turns it differently: 'The planks were lashed to hold the earth'. T s a i then means 'to load' in the sense of filling in earth between the wooden frames. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: 79 is here equal to 80. This latter has two readings: first *tsag / tsâi / t s a i 'to plant'; and secondly *dz'ag / dz'âi / t s a i (falling tone, Shîwen, Kuang yün) '(to place erect =) to raise building frames', e. g. Tso: Chuang 29, describing building work: 81 »When the Shuei star culminates at dusk, one t s a i erects the building frames». Thus 79 in our ode is a loan char. for this 80. And then Ma goes on to state that s o 73 never means 'rope, to bind' (cf. above), but sometimes means 82 'straight'. Thus our ode line: »With straight boards they erect the building frames». He adduces Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou, shang 83 »If I examine myself and (find that) I am not straight» (Chao K'i 84); Li: T'an kung 85 »Anciently the caps had straight seams» (K'ung Ying-ta: s o = 82). But both ex. are unfortunate. In T'an kung the line continues: 86, and Cheng, defines s o 73 as = 87 'longitudinal, vertical'. »Anciently the caps had vertical seams, now they have horizontal seams». Similarly in the Meng ex. 83 s o properly means 'vertical', hence 'upright': »If I examine myself and (find that) I am not upright». Thus, if we were to follow these text par., we should have to translate, not 'straight' but: »With vertical boards they raise the building frames». Indeed, the sense of 'vertical, longitudinal' is probably an extension of meaning from 'rope, string': 'rope-like' = like a hanging rope', cf. A. — Since 80 *dz'ag (falling tone) is a well-attested technical term for 'to erect building frames' and it is here a question of this very kind of work, Ma is certainly right in saying that 79 (*dz'ag, falling tone) is a loan char. for 80. But his speculation about s o 73 cannot possibly induce us to abandon the clear, simple and ancient A interpr. (Erya, Mao). The line therefore means: »They lashed the boards (and thereby =) and thus erected the building frames».

Tso miao yi yi, see gl. 433.

793. K ü (kiu) chī jeng jeng 88.

K ü (kiu):

A. Mao: 89 (*kîug / kiu / k ü and *kîôg / kîzu / kiu) = 90 'basket', thus: »They (basketed =) carried (earth) in baskets». There is a similar word with which Mao may have thought that our word was cognate. Tso: Siang 9, phr. 91 »He arrayed baskets and earth-barrows». This 92 (*kîuk / kîwok / k ü) is defined by Tu Yü as a 'cart to convey earth' (Legge therefore translates: 'barrow') and Han shu quotes Tso with the variant 93 (*kîuk / kîwok / k ü), which latter is known from Chouli: Hiang shī, there meaning 'baggage cart'. But the combination in Tso with 94 'basket' suggests that the 92, 93 was a 'basket cart', a cart with the hack formed as a big basket. Indeed, in Kyü: Chou yü we find the same word wr. 95 (*kîuk), in a quotation of an ancient statute: 96 »Prepare (sc. for building work) your baskets and k ü», which Wei Chao defines as = 97 'a vessel (implement) for lifting earth'. Probably Mao took 89 *kîug or *kîôg as cognate to this 92, 95 *kîuk which he knew, from several texts, to mean an implement for carrying earth, serving in building work. — B. Cheng: k ü, kiu 89 = 98 'to collect', thus: »They collected it (the earth)». Evidently Cheng took 89 (*kîug, *kîôg) to be id. w. 99 (*kîôg / kîzu / kiu) 'to bring together', cf. Shu: Yao tien 100 »Kung-kung has accumulated merits», where Shī ki paraphrases 99 by 1 'to collect' and where Shuowen quotes 2, defining 3 (*g'îôg) as = 4 'to gather, to collect' (the 89 of our ode and the 3 in Shuowen have the same phonetic); Tso: Yin 8, phr. 5 »To bring together (unite) the people» (Tu Yü: kiu = 6). — In the Shîwen, Lu Tê-ming himself reads 89 *kîug / kîu / k ü (after Lü and Shen; so also Ts'ie yün), but says that Sū Miao read *kîôg / kîzu / kiu. Now the phonetic in the graph (7 *g'îôg) decidedly favours the latter reading; and then B becomes clearly superior to A (a *kîôg for another *kîôg, as against Mao's: a *kîôg for a *kîuk).

Jeng jeng:

A. Mao: jeng jeng 8 (**ñiang* / *ñiang* / jeng) = 9 'numerous, many' (variants 10 and 11 in Yü p'ien, cf. Grammata p. 387). Kuang ya, in a line which clearly refers to this ode, reads 12 (same sound: **ñiang* / *ñiang* / jeng), likewise = 9. Mao's 8 is a loan char. for this latter. The fundamental sense is 'to repeat, reiterate, one after another, in a sequence', cf. Kyü: Chou yü 13 »Tsin has repeatedly, on many occasions been lawless«, on which Wei Chao: 12 = 14 'on many occasions'; Lun: Sien tsin 15 »reiterating the old usage«. Thus, applying the B interpr. in the beginning of the line, we obtain: »(Following one after the other =) in long rows they collected it (the earth)«. — B. Shuowen: jeng 8 = 'the sound of pounding the walls', thus taking **ñiang* to be an onomatope. — No reason to abandon A, which is well supported.

794. To chī hung hung 16.

For hung hung 'numerous, many', as in ode 5, see gl. 19; here, as there, Chu takes hung to mean 'the sound' of the crowd, an onomatope, which should be rejected, all the more since it corresponds here to the jeng jeng 'iterated, one after another, in a long row' in the preceding st.

A. Mao: to 17 (**d'ák* / *d'ák* / to) = 18. The 17 **d'ák* sometimes serves as loan char. for 19 **d'ák* / *d'ák* / tsê 'residence, to reside', as in ode 244, phr. 20 »He took his residence in this Hao capital«, which in Li: Fang ki (Ts'i school) is quoted 21. In our present ode Mao takes 17 = 18 as a transitive verb: 'to cause to dwell' = 'to place': »They placed it« (sc. the earth in the frames). Very far-fetched. — B. Cheng: 17 (**d'ák*) = 22 (**d'u* / *d'zu* / t'ou): »They threw it« (in the frames). Cheng's reason seems to be the slight sound similarity (**d'*) between the two words, which is quite unconvincing. — C. Han (ap. Shīwen) says 17 = 23 'to fill in', and Ma Juei-ch'en and others explain thus: 17 is a short-form for 24, in Kuang ya defined as = 25 'to block, to stop up': »They filled it in« (in the frames). That would be quite good if 24 were a word attested through texts. But unfortunately it is not. The Chinese philologists think that 24 (**d'ák*) (or 26 **d'ák*, Shuowen = 27 'to shut, to close') was a variant of 28 (**d'o* / *d'uo* / tu) 'to shut, to block', which, of course, is phonetically excluded. Since we must not operate with dictionary words like 24, 26 which never occur in texts, C is unacceptable. — D. Another interpr. 17 **d'ák* / *d'ák* / to has its ordinary meaning 'to measure', thus: »(In long rows they collected [the earth]), in great crowds they measured it out«. — We should study here:

Ode 241. Wei pi sī kuo yüan kiu yüan to 29. A. Mao: kiu 30 = 31, and 17 = 18; sī kuo = 32 'the states of the four quarters'. Mao's gloss on 17 has been thus expounded by K'ung: »(33 these two kingdoms [of Hia and Yin] had failed in their government), 29 now the states of the four quarters schemed and (dwelt =) stayed« (with those bad rulers). B. Ma Juei-ch'en takes Shang-ti in the preceding lines as subject and believes that by his 18 Mao meant 34 'to place, to put in the proper place, to estimate, to judge': 29 »Throughout those states of the four quarters he (God) investi-

昏正而裁²¹直²³自反而不繇²⁴不義不直之心、²⁵古者冠綰縫²⁶今也衡縫²⁷從²⁸揅²⁹
之陳陳³⁰揅³¹藁³²陳番揭³³揭³⁴輦³⁵番³⁶揭³⁷得而番揭³⁸舉土之器³⁹揅⁴⁰揅⁴¹
⁴²共工方鳩僝功⁴³聚⁴⁴共工旁述羣功⁴⁵述⁴⁶欲聚⁴⁷以鳩其民⁴⁸安集⁴⁹求⁵⁰陳⁵¹
泉⁵²阿⁵³隔⁵⁴仍仍⁵⁵晉仍無道⁵⁶數⁵⁷仍舊貫⁵⁸度之藁藁⁵⁹度⁶⁰居⁶¹宅⁶²宅是鎬
京⁶³度是鎬京⁶⁴投⁶⁵填⁶⁶填⁶⁷壑⁶⁸廩⁶⁹閉⁷⁰杜⁷¹維彼四國爰究爰度⁷²究⁷³謀⁷⁴

gated, he (placed =) estimated». — C. Cheng: *er kuo* refers to the king of Yin and his foremost henchman, the prince of Ch'ung; *si kuo* refers to the four wicked states of Mi, Yüan, Ts'u and Kung, and 17 has its common meaning 'to measure' = 31 'to plan', thus synon. w. 30: 29 »Now these four states schemed and planned». — D. Chu follows Cheng as to 17 = 31, but for the rest, just as later on Ma Juei-ch'en, refers the line to God: »Throughout the states of the four quarters he (God) investigated and (measured =) estimated». — Of these four interpr. D, which takes 17 in its ordinary and common sense, is certainly preferable. *Si kuo* = 'the states of the four quarters' is common (odes 152, 153, 157, 193, 194 etc.).

Ode 241. To (tsê) k'i sien yüan 35. A. Cheng: 17 = 31 (Chu = 36): »He investigated the freshly bright plain». — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: 17 = 19, as in ode 244, phr. 21 above: »He (the king) dwelt in the freshly bright plain». The par. is conclusive.

For sien 37 see gl. 838.

796. Siao lü p'ing p'ing 38.

A. Mao expounds: 39. Lü 40 ordinarily means 'repeatedly, frequently', and K'ung thinks that Mao's paraphrase means: 39 »The sound of the scraping of the walls and the reiterations of the hammering (came) *b'iang-b'iang*», thus: 38 »They scraped and they (repeated =) hammered, (it sounded) *b'iang-b'iang*». Tuan Yü-ts'ai, on the contrary, believes that Mao took lü 40 as equal to 41 (the two char. are interchangeable) in its sense of 'hollow, empty' (for ex. of this see our gl. 557), thus: 38 »They scraped and they lü (hollowed =) hammered full the hollows, (it sounded) 42 solid». — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: 40 is equal to 41, which again is equal to 43 'hunchback' (common) and this is cognate to 41, 44 'a mound' (Tso), the fundamental sense of all being simply 'a protuberance, a swelling', thus: 38 »They scraped the lumps, swellings (so as to make the walls) solid». — C. Chu takes 40 in its ordinary sense of 'to repeat': »They scraped and (repeated, revised =) went over them again (so that they sounded) solid». — D. Waley thinks that 40 stands for 45: »They pared and chiselled them with a final ping-ping». 45 means 'to carve, to engrave' and would hardly be used for the smoothing of an earthen wall. — C, which takes the lü 40 of the text as it stands, without any loan char. speculations, is certainly best, all the more since the context clearly shows that the line describes (»they scraped») the finishing off of the already raised walls; but the idea of »sound» is quite unwarranted: as to p'ing p'ing B is quite sufficient and plausible. Thus: »They scraped and (repeated =) went over them again (so that they became) solid». For lü 40 cf. ode 198, phr. 46 »The lord repeatedly makes covenants»; Tso: Chang 16, phr. 47 »His driver repeatedly looks round». P'ing 48 is = 'solid' in the sense of 'full, without cavities'. Kuang ya says 49 (48 and 49 are interchangeable) = 50. Cf. Ch'u: Li sao 51, on which the comm. 49 = 50: »Sighing from my full (obstructed, pent up) heart, I will follow this course». The same phr. recurs wr. 52 in Ch'u: Kiu chang. Ch'u: Li sao 53 »Even though full, they never tire of seeking more» (Wang Yi: 49 = 50). Tso: Chao 5, phr. 54 »in full wrath» (Tu Yü: 49 = 55 'ample'). (Kuang ya, probably referring to our ode, says 56 = 57, for which there is no support at all.)

797. Kao ku fu sheng 58.

A. Cheng: »The big and small drums could not (vanquish them =) stop them». The people worked so eagerly that even the drum signals for rest could not make them cease. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en and Ch'en Huan: fu sheng 59 = 60 (Ch'en) »were not up to their task», 61 (Ma) »were not able to beat, could not keep up the beating», thus: »The (rhythm-giving) drums (were not equal to their task =) could not keep pace». Fu sheng 59 in this sense is common, e. g. Li: Tsi yi: »(They are very respectful, very assiduous) 62 as if they were not equal to their task». — C. Legge: »So that the drums did not overpower [the noise of the builders]». — B is well supported.

798. Ying men tsiang tsiang 63.

A. Mao: tsiang 64 (*tsiang) = 65 'majestic and correct'. This is merely a flowery way of expressing a common meaning of tsiang 'great', thus: »The principal gate was grand» (see gl. 15). — B. Ts'i (ap. Pan Ku: Si tu fu) reads 66. T'ang yün defines 67 (*ts'iang / ts'iang / ts'iang) as = 'a mountain being high', thus: »The principal gate was mountain-high». No pre-Han text par. — C. Lu (ap. an essay by Chang Heng) reads 68. This 69 (*ts'iang / ts'iang / ts'iang) means 'to tinkle'; was the Lu meaning: »The principal gate clanged»? — The preceding line had: »The outer gate was high», and parallelism excludes C. Of A and B, the former is better supported.

799. Si pu tien küe yün, yi pu yün küe wen (70).

A. Cheng: »And so he did not extinguish his hatred (against bad people), but also he did not (throw down =) reject their (sc. the neighbour kingdoms') friendly inquiries». Very scholastic. — B. Chao K'i in comm. on Meng 7, hia, where this line is quoted, refers it to the K'un-yi barbarians, mentioned later in the st., and takes 71 as = 72 (common), thus: »And so, though he could not (extinguish:) make an end to their (the barbarians') hatred, yet he did not (throw down =) lose his good fame». This connection with the following K'un-yi is unreasonable, for there are two lines in between which describe how he cleared ground and made roads. — C. Yü Sing-wu: yün 73 is a loan char. for 74 in the sense of 75 'smoke', and Waley follows this: »They did not abate their sacrifices, did not let fall their high renown». This is ingenious but after all difficult to accept. Shuowen says 74 (*iwen / iwen / yün) = 75 a 'smoke caused by (obstruction =) smothering', thus taking 74 *iwen as etym. id. with 76 *iwen 'blocked up, stopped', cognate to 77 *iwat / iwat / yü, same meaning, see gl. 323 (in ode 258, for Mao's 78 Shuowen has the var. 74 and Han the var. 77). 74 thus fundamentally means 'a smothering' and we could imagine that it in this way may have meant also the smoke from a smothered fire, which is not allowed to flame. In Han shu: Su wu chuan we find: 79 »He placed [the wounded man] on a smothered fire» (to make him warm and revive him). Here the phrase unambiguously means 'smothered fire', but we might, of course, translate freely: 'smoking (not flaming) fire'. Again, in Yi: Hi ts'i we find: 80 (var. 81) yün yün, which in Pan Ku: Tien yün is quoted 82. Here the word denotes some kind of 83 »breath», i. e. 'aura, emanation', but it is quite conceivable that etymologically it fundamentally means 'smoke' (hence alt. rad. 84) > 'vapour' > 'aura'. Be this latter as it may, the idea that 74 from 'smothering' came to mean (smothered fire, fire not flaming but only smoking =) 'smoke' cannot be wholly rejected, though it is at most very weakly substantiated. But that this 74 'smothering' = 'smoke' should further mean 'smoke of sacrifice' = 'sacrifice' is a very arbitrary guess without the slightest text support. Moreover, to have the concrete word ('smoke' =) 'sacrifice' in the 1st line to balance the abstract 71 = 72 'fame' in the 2nd goes against the stylistic laws of parallelism in the Shī. — D. Another interpr. Meng quotes the line in a context which shows that already

四方 33 維此二國其政不獲 34 處 35 度其鮮原 36 相 37 鮮 38 削屨馮馮 39 削牆鍛屨之聲
馮馮然 40 屨 41 屨 42 馮 43 屨 44 樓 45 鏤 46 君子屨盟 47 其御屨顧 48 馮 49 馮 50 滿 51 唱馮
心而歷茲 52 馮心 53 馮不厭千求索 54 馮怒 55 盛 56 馮馮 57 衆 58 警鼓弗勝 59 弗勝 60 不
勝任 61 弗勝擊 62 如弗勝 63 應門將將 64 將 65 嚴正 66 應門將將 67 將 68 應門鏘鏘 69 鏘
70 肆不殄厥愠亦不隕厥問 71 問 72 聞 73 愠 74 燬 75 燬 76 燬 77 燬 78 燬 79 燬 80 燬

as early as about 300 B. C. the text had really 73 'anger, wrath' and that this was no loan char. Sī 85 is merely the ordinary particle, leading over to the second line, and the passage connects with the preceding clause: »(He raised the great Earth-altar, from which the great [troops:] armies marched) — 70 unquenchable was their wrath, and unfailing was their fame». The words y ū n 73 and w e n 71 (= 72) are thus the s u b j e c t s of the clauses, not the objects, and they are placed after their predicates, a common construction in the Shī. Cf. ode 305, phr. 86 »Majestic is its fame»; ode 6, phr. 87 »Brilliant are its flowers», etc.

800. Tso y ū p e i y i, h i n g t a o t ' u e i y i 88.

In ode 241 we have a similar line:

Tso y ū s i p e i, s u n g p o s i t ' u e i 89.

Shīwen reads 90 *b'wād / b'uāi / p e i and 91 *t'wād / t'uāi / t' u e i and *d'wād / d'uāi / t u e i (riming with 92 *l'iwad / t's'iwāi / c h ' u e i).

A. Mao has no gloss on 90. The 91 he defines here as = 93 'to form paths', in ode 241 as = 94 'to straighten'. This gives no clear idea of his interpretation. — B. Cheng describes p e i 90 as = 'to grow branches and leaves', i. e. to be luxuriant, and paraphrases so as to show that he took 91 as = 'joyful'; thus: »When the oaks were luxuriant, they marched on the roads joyfully» (he adds: not being bent on warfare!). In ode 241 he says simply: »The trees were luxuriant», apparently disregarding the difficult 91 altogether. For 90 = 'luxuriant' I can find no support. Did Cheng have in mind Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou, shang 95 »They rise high above the crowd»? (rising high = growing vigorously?). — C. Chu: p e i 90 = 96 'rising straight up', and 91 = 97, thus: »The oaks rose straight and tall, and the roads (communicated =) became passable». For 90 he probably thought of the Meng ex. just quoted (95). For 91 it is not clear how he imagined the etymology, cf. F below. — D. Ch'en Huan: 90 is equal to 98 'to trample down' = 'to eliminate'; 91 (*t'wād, *d'wād) is a loan char. for 99 (*dz'iwad / zwi / s u e i) 'road': »The oaks were (trampled =) destroyed, the paths became (real) roads». This is phonetically impossible. — E. Ma Juei-ch'en: Erya says 90 = 100 'to exhaust, destroy'; and t' u e i 91, with Mao's 94, means 'straight-rising', i. e. not obstructing the road by spreading branches. This might be applicable to ode 241, phr. 89: »The oaks were destroyed, the pines and cypresses were straight and tall»; but in our ode 237, phr. 88, this becomes impossible: »The oaks were destroyed, the roads became (bordered by) straight and tall (trees)» (?). — F. Another interpr. 90 and 91 are evidently analogous words, balancing each other. The Erya definition 90 = 100 'to exhaust, destroy', is all very well, but it does not tell how 90 can have that sense. Ho Yi-hang refers first to the use of 90 as = 1 'rapid' in Li: Shao yi (here then 'rapid' = 'violent' = 'violate' = 'destroy', a curious idea), then to the phonetically similar 2 *b'wāt / b'uāt / p o in ode 255, see gl. 945, and then again to 3 (*pwād / puāi / p e i, Shīwen) in ode 255, which Mao defines as = 90 ('to pull out'). In fact, 90 read *b'wat / b'wat / p a means 'to pull out' (common: Meng: Tsin sin, shang 4 'to pull out one hair'), and our 90 *b'wād / b'uād / p e i here is a variation of the same word stem; it refers either to the uprooting of whole trees (to make the forest less dense) or else to the »pulling out» of branches to make the trees less tight and cumbersome to the travellers. Legge happily expresses this by: »The oaks were thinned». For 91 (*t'wād or d'wād) Chu Tsün-sheng suggests that in 89 it serves as loan char. for 5 *d'iad / d'ied / t i (»the pines and cypresses were solitary-growing») and in 88 it is loan char. for 6 *d'ât (»The roads penetrated = communicated = were passable», cf. C above), both evidently impossible. It seems obvious to me that 91 is simply a short-form for 7 *t'wāt / t'uāt / t' o 'to take away, to clear away' (common word) and that the 91 (= 7) *t'wād / t'uāi / t' u e i in our odes is then a variation of this stem in this sense of 'clearing the road' (a stem variation -t: -d is common, e. g. 8 *s'iwat 'to

speak': **śi*wad 'to exhort' etc.). The 9 is then synonymous with the common and quite analogous 10 (this meaning likewise 'to take away, to clear away'). When Waley translates: »The roads were cleared», I suppose he holds this view. The line 88 thus means: »The oaks were (pulled out =) thinned, the roads were cleared»; line 89: »The oaks were thinned, the pines and cypresses were cleared».

801. Kun yi tuei yi 11.

A. Mao: tuei 12 (**d'wád* / *d'uái* / tuei) = 13 (**d'wət* / *d'uət* / t' u and **t'wət* / *t'uət* / t' u) 'to rush forth, brusquely', thus: »The Kun-yi Barbarians rushed» i. e. rushed away. This is a typical Mao style definition by sound similarity. — B. Another school (ap. comm. on Wsüan) reads 14. 13 fails in the rime here, and the reading is probably only a text alteration after Mao's gloss. — C. 12 **d'wád* is probably another variation of the same stem 7 **t'wát*, **t'wád* 'to take away, to clear away' studied in gl. 800 above, and means 'to take oneself away', thus: »The Kun-yi Barbarians (withdrew:) fled». The word is probably cognate also to 15 **t'wəd* / *t'uái* / t' u ei 'to take oneself away, to withdraw'.

802. Yü Juei chī küe ch'eng, Wen wang kuei küe sheng 16.

Mao tells a long story of how the two princes of Yü and Juei had a quarrel about certain fields and appealed to Wen wang for an arbitration. The story is told (with variations) in Shī ki (Chou pen ki), Shang shu ta chuan and several more Han texts, but in no pre-Han sources.

A. Mao (after Erya): chī 17 = 18, and (again after Erya) kuei 19 = 20 'to move'. Ho Yi-hang here rightly points out that since 17 fundamentally means 'real, solid, good faith', Erya's 18 is equal to 21 (the two are interchangeable, see gl. 184) and 17 is the common word for 'good faith, evidence of good faith, a pledge, hostage, to pledge' (Tso *passim*). Thus: »Yü and Juei gave pledges of good faith in their peace-making». Further Cheng expounds Mao's second line: »Wen wang stirred their (good) nature» (22 = 23). When Chu says 17 = 24, this is certainly no improvement. Kuei 19 has various meanings, one of them being 'rapid, alert' (as in ode 114, phr. 25 »The good gentleman is alert»), and this would be an extension of meaning: 'to set in quick motion, to move, to stir'. But this interpr. of the 2nd line is hopelessly artificial and scholastic. — B. Waley: chī 17 is wrong for 26 'to break': »The peoples of Yü and Juei broke faith, and king Wen harried their lives». 17 for 26 is an arbitrary text alteration, and kuei = 'to harry' is strained. — C. Another interpr. As long as we take 22 in the abstract sense of = 'life' or 'innate qualities', the 2nd line becomes impossible. The passage describes the submission of the states of Yü and Juei to the rising power of Wen wang. They capitulated to him, and, as always, this was confirmed by a treaty in which were given pledges of good faith. At such ceremonies on the conclusion of peace there was always a solemn sacrifice, with victim animals. Now 27 **səng* 'sacrificial animal' is etym. id. with 22 **səng* 'to live' and fundamentally means 'a living thing', cf. Lun: Hiang tang 28 »If the prince gave him a living animal, he would keep it alive». So 22 in our ode

烟火 20. 天地網經 81. 氤氲 22. 烟燭 23. 氣 84. 火 25. 肆 56. 赫赫厥聲 87. 灼灼其華 88. 柞械拔矣
行道兌矣 89. 柞械斯拔松柏斯兌 20. 拔 91. 兌 22. 咏 23. 成蹊 94. 易直 25. 拔乎其華 26. 挺拔而
上 97. 通 98. 跋 99. 遂 100. 盡 1. 疾 2. 撥 3. 沛 4. 拔一毛 5. 秋 6. 達 7. 脫 8. 說 9. 行道兌(脫) 10. 道
除 11. 混夷駸矣 12. 駸 13. 突 14. 昆夷突矣 15. 退 16. 虞芮質厥成文王蹶厥生 17. 質 18. 成 19. 蹶
20. 動 21. 誠 22. 生 23. 性 24. 正 25. 良士蹶蹶 26. 折 27. 牲 28. 君賜之生必畜之 29. 歲 30. 俎 31. 梲 32.

means 'living animal' as in Lun, and here more particularly in the sense of 27 'sacrificial animal'; briefly 22 is not simply a short-form for 27, it is the primary graph of which 27 is a specifyingly enlarged form. We have it here referring to the victim animals in the sacrifice of truce. Again 19 **kīwad* / *kīwāi* / *kuei* (Shiwen) is loan char. for the homophonous 29 **kīwad* / *kīwāi* / *kuei* 'sacrificial table'. Li: Ming t'ang wei describes solemn sacrifices in the ancestral temple, during which various offerings, *inter alia* sacrificial animals, were arrayed on two kinds of *tsu* 30 sacrificial tables, called *huan* 31 and *kuei* 29. Here, in this solemn sacrifice on the conclusion of peace, Wen wang used the *kuei* tables. The line thus means: »Yü and Juei gave pledges of good faith in their peace-making; Wen wang placed their victim animals on the sacrificial tables«.

803. Yü yüe yu su fu 32.

In this and three following lines, Mao's text begins with 33; Lu (ap. comm. on Ch'u) reads 34. The yüe 35 and yü 36 are synonymous, both particles: 'then, thereupon'. Thus yü yüe does not, with Legge, Waley and others (including myself in gl. 333), mean: »I say«. A. Mao reads 32: »We thus had adherents in distant parts«. — B. Ts'i (ap. Shang shu ta chuan) reads 37; 38 **šio* and 39 **šio* were synonymous and cognate, see gl. 298.

Yü yüe yu pent sou, see gl. 333.

Ode CCXXXVIII: Yü pu.

Tsitsipi wang, see gl. 263.

804. Tso yu feng chang 40.

Mao says simply: 41 »A half *kuei* is called *chang*«. This has here been understood in two ways. A. Cheng: *chang* 42 = 43 is the libation ladle which has a jade cup and a handle shaped like a *chang*. The *kuei* 44 primarily was the jade insignium (a kind of sceptre) with pointed top (45), the *chang* was »a half *kuei*«, shaped similar to the former but asymmetrical (46), both well known from archaeological finds. But the ancient texts clearly show that *kuei* and *chang* were also terms referring to libation ladles. Cf. Li: Tsi t'ung 47 »The prince holds the *kuei* ladle and makes libation to the representative of the dead; the ceremony master of the temple holds a *chang* ladle and next after makes libation«. Here we have the full forms *kuei-tsan* and *chang-tsan*. But the short-forms *kuei* (= *kuei-tsan*) and *chang* (= *chang-tsan*) are also well attested. Li: Kiao t'ê sheng 48 »One makes libations with *kuei* (ladles) and *chang* (ladles)«. Probably this is also the meaning of *chang* in Shu: Ku ming 49 (thus both Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen). Thus our ode line 40: »To the left and the right they hold *chang* ladles« (for libation). — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: There is no reason for giving *chang* the secondary sense here. *Chang* has its primary sense of 'insignium' (sceptre). In Chouli: Tien juei we find: 50 »By the dentated *chang* insignium one raises the armies and cohorts, one manages the soldiers and guards«. Our ode describes a royal warlike expedition and in the next st. we have: »The king of Chou marches, and the six armies go along with him«. Thus the line means: To the left and the right they hold *chang* insignia«. — B is obviously right.

805. Feng chang ngo ngo 51.

Shiwen records the variants 52 ('slanting') and 53 ('pretty, comely', said of a lady) which are unsuitable in the context and must be loan char. for 54.

A. Mao: ngo 54 (**ngâ* / *ngâ* / ngo) = 55, thus: »Ample and vigorous they hold the *chang* insignia«. No text par. — B. Lu: Erya: Shî hün says 56 = 57 'sacrifice, sacrificial', which probably refers to this ode: »They hold the *chang* in a sacrificial way«. Ch'en Huan expounds this by a theory that 54 (**ngâ*) »had the same ancient sound« as 58 (**ngia* / *ngjiğ* / y i) 'ceremony, ceremonious' and was id. with that word.

We could at most say that *ngâ and *ngia were cognate words. There is, however, no text par. with this meaning. — C. Another school. Kuang ya: 56 = 59 'high', probably referring to this ode. Thus: «They hold the chang insignia high». This is the fundamental sense of the word (hence rad. 60) as proved by text par.: Ch'u: Chao hun 61 «The ice piles itself up very high»; Lie: T'ang wen 62 «Very high, like the T'ai shan».

Ch o p i Y ü n H a n, see gl. 678.

806. Hia putsojen 63.

A. Mao: hia 64 = 65, Cheng expounding: »He is (far from not =) near to stimulating the people«. — **B.** Ch'en Huan: p u 66 being »a particle«, meaning nothing, the line is equal to 67 »Far away he stimulates people«. — **C.** Chu: hia 64 is = 68, which should be ameliorated into 64 *g'd = loan char. for 69 *g'o 'how, *nonne*', see gl. 446. Thus: »Does he not stimulate people«. — **D.** Waley: tso 70 is loan char. for 71 'sacrificial meat', also = 'to confer blessings, to reward', translating: »(Long life to the king of Chou), and a portion for the people«. Even if this eccentric loan speculation were to be accepted, I fail to see how he can reconcile this translation with the wording of the text. — **E.** Another interpr. Hia 64 = 69, as under C. But tso 70 does not mean 'to raise, to rouse, to stir, to stimulate' but is simply equivalent to 72 'to act as, to constitute, to be', thus: »(How should he not be a man =) is he not a man indeed!«. Cf. Tso: Yin 8, phr. 73 »Now for the first time he was minister in Chou»; Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien) 74 »You are the minister of crime»; Shu: Lo kao 75 »to be an enlightened ruler to the people»; Shu: Tsi ts'ai 76 »Being (like) brothers, they come from all quarters»; Lun: Tsi-lu 77 »He cannot be either a wizard or a doctor» (etc., common). — We should examine here:

Ode 262. T s o S h a o k u n g k ' a o 78. A. Mao: k ' a o 79 = 80 'to achieve, complete, fulfil' (as often, see gl. 160), and Cheng adds: t s o 70 = 72, expounding = »He made for (his ancestor) the prince of Shao (an achievement =) an answer which achieved (the king's mandate)«, i. e. a suitable answer to the words of the king, who charged him to be a successor of his ancestor Shao kung. Very scholastic. Ch'en Huan therefore takes it shorter: »He made for Shao kung (an achievement =) a fulfilment« (of the king's grace to the family). — C. Chu supposes that t s o 70 refers to the making of some sacrificial vessel on which the mandate was inscribed: »He made for the prince of Shao a (vessel with) the achievement (inscribed)«. — D. Waley thinks that 79 (*k'ôg / k'âu / k' a o) is a loan char. for 81 *k'wæg / k'wui / k u e i: »He made for the prince of Shao a k u e i vessels«. Phonetically very unlikely. — E. Kiang Ping-chang: t s o 70 = 'to rise, to raise', thus: »He (raised =) manifested Shao kung's achievements«. — F. Another interpr. T s o 70 = 72 in the sense of 'to constitute, to be' (as in phr. 63 and 73—77 above), thus: »He was the achiever of (the deeds) of the prince of Shao«, becoming his successor through the royal mandate.

予曰有疏附 33. 予曰 34. 予事 35. 曰 36. 事 37. 有胥附 38. 疏 39. 胥 40. 左右奉璋 41. 圭曰璋 42. 璋 43. 璋瓚 44. 圭 45. 匚 46. 匚 47. 君執圭瓚裸尸大宗執璋瓚亞裸 48. 灌以圭璋 49. 秉璋以酢 50. 牙璋以起軍旅以治兵守 51. 奉璋峨峨 52. 俄 53. 峨 54. 峨 55. 盜壯 56. 峨峨 57. 祭 58. 儀 59. 高 60. 山 61. 增冰峨峨 62. 峨峨 63. 若泰山 64. 遐不作人 65. 遐 66. 遠 67. 不 68. 遠作人 69. 何 70. 胡 71. 作 72. 胎 73. 為 74. 始作卿士于周 75. 汝作士 76. 作民明辟 77. 作兄弟方來 78. 不可以作巫醫 79. 作召公考 80. 考 81. 成 82. 舊 83. 迨琢其章金玉其相 84. 迨 85. 數琢 86. 數 87. 雕琢 88. 彫琢 89.

807. Tuei chok'ichang, kin yü k'isiang 82.

The char. 83 **tiwər* / *tiwi* / *chuei* 'to pursue' is loan char. for a word **twər* / *tuqi* / *tuei* 'to carve, engrave'; in ode 284 (see below), phr. 84 the char. 85 **twən* / *tuən* / *tun* is similarly loan for this **twər* / *tuqi* / *tuei* 'to carve'. In our ode, Lu (ap. Sün and Shuo yüan) reads 86 and (ap. comm. on Meng) 87, this 88 **tiög* / *tiou* / *tiao* likewise meaning 'to carve'. It is undecidable whether the orig. Shī had **twər* or **tiög*. Cf. also ode 246, gl. 882.

A. Mao: *siang* 89 = 90 'substance', thus: «Carved and chiselled is his (décor =) exterior, of gold and jade is his (substance:) interior». *Siang* has no such sense (for an alleged par. see below, ode 257), and this meaning has been invented by Mao in order to find an antithesis to the *chang* 'décor'. — B. Cheng: *siang* 89 = 91 'to see, to look at', here as a noun, his 'looks, appearance, aspect', thus: «(As if) carved and chiselled is his (décor:) exterior, (as if) of gold and jade is his appearance». — C. Waley: «Chiselled and carved are his emblems, of bronze and jade are they made». *Kin* 92 certainly means 'bronze', but it also means 'gold' (as in Tso: Min 2, equal to the 93 of Yi, Chouli etc.), and here, combined with *yü* 'jade' it is surely a question of the most precious metal. Waley takes *chang* 94 in its concrete sense of 'emblem', as in Shu: Kao Yao mo 95 «the five habiliments, the five emblems». He does not interpret the *siang* 89. — The *chang* = 'emblem' of C is tempting because of its concretism. But we have to consider the usage in the Shī, its stock of metaphors. [In ode 55 we had: «Elegant is the lord, he is as if cut, as if filed, as if chiselled, as if polished», a simile that is very popular in the archaic literature (Lun, Meng etc.). This ode 55 gives us an exact counterpart to our metaphor here, which strongly confirms B. — We should compare:

Ode 284. Tuei chok'ili 96. Mao has no gloss on *li*.

A. Cheng paraphrases so as to show that he took 97 **gliö* / *liwo* / *li* (etym. same w. as 98, same sound) in its common sense of 'troop': «(As if) carved and chiselled (i. e. refined) are his retainers». — B. Waley: 97 **gliö* is loan char. for 99 **lo* / *luo* / *lu* 'spear-shaft', thus: «Carved and chiselled are his spear-shafts». He adduces in support a variant 97 ~ 100 in Yili. But this loan theory is very unconvincing.

Ode 257. K'ao shen k'isiang 1. A. Mao: 89 = 90: «He examines and is careful about the inner qualities». This expl. is made on the analogy of Mao's interpr. of phr. 82 above. — B. Cheng: 89 = 2: «He examines and is careful about his assistants» (selects good ministers). — The line is a counterpart and contrast to 3 «He only (makes =) considers himself good» in the next line, which clearly confirms B.

808. Mien mien wo wang 4.

A. Mao reads thus (5 **mian* / *mian* / *mien*): «Vigorous is our king». — B. Lu (ap. Sün) reads 6 (**müwər* / *mjuwei* / *wei*), same meaning. Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī. Cf. gl. 752.

Ode CCXXXIX: Han lu.

Sê pi yü tsan, see gl. 153.

809. Huang liu tsai chung 7.

A. Mao says: 8. There has been much discussion how Mao's comm. should be punctuated. Ch'en Huan thinks: 9 «Huang (yellow) means 'gold'; it is that by which it is ornated; liu (the flow) means 'the aromatic wine'». Thus: 7 «The gold and the aromatic wine are in the middle (of the ladle)». This is very far-fetched. — B. Cheng takes *huang liu* together and = 'the aromatic wine', but, trying to follow Mao, says that the spoon of the ladle was of gold, and *huang liu* would then mean «the (golden =) gold-reflecting flow». — C. K'ung and Shīwen think that *huang* 'yellow' refers to the plant used for aromatizing the wine. It is called *yü* 10 in the Chouli, and

there, in Cheng Chung's comm., it is identified with a plant called *li* (»the y ü gold») 'Yellow-root' (Bretschneider), i. e. a kind of Cucurma, the roots of which are also used for dyeing yellow. Shiwen says that this plant was pounded and its boiled juice mixed with the wine. Thus: »The yellow-root(-mixed) liquid is within». — D. Legge, Couvreur and Waley disregard all these speculations and simply take *h u a n g* 'yellow' to refer to the liquid itself: »The yellow liquid is within». This is simple and plausible, and, besides, it does not exclude the possibility of the C reason for the wine's yellow colour.

Ode CCXL: Si chai.

Si chai T'ai Jen, see gl. 700.

810. Huei yü tsung kung 12.

A. Mao: *tsung kung* 13 = 14 'the spirits of the clan'. *Tsung* 15 means both 'clan temple, ancestral temple' and 'clan', and Mao means the *kung* 16 princes of the clan who were worshipped in the clan temple thus: »He was obedient to the (dead) princes of the clan» (i. e. his ancestors). Mao was thus understood by Wang Su and K'ung. Ch'en Huan (basing himself on a passage in Kyü: Tsin yü) thinks that Mao meant by *tsung shen* 14 »all the august spirits» generally. But that is really unwarranted, since we know that ever since Yin time the kings took counsel by divination from their own direct ancestors and had to follow their directions. Obviously it is this custom that is here alluded to. — B. Cheng: *tsung kung* 13 = 17, thus: »He was obedient to the great ministers (his advisers)». He then takes *tsung* 15 in its secondary meaning of 18 'august' and says that his ministers were made princes, hence *tsung kung* means 'the august princes'. Very forced. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en takes an intermediate position: 15 (**tsóng*) being phonetically similar to 18 (**tswán*) and cognate to 19 (**dz'ióng*) = 'high', means 'august', with Cheng, but *kung* refers to the ancestors: »He was obedient to the august princes (his ancestors)». — No reason to abandon A.

811. Shen wang shí t'ung 20.

A. Mao (after Erya): *t'ung* 21 (**t'ung*, even tone) = 補 (same sound), thus: »Of the spirits, none were (pained, grieved =) dissatisfied with him». (23 = 24 is a direct object: 'him', placed before the verb 'to be dissatisfied with' because of the preceding negation). Cf. Shu: P'an Keng 25 »You will feel its pain». — B. Another school (ap. Shuowen) reads 26, defining 27 (**t'ung*) as = 28 'great'. The Ts'ing scholars mostly say that Shuowen, though quoting the ode line directly under the definition 'great', simply means that 27 also could be used as loan char. for 21, but such is not at all the practice of Shuowen. Hsü Shen surely thought that 27 here has the meaning of 'great' (so in fact Ch'en K'iao-tung), and probably he meant: »Of the spirits, none found him (too) great», i. e. overbearing. But 27 = 'great' is not attested in other texts. The nearest approach is Chuang: Keng Sang Ch'u 29, where Shiwen says that Tsi-lin defined 27 (var. 30) as = 28. Yet the meaning of 27 in the Chuang passage as elsewhere (e. g. in Shu) is 'simple, sincere, stupid', and if Hsü really had a Shí text reading 26, it should mean: »Of the spirits, none found him stupid». — Lu (ap. Ts'ai Yung) reads like Mao: 20, and A is much better supported by par. than B.

鵬 25. 相 20. 質 21. 視 22. 金 23. 黃金 24. 章 25. 五服五章 26. 敷琢其旅 27. 旅 28. 侶 29. 簠 30. 簠 1.

考攷其相 2. 助 3. 自獨俾臧 4. 勉勉我王 5. 勉 6. 豐豐我王 7. 黃流在中 8. 黃金所以能
流也 9. 黃金所以飾流也 10. 鬱 11. 鬱金 12. 惠于宗公 13. 宗公 14. 宗神 15. 宗 16. 公 17. 大
臣 18. 尊 19. 崇 20. 神罔時恂 21. 恂 22. 通 23. 時 24. 是 25. 乃 26. 奉其恂 27. 神罔時恂 28. 恂 29. 能

812. Hing yü kua ts'i 31.

Mao: kua ts'i 32 = 33 'first-rank wife, consort'. This is parallel to the common phr. kua jen 34 by which a ruler often designated himself. This has been variously explained. The commonly accepted interpr. is that of Cheng in comm. on Li: Fang ki: 35 'the man of little virtue', then a self-deprecating expression. Ma Juei-ch'en, on the contrary, proposes that since Shuowen says that 34 is made of 36 and 37 'big head', kua must mean 'great': »the great man» and »the great wife». But Ch'en Huan rightly points out that kua, regularly meaning 'few, rare', is here equal to 38 'single-standing, alone', the one who is single in his category, who has no equals; hence, with Mao, kua ts'i = 33 »the single-standing wife, the one wife», the consort being only one, as against the several secondary wives; and kua jen »the single-standing man, the one man», the ruler, alone in his standing, as against the many subjects. This is definitely confirmed by the analogous expression yi jen 39 »the one man» = the ruler: ode 260, phr. 40 »serving the One man (the king)»; Shu: T'ang shi 41 »May you assist me, the One man», etc.

813. Yi yü yü kia pang 42.

A. Mao: 43 = 44 'to meet, to go out to meet', thus: (He was a model to his consort, it extended to his brothers), and so it (went out to meet, came forward to =) reached to the whole family and the state». For 43 *ngâ / nga / ya = 45 'to go out to meet', see gl. 37. — B. Cheng: 43 read *ngio / ngiwo / yü has its ordinary meaning of 46 'to steer, to govern', thus: »And so he governed in his family and state». — C. Chao K'i in comm. on Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang, where our ode is quoted: 43 = 47 'to present, to serve up', thus: »And so he served up (happiness) to the family and state». Yü 43 = 'to attend on, to serve (food) to' is common. — A and C are quite far-fetched; B which takes 43 in its fundamental and commonest reading and sense is preferable.

814. Pu (= p'ei) hien yilin, wu yi yi pao 48.

For wu yi 49 'untiring', see gl. 9.

A. Mao paraphrases briefly: 50 »With his illustriousness he looked down upon them, he protected and tranquillized (them) untiringly». For 51 = p'ei hien 52 'grandly illustrious' (common), see gl. 410. Mao takes lin 53 in its common sense of 'to look down upon', as in ode 236, phr. 54 »God on High looks down upon you» (cf. Tso: Ting 3: »the prince was on the terrace, 55 he looked down upon the court-yard»). In such contexts there is always the idea of the superior looking down with benevolence and care upon the inferior, taking care of him, guiding him. Cf. Shu: Ku ming 56 »to look down upon and govern the state of Chou»; Li: Chung yung 57 »He (the sage) is capable of having supervision» (common). To this lin corresponds in the second line pao 58 'to protect', which is a very logical sequence. Thus: »Grandly illustrious, he looked down with care; never weary, he gave protection». With this interpr. the word yi 59 is a mere filling-out particle, as often (ode 14, phr. 60, ode 26, phr. 61, ode 39, phr. 62, ode 167, phr. 63, etc., very common), and it has no adversative force ('and yet'). — B. Cheng takes 64 in 51 as the ordinary negation p u 'not', and reads 65 s h ê 'to shoot'; he says pao 58 = 66: 'to be protected' = 'to be safe, rest in tranquillity'. He forces the line into meaning: »Though not (outwardly) illustrious, he 59 yet 53 looked (i. e. observed the proper rites); though not a (good) shot, he yet was (protected =) securely settled». But this is nonsense. — C. Chu follows Cheng as to p u 64, but construes quite differently: »(Even) when (not conspicuous =) unseen, he yet was (as if) (53 approached =) in the presence of others, even though untiring (in his zeal), he yet carefully preserved (the rules)», he was never satisfied with his own exertions. This is nearly as bad as B. — D. Ma Juei-ch'en: p u 64 and w u 67 are »empty particles» and can be skipped, and 68 (*d'îäg, *d'îäk) is cognate to 69 (*ziäg) and 70 (*dzîäk) and means 'darkness'. Thus the line is

equal to 71: »(Conspicuously =) openly he looked down with care, (in darkness =) covertly he gave protection». This is even worse, if possible, than B and C. — It is refreshing to revert from the extravagances of B—D to the simple and plausible interpr. A. 815. *Si jung tsi pu tien* 72.

A. Mao takes *jung* 73 = 74 'great' and *tsi* 75 in its fundamental sense of 'sickness', thus: »And so the great (sicknesses:) epidemics, he did not exterminate them» (they ceased of themselves!). This being obviously unreasonable, Ma Juei-ch'en says that *pu tien* 76 is simply equal to *tien* 77 (*pu* being an »empty particle»): The great sicknesses were exterminated» (we should then, as usual, have to take *pu tien* rather as an oratorical question: »The great sicknesses, were they not exterminated»). Much better, if *tsi* 75 really refers to »sickness», is to take *tien* 77 as a transitive verb, with Waley: »The great epidemics (or, with Waley: the *jung* wars and *tsi* epidemics) did not destroy». — B. Chu, who realizes that the sudden introduction of »epidemics» is unreasonable, takes *jung tsi* in a more figurative sense: »the great calamities» which befell Wen wang: his captivity, the onslaught of Kun-yi and Hien-yün Barbarians, and he takes this line as a concessive clause: »and so, (although) his great calamities were not quenched, (his brilliance and greatness had no flaw)». — C. Another interpr. In this eulogy of the great virtues of the king, it is unreasonable suddenly to jump over to the theme of epidemics (vanquished through his good influence), reverting again in the last two lines to the fine qualities of the king. Our line refers to them as well, just as the remainder of the stanza, and *pu tien* 76 has quite the same value as in ode 237 (where the line likewise begins with *si* 78): 79 »Unquenchable was their wrath» (see gl. 799). To the »wrath» there corresponds our *tsi* 75 here, and it refers to some mental quality of the king. *Tsi* 75 is common in the sense of 'swift, active, energetic', and often in a laudatory sense, synon. with *min* 80 'quick, smart': Tso: Siang 11, phr. 81 »If Tsin is eager (energetic), Ch'u will avoid it»; Kyü: Ts'i yü 82 »To plough deeply and to weed actively, energetically»; Sün: Jung ju 83 »He exerts his forces»; Sün: Ch'en tao 84 »To serve a man and not obey him is to be not-eager (not zealous, not energetic)». Erya therefore says *tsi* 75 = 84 a 'vigorous'. Cf. also ode 197, phr. 85 »There is no word (of mine) that is not urgent». It seems evident to me that this is the sense in our ode: »His great (activity:) energy was unquenchable, (his brilliance and greatness had no flaw)».

Lie kia pu hia, see gl. 758.

816. *Pu wen yi shi, pu kien yi ju* 86.

A. Cheng: *shi* 87 = 88 (common), thus: »Even such as were not (heard of =) renowned he used (for office), even such as could not remonstrate he introduced (into office)». — B. Chu: *shi* 87 = 89 'rule' (common): »Without hearing (anything beforehand) he followed the rules; without being remonstrated with, he (entered =) advanced

伺乎 30 伺 31 刑于寡妻 32 寡妻 33 適妻 34 寡人 35 寡德之人 36 以 37 頒 38 特 39 一人 40 以
事一人 41 尚輔于一人 42 以御于家邦 43 御 44 迎 45 迓 46 治 47 享 48 不顯亦臨無射亦保
49 無射 50 以顯臨之保安無射也 51 不顯 52 丕顯 53 臨 54 上帝臨女 55 臨廷 56 臨君周邦
57 足以有臨 58 保 59 亦 60 亦既見之 61 亦汎其流 62 亦流于淇 63 歲亦莫止 64 不 65 射 66
居 67 無 68 射 69 夜 70 夕 71 顯亦臨射夜亦保 72 肆戎疾不殄 73 戎 74 大 75 疾 76 不殄 77 殄
78 肆 79 肆不殄厥愬 80 敏 81 醫疾楚將辟 82 深耕而疾耰之 83 疲力 84 事人而不順不疾
疾者也 85 壯 86 無言不疾 87 不聞亦式不諫亦入 88 式 89 用 89 法 90 不 91 入 92 納 93 諫而

(in what was good)». — C. Wang Yin-chī and followers: p u 90 is an empty »particle»: »What he heard, he used; what was remonstrated he (introduced =) accepted». I have often had occasion earlier to combat the theory of the p u as a »particle». But Wang's idea that j u 91 (= 92) 'to introduce' means 'to accept', sc. a good counsel, is borne out by the good par. he adduces: Tso: Sūan 2, phr. 93 »If you remonstrate and it is not accepted, nobody can follow it up». Since our two ode lines should be analogous, Cheng is certainly right in assuming that sh ī 87 means 'to use, make use of' (balancing j u 'to accept'); thus: »Even (what he did not hear:) what was not told him directly he made use of; even what was not told him in remonstrance he accepted», i. e. he was so willing to pick up good ideas from others.

817. Sī ch'eng jen yu tē, siao tsī yu tsao 94.

A. Mao: tsao 95 = 96 'to act, to do' (common), thus: »And so grown-up men (Cheng: i. e. dignitaries and ministers) had virtue, and young boys had achievements» (i. e. through his good influence). — B. Here again it is not at all a question of other people influenced by the king, but, as in the whole ode, exclusively of the qualities of the king himself: »As a grown-up man he had virtue, (already) as a young boy he was trained and perfected». This is logically followed up by: »The men of old were untiring» — so he had worked all his life, from boyhood, to reach perfection. That tsao 95 has this sense here (Cheng paraphrases it by 97) is confirmed by a par. in Li: Wang chī, where it is precisely a question of the education of the noble youths: »The Master of Music honoured the four arts and established the four instructions; basing himself on the Odes, Documents, Rites and Music of the former kings, 98 he therein trained and perfected the noblemen» (the text then enumerates the youths who were so trained: the king's sons, the eldest sons of the feudal princes etc.; they all »according to their age entered the school»). Cheng here likewise says tsao 95 = 99. Tsao fundamentally means 'to create, to make, to form', and 'to make, to form a nobleman' is to perfect him in the polite arts.

818. Ku chī jen wu yi 100.

A. Mao reads thus, but connects the yi 1 'weary' with the following 2, thus: »The men of old never became weary of the famous and fine noblemen». — B. Wu yi is id. with the 3 of st. 3, and like that refers to Wen wang's untiring zeal. It connects with the preceding: »The men of old were untiring». — C. Cheng takes 1 to stand for 4: »The men of old did not choose» sc. their words or actions: they behaved naturally and by their noble example »transformed» their subjects. Very scholastic.

Ode CCXLI: Huang yi.

819. K'iu min chī mo 5.

A. Mao: mo 6 = 7 'to settle, to tranquillize' (this after Erya: 8 = 7). 6 is then a short-form for 8 'silent, still, quiet' (common: Ch'u, Lü etc.). The same abbreviation of 8 into 6 in Chuang: Ta tsung shī. In a gloss on st. 4 of our ode, Shīwen says that the Han school likewise defined 6 by 7. Thus: »He (sc. God) sought tranquillity for the people». Cf. ode 209, phr. 9 »The wives are reverently quiet» (see gl. 662). — B. Lu (ap. Ts'ien fu lun) and Ts'i (ap. Han shu as quoted in comm. on Wsūan) reads 10 (as in ode 257, phr. 11 »Suffering is this lower people», see gl. 638), expounded in Ts'ien fu lun: »He (God) sought the suffering of the people», i. e. wanted to make the people suffer because of the misrule of the Yin. This is very strained, and if the text with 10 was that of the orig. Shī, it would be better, with Waley, to interpret: »He (sought =) examined the ills of the people». — In ode 254 we have this same phr. min chī mo 12 in a context where it clearly has the meaning of A above: 13 »(The kindness of the words is the tranquillity of the people =) if your words are (pleasant:) kind, the people will be tranquillized» (Mao: 6 = 7). It is far more natural to accept the same phr. 12 in both

odes (which are analogous, both speaking of Heaven's actions towards the people), than to accept 10 »the suffering of the people» here in ode 241 and 12 »the tranquillity of the people» in ode 254.

Yüan kiu yüan to, see gl. 794.

820. Shang ti k' i (ch i) ch i 14.

A. Mao: 15 (Shiwen *g'ier / g'ji / k' i) = 16 (Shiwen under ode 285 says the Han school had the same definition), thus: »God on High hated them». This is a conjectural meaning, concluded from the analogy of the 17 in the following line. The Ts'ing scholars think that 15 is a short-form for 18 (T'ang yün *g'ier / g'ji / k' i), Kuang ya = 19 'to be angry', but 18 is a dictionary word, known from no text, and it does not even exist in Erya or Shuowen. Thus this interpr. lacks every support. — B. Cheng: k' i 15 = 20 'old' (the fundamental meaning of the char.), interpreting: »God on High (let them become old =) maintained them for a long time». K'ung, realizing the improbability of this, turns it differently: »God on High found them (too) old», i. e. found that they had outlived themselves. Just as bad. — C. Chu admits that he does not understand the phrase, but tentatively proposes 15 = 21 (see E below), and then he alters the first word of the next line 22 into 23, explaining: »(If) God could 15 bring forward (someone suitable), he would augment his dominion»(!). — D. Waley: 15 (*g'ier) is loan char. for 24 (*kiar / kiei / k i) 'to examine', which is similar in sound and has the same phonetic (25): »God on High examined them». This is tempting. But a par. in another ode argues for keeping the 15 of the text, see E next. — E. 15 is well known as loan char. for a word *iär / tsi / ch i (rising tone) 'to bring about, to effectuate, to carry into effect, to settle, to establish, to regulate'. It is then often (Erya etc.) defined by 21 'to bring about, to effect, to carry into effect'; yet it is not loan char. for this word 21 (*iär / i / ch i, falling tone) with which it is only cognate, but it is identical (as already pointed out in the Tsi yün, foll. by Chu Tsün-sheng) with 26 *iär / tsi / ch i (rising tone), which has this very sense of 'to bring about, to effectuate, to carry into effect, to settle'. It is then often synonymous with 27 'to settle, to establish, to regulate'. The primary graph 26 occurs, for instance, in Shu: Yü kung 28 »The Chen marsh was (settled:) regulated» (Shi ki paraphrases 26 by 27); ibid. 29 »When, in T'an-huai, he had (effected:) established his merits» (Shiki paraphrases 30); ibid. 31 »Tung-yüan was (settled:) regulated»; Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien) 31 a »Your words are brought into effect and can have results» (Ma Jung: 26 = 27); Shu: Ta kao 32 »When he has (effected:) settled the plan» (of the building) (Erya 33: ch i and ting mean 'to settle'); Tso: Chao 13, phr. 34 »By a covenant one (effectuates:) establishes good faith»; Tso: Huan 17, phr. 35 »The astronomer has the position of a high minister and (settles:) regulates the days» (here = 27); Tso: Chao 1, phr. 36 »One settles the emoluments according to virtue». Now we have 15 (*iär, rising tone) as loan char. for this 26 e. g. in Kyü: Tsin yü 37 »He

不入則 莫之繼也 24 肆成人有德小子有造 25 造 26 為 27 造成 28 以造士 29 成 30 古之人
無數 1 數 2 譽聖斯士 3 無射 4 擇 5 求民之莫 6 莫 7 定 8 嘆 9 君夫莫莫 10 求民之
瘼 11 瘼此下民 12 民之莫 13 辭之懌矣民之莫矣 14 上帝蕃之 15 蕃 16 惡 17 憎 18 譖 19 怒
20 老 21 致 22 惜其式郭 23 增 24 稽 25 旨 26 底(底) 27 定 28 震澤底(底)定 29 覃懷底(底)績 30 致
功 31 東原底(底)平 32 乃言底(底)可績 33 既底(底)法 34 底定止也 35 盟以底信 36 日宮居卿
以底日 37 底祿以德 38 蕃其股肱 39 蕃昧也 40 蕃定爾功 41 蕃 42 致 43 蕃定 44 底定 45 功

has put to effect his legs and arms» (Wei Chao: 15 = 21); Tso: Sün 12, phr. 38 »He settled the (dark =) stupid ones» (Tu Yü same gloss); but above all we have the important:

Ode 285. *Chī ting er kung* 39.

A. Mao: 40 (**t̃iər* / *t̃si* / *chī*, rising tone, Shīwen) = 41: »You have (brought into effect and settled =) established your merits». — B. Cheng (reading *k'i*): »In your high age you have established your merits». — It is quite obvious here that Mao is right: The 42 'to settle, to establish' is exactly the same as the 43 in Shu: Yü kung phr. 28. And the ode phrase, with the synonym-compound 42 »You have established your 44 merits» corresponds exactly to the briefer 29 »he had established his merits» in Shu: Yü kung.

We now revert to our ode 241, phr. 45. In the entire Shī the word 46 occurs thrice: once read *k'i* 'old' (ode 300); a second time (ode 285 above, phr. 39) indubitably as loan char. for 26 'to bring into effect, to settle' (= 27); it stands to reason that it has this same function in our ode 241. The preceding line was: »Throughout the states of the four quarters he (God) investigated and estimated»; then follows 45 God on High settled it (brought it to a settlement), the line being equal to a 47. It is true that Shīwen had the tradition that 46 should be read **g'ier* / *g'ji* / *k'i* here. But Lu (ap. Ts'ien fu lun) reads 48, and this 49 (**t̃iər* / *t̃si* / *chī*, rising tone) 'finger, to point', which makes no sense, is evidently a loan char. for 46: but this Lu version at the same time reveals an ancient tradition that the word (contrary to Shīwen) should be read **t̃iər* / *t̃si* / *chī*, rising tone, i. e. identical with 26.

821. *Tso chī, p'ing chī* 50.

Mao and Cheng have no gloss on *tso*. A. K'ung: *tso* 51 = 52: »They set to work at them, they removed them». — B. Chu: *tso* 51, often meaning 'to rise', is here causative: »They (raised them =) pulled them up, they removed them». — C. Wang Yin-chī: 51 is loan char. for 53. In ode 290 we have: 54, on which Mao: 55 'to take away trees is called *tsê* 53 (»They cleared away the grass and bushes»). Chouli: Tsê shī 56 »The Tsê-shī has for duty to (attack, go to work on:) do away with herbs and trees, woods and wooded foothills». 53 read **tsāk* / *tsāk* / *tso* is a kind of oak (common), but in the sense of 'to clear woods' Shīwen reads it **tsāk* / *tspk* / *tsê*. Thus: »They cleared them away, they removed them». Ma Juei-ch'en tries to support this further by propounding that 53 (**tsāk*) is cognate to 57 **dz'a* / *dz'a* / *ch'a* 'to cut trees' (Kyü), which is unlikely. — The par. in ode 290 corroborates C. — We compare:

Ode 270. *Pi tso yi* 58. A. Cheng: »Those (sc. the people) constructed (houses and temples)». — B. Waley: »He felled the trees» (51 for 53). In ode 237 and 241 the clearing of the woods and the settling of the Chou house in the new place, K'i, is fully described, the first ruler there being Ku kung Tan fu, alias T'ai wang. Here in ode 270 it is said: 59 »T'ai wang found it grand; it was he who felled the trees». The two odes obviously refer to the same legend that T'ai wang was the first clearer of the woods in K'i. This confirms B.

822. *K'i tsī k'i yi* 60.

A. Mao: 61 »When a tree stands and is dead, it is called *tsī*, when it dies by itself, it is *yi*». This is based on Erya, but it misses the distinction made in the second line, made by Erya: 62 (63, with Ho Yi-hang, is = 64 'to stretch out', as a fallen tree): »When a tree dies by itself or (stretches out =) lies prone: the standing dead one is *tsī*, the covering one is *yi*». This is an attempt at etymology for the second word: 65 **iər* / *iei* / *yi* regularly means 'to screen, to cover' (Kyü etc.), and so here it would mean an 'earth-covering' i. e. fallen tree. Thus: 60 »The standing dead trees, the fallen dead trees». For *tsī* 66 (*tsjəg* / *t̃si* / *tsī*), variant for 67, cf. Sün: Fei siang 68 »The shape of Chou

kung was such: his body was like a broken-off dead tree». — B. Han (ap. Shiwen) reads 69, defining 66 as = 70 'turned-over herbs (grass)', and yi 71 as = 'to fall down'. Thus: 60 »(They cleared away and removed) the turned-over herbs, the fallen (trees)». The fundamental sense of the char. 66 is 'recently broken field' (ex. in ode 178), and Han took it in this sense: when a field is just broken, the grass is turned over by the plough. Yi 71 (·ied / ·iei / yi) 'to kill, to die' is common, and a »dead» tree ordinarily falls. — As to ts i 66, A is certainly best (with a good text par., 68), since the whole following passage describes various trees that were cleared away; but 65 *·iar fails in the rime. The rime word is 72 *liad / liäi / li, and though 71 *·ied : *liad is faulty, it is at least acceptable as a make-shift rime. But 65 *·iar : *liad is quite impossible. So we read the text with B 69, but we translate with A: »(They cleared away and removed) the standing dead trees, the (fallen) dead trees».

823. K' i kuan k' i li 73.

For kuan 74 'densely-growing, bushy clump' see gl. 6.

A. Mao (after Erya): li 72 (*liad / liäi / li, Ts'ie yün and Shiwen, the latter alt. *liat / liät / lie) = 75 a kind of chestnut tree (? Bretschneider). Thus: »The bushy clumps, the li trees». — B. Chu, evidently because he thinks that kuan 'clump' and li 'li tree', which balance each other, are not sufficiently analogous expressions, proposes that 72 is loan char. for 76 (*liat), thus: »The bushy clumps, the rows». — C. Wang Yin-chi, for the same reason, thinks that 72 is loan char. for 77 (*liat). Erya has an entry 78 »lie means a surplus, a remnant» and is synon. with 79 'a stump' of a tree; of this there are no pre-Han text ex., but it was coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen). Thus: »The bushy clumps, the stumps». — Both B and C are tempting, but after all they are vetoed by the rime. The rime char. to 72 is in the Mao version 65 *·iar, in the Han version 71 *·ied; since the former cannot possibly rime with 72, we concluded in gl. 822 that the Han version was here preferable. Now its 71 ·ied can form a rime (though imperfect) to 72 *liad, but certainly not with 76 or 77 *liat. Moreover, the lack of analogy in the A interpr. is not so bad as it appears, for the following lines go on with more trees: sheng trees, k' ü trees, yen trees and ch ê trees, and our 72 li trees are simply the first in this enumeration. The A version and interpr. are therefore safest.

Jang chi t' i chi, see gl. 680.

824. Kuan yi tsai lu 80.

A. Mao (after Erya): kuan 81 = 82; yi 83 = 84; and (after Erya) lu 85 = 86. This has been expounded by Wang Su (foll. by Ch'en Huan) thus: »They (sc. the Chou) had practised the (right) norms and so became great». K u a n 81 (*kuan / kuan / k u a n) is really id. w. 87 (early bronze inscr. 88; the two forms are different k' i e shu forms of the archaic graph, see Grammata Serica p. 172), which regularly means 'to practise, a practice, custom'. Cf. also Sün: Ta lüe 89 »It disapproves of the people's practice». Mao's yi 83 = 84 is based on Erya 90 = 84. The 83 (*djar / i / yi) and 90 (same sound) are interchangeable: ode 260, phr. 91 is quoted 92 in Meng: Kao ts'i, shang; Li:

45上帝耆之 46耆 47上帝底之 48上帝指之 49指 50作之屏之 51作 52攻作 53柞 54戴艾
戴柞 55除木曰柞 56柞氏掌攻草木及林麓 57樛 58彼作矣 59太王荒之彼作矣 60其蒹
其翳 61木立死曰蒹自斃為翳 62木自斃神立死柞蔽者翳 63神 64伸 65翳 66蒹 67樛 68
周公之狀身如直蒹 69其蒹其殄 70反草 71殄 72柞 73其灌其柞 74灌 75柞 76列 77烈 78
烈 79柞 80串若載路 81串 82習 83夷 84常 85路 86大 87貫 88 89惡民之串 90 91

Ming t'ang wei 93 is equal to 94; Shu: Jung fan 95 is quoted 96 in Shī ki: Sung shī kia, etc. For lu 85 = 'great', cf. ode 245, phr. 97, where Mao has the same gloss: »His (the infant's) voice became (great:) loud». It is also generally accepted that in phrases like 98 and 99 lu means 'great': »The great inner apartment», »the great chariot». — B. Cheng: k u a n y i 100 is equal to 1 »the name of a western state». This name is variously wr. 2, 1 (**kwən*, in ode 237, see gl. 801), 1 (Meng), 3 (**kiwən*, Shiki), 4 (**k'iwən*, Shuowen), and here Cheng thinks that 100 (**kwan*) is another version of the name. He continues: lu 85 = 5 (for which there is no text support, cf. however E below), interpreting: »As to the Kuan-yi, (the king) responded» (to the will of Heaven). (6 then = 7). But K'ung has tried to expound Cheng differently. Since the Preface to ode 167 says: 8 »In the west there was the (anxiety:) trouble of the Kun-yi, K'ung thinks that Cheng took 9 as a short-form for 10 (**g'wan* / *γwan* / h u a n) 'anxiety': »Anxious about the (Kun-) yi, he responded» (to the will of Heaven), and Shīwen says: »some say that Cheng read 9 as = 10». But that was evidently not Cheng's idea. — C. Chu admits that he does not understand the line but proposes tentatively: »The Kuan-yi (barbarians) filled the roads». Similarly, in ode 245, phr. 97 he interprets: »His (the infant's) voice filled the road» (!). 11 = 12 'to fill the road' of course is impossible. The word t s a i 'to load, to pile up' cannot be applied to an infant's voice »filling» the road. — D. Waley follows Mao as to k u a n and y i but takes lu in its ordinary sense of 'road': »To fixed customs and rules he gave a path». But the identical t s a i lu 11 in phr. 97 he translates (with Mao): »His voice was very (great =) loud». An unconvincing inconsistency. — E. Shīwen has another version of Cheng's gloss, which instead of 13 = 5 has 13 = 14 'emaciated, exhausted'. Ma Juei-ch'en follows this: »The Kuan-yi barbarians became (emaciated =) exhausted». Cf. Meng: T'eng Wen kung, shang 15 »that is to lead the whole world to become (emaciated =) exhausted», on which Chao K'i: lu = 16. Lu 13 is here a short-form for 17. Tso: Chao 1, phr. 18 »and so (emaciates =) exhausts the body» (Tu Yü 17 = 16). Another loan char. is 19: Lü: Pu k'ü 20 »The officers and soldiers become worn and emaciated» (Kao Yu 19 = 16); in Ts'ê: Ts'in ts'ê and Kuan: Wu fu the same binome is wr. 21. Yi Chou shu: Huang men 22 »He himself exhausts, ruins his house»; cf. also Kuan: Sī shī 23 »The state then (i. e. during famine) becomes (emaciated =) exhausted» (the comm. here interpr.: »disperses in the roads», but Ma rightly corrects this after the preceding par.). Ma's interpr. is ingenious and tempting, but when we come to the same phr. in ode 245, phr. 97 (of which Ma says nothing): »His voice then became (emaciated =) exhausted», this will be too hopelessly strained. Moreover, the throwing in of the Kuan-yi barbarians in the context is very abrupt and illogical, and the identification of **kwan* with the **kwən*, **kiwən*, **k'iwən* of other texts is but an arbitrary guess of Cheng's. — F. Another interpr. Mao's word glosses are well confirmed and certainly right. The line is equal to 24. That lu in the phr. t s a i lu 11 really means 'great' is proved by ode 245, where parallelism in the lines confirms it: »Hou Tsi wailed: 25 it extended far, it was (great =) strong, his voice then became (great =) loud». Here h ü 26 'great' clearly balances lu 13 'great'. But in our ode here (phr. 80 = 24) Mao has not been well expounded by Wang Su. The st. describes how the »virtue» was by Heaven »transferred», i. e. from Yin to Chou. Chou before this was an insignificant little state; now, as possessor of Heaven's mandate, it at once became grand and authoritative: »God transferred the bright virtue (from the Yin to the Chou), their customs and institutions then became grand». Lu 13 in this sense of 'grand' well suits phrases like lu ts'in 98, lu kü 99 above.

825. T'ien li küe p'ei 27.

Mao: p'ei 28 = 29. This is based on Erya: 30 = 29, and Shīwen therefore says: »28, originally wr. 30, same sound». Now this is decidedly wrong, for 28 **p'wəd* / *p'uq̄i* /

p'ei and 30, which had two readings *p'war / p'uŋi / p'ei and *p'iwar / p'juŋi / fei (thus both Ts'ie yün and Shiwen) were not identical but only cognate words. The char. 29 is known from no early text. But the meaning of both 28 and 30 was fundamentally 'counterpart, vis-à-vis, partner'. In the next st. we have the line ti tso pang tso tuei 31, and this tuei 32 (regularly meaning 'vis-à-vis') is there glossed by Mao as = 28. The two lines are obviously analogous and must be interpreted in the same way. The question is what this 'counterpart' means. A. Cheng takes the first 27 = »Heaven established for him (the king) a (counterpart, partner =) consort (wife)»; so also Chu. (30 in this sense is common, and 28 is also said of a wife who »matches» her husband, e. g. Tso: Yin 8, phr. 33 »first to mate and then to report to the ancestors»). But in the second line 31 Cheng expounds: »God made a state and a (counterpart to itself =) an enlightened ruler»; Chu modifies this into 32 = 34 »one who is a match for the task, one who is competent for the task». Both fail to realize the parallelism between the two lines 27 and 31. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: both p'ei 28 and tuei 32 mean 'counterpart' on earth to God in Heaven. P'ei in this sense is common. Cf. ode 235: »When Yin had not yet lost the multitudes, 35 it was able to be a counterpart to God on High» (ruler on earth corresponding to God in heaven); ode 275, phr. 36 »He was able to be a counterpart to that Heaven»; Sün: Ta lue 37 »One who is a counterpart to Heaven and (as king) possesses the whole world»; Chuang: T'ien ti: »Yao asked Hü-yu: this Nie-k'üe 38 is he able to be a counterpart to Heaven?» (Kuo Siang comm. = to become emperor). Particularly the Shī parallels (35, 36) conclusively show that this is the sense of both p'ei and tuei here (so also Waley), thus: 27 »Heaven established for itself a counterpart»; 31 »God made a state and a counterpart to himself» (= a king).

Tso yü sī pei, sung po sī tuei see gl. 800.

826. Yin sin tsê yu 39.

A. Mao: yin 40 = 41 'loving': »In his loving heart he was friendly». Yin fundamentally means 'to rest on, to rely upon', hence 'trusting, attached to, loving'. — B. Chu: »(Following his heart =) by his natural disposition he was friendly». — No reason to abandon A.

Tsê tu k'i k'ing, see gl. 673; Tsai si chī kuang, see gl. 898.

827. Yen yu sī fang 42.

A. Mao: yen 43 = 44, thus: »Greatly possessed the (states of the) four quarters». On exactly the same phr. in ode 274 Mao says 43 = 45 (joiningly =) comprehensively possessed', a freer mode of expressing the same idea. On Shu: Li cheng 46 pseudo-K'ung likewise says 43 = 45, and on Yi Chou shu: Huang men 47 the comm. says the same. Shuowen has a 48 = 44, but of this there are no text ex. This definition of yen 43 = 'great' occurs exclusively in phrases analogous to 42 but never in other contexts. In fact, it is an extension of meaning. The fundamental sense of yen 43 is 'to cover'

91. 民之秉彝 92. 民之秉夷 93. 維夷 94. 維彝 95. 是彝是訓 96. 是夷是訓 97. 厥聲載路 98. 路腹
99. 路車 100. 串夷 1. 混夷 2. 昆夷 3. 畎夷 4. 犬夷 5. 應 6. 載 7. 則 8. 西有昆夷之患 9. 串 10.
11. 載路 12. 滿路 13. 路 14. 齊 15. 是率天下而路 16. 蔽 17. 露 18. 以露其體 19. 路 20. 士卒罷路
21. 罷露 22. 自露厥家 23. 國家乃路 24. 貫彝載路 25. 貫覃實訐厥聲載路 26. 訐 27. 天立厥配
28. 配 29. 媿 30. 妃 31. 帝作邦作對 32. 對 33. 先配而後祖 34. 當 35. 可配上帝 36. 克配後天 37. 配
天而有天下者 38. 可以配天乎 39. 因心則友 40. 因 41. 親 42. 奄有四方 43. 奄 44. 大分同 45. 奄

49 (Erya), e. g. Huai: *Siu wu* 50 'The myriad things are extremely many, and knowledge is not sufficient to cover them' (Kao yu: 43 = 51). Huai is a comparatively late text, but the primary sense is indubitably 'to cover', for the word is id. with 52 'to cover' (all. **iam* rising tone) and belongs to a great word family (cognate to 53 etc., see BMFEA 5, p. 95). 'To cover' by extension of meaning is = 'to spread out over', as in the Huai ex. 50 (knowledge cannot cover them, extend out over them all, comprise them). So *yen yu si fang* 42 properly means '(Coveringly =) extensively possessed the (states of) the four quarters'. Therefore Cheng on the analogous phr. 54 in ode 300 says 43 = 49. — B. Chu: *yen* 43 = 55 'brusquely, forthwith', thus: 'Forthwith possessed the (states of) the four quarters'. Fang *yen* (W. Han coll.) says 43 = 56 'suddenly'. This meaning of *yen* 43 was current in Han-time texts (e. g. 57 in Han shu and in Ma Jung: Ch'ang ti fu), but I know of no safe pre-Han ex. In Ch'u: Kiu pien we have 58, where Chu says 43 = 56: 'It (the hoar-frost) suddenly scatters over these *wu* and *tsiu* trees'; but Hung Hing-tsu says (cf. A above) 43 = 45 'comprehensively', and it seems better to take *yen* here in its fundamental sense: 'It (covers:) extends over and scatters over these *wu* and *tsiu* trees'. Thus the par. is quite unsafe. — C. In ode 261, phr. 59, which is quite analogous to our ode phrases in A above, Mao says 43 = 60: 'He tranquillized and received the northern states'. For this there is no support whatever, besides being an inconsistency of Mao's. — While B is admissible, with a view to the meaning 'sudden' in Han time, A is by far the best substantiated. — We should study here:

Ode 276. *Yen kuan chi yi* 61. Cf. gloss 732. Mao has no gloss on *yen*. A. Cheng: *yen* 62 = 63 'for a long time'. 'This is because Erya has 64 = 63, and Cheng takes 62 to be a short-form for 64, which *inter alia* means 'to tarry, to delay' (Tso, Ch'u etc.). — B. Chu: *yen* 62 = 65: 'Forthwith we shall see the sickles mow'. — C. Wang Su (ap. K'ung): 62 = 45 (as in ode 241, A above) 'comprehensively', thus: '(Extensively =) everywhere we shall see the sickles mow'. — C agrees best with the par. texts in the odes.

828. In the orthodox version, the 4th st. begins with: 66 'Now this Wang Ki'. But Wang Ki has already been treated in st. 3, and the ode now proceeds to his son Wen wang. In Tso: Chao 28 the line in st. 4 is quoted 67 'Now this Wen wang'; Wang Su's and the Han school's version also had Wen wang (see the K'ung comm.); and in Mao's comm. on ode 250 a reference to our ode is made which shows that he too had Wen wang. Thus the current version: 'Wang Ki' is but a scribe's error.

829. *Mo k'itê yin* 68.

A. Shiwen has the variant 69, due to the frequent confusion of the two char. 69 and 70, see gl. 473. So also Erya: 69 = 71. Mao follows this, saying 70 = 71 'quiet, still'. Han (ap. Shiwen) reads 72, defined as = 73 'to settle', and 72 is also the reading in Tso: Chao 28 and in Li: Yüe ki (Ts'i school). Both 70 (and the erroneous 69) **māk* / *mvk* / *mo* and 72, likewise read **māk* / *mvk* / *mo* are loan char. for 74, see gl. 819. Thus: 'Settled was his reputation'. — B. Waley: 70 (**māk*) stands for 75 (**māk*) 'distant', thus: '(God) spread abroad his fair fame'. Phonetically inferior to A.

830. *K'o ming k'olei* 76.

A. Mao (after Erya): *lei* 77 = 78 'good', thus: 'He was able to be enlightened, to be good'. Cf. ode 247, phr. 79 'Forever there will be given you good (things)' (Here Cheng: 'Forever gifts will be given to [your category =] your clan', which is vetoed by the foll. line 80 'What are those good things'); ode 255, phr. 81 'Hold on to what is right and good'; Sün: Ju hiao 82 'His words are good'; Yi Chou shu: Juei Liang fu 83 'The prince is good'; Tso: Hi 24, phr. 84 'Prince Mu of Shao thought of how the virtue of Chou was not good' (Tu Yü: 77 = 78); Kyü: Tsin yü 85 'to foster (bring up) the good ones'; etc.

(common). *Lei* fundamentally means 'category, class', and here by extension of meaning: 'classy', true to the category, up to the standard, perfectly good. So in the Tso ex. 84, and in ode 264, phr. 86 (Mao: 77 = 78) 'Your demeanour is (not up to the standard =) not good'. From this extended to mean 'good' generally, as in phr. 79 and the following examples. — B. Chu: k'o lei 87 = 88 'He could distinguish between good and bad', thus 76: 'He was able to be enlightened, (to categorize =) be discriminating'. Cf. Kyü: Ch'u yü 89 'officers discriminating things' (so Wei Chao). This, however, is plainly not the meaning in our ode, as proved by all the par. adduced above. Indeed, as early as in Tso chuan the A interpr. is expressed, for in Tso: Chao 28 the ode line is quoted and expounded: 90 'Eager beneficence without selfishness is called lei' (goodness). — We should compare:

Ode 257. T'an jen pa lei 91. A. Mao: lei = 'good' (as above), thus: 'The covetous men ruin the good'. — B. Cheng: lei = 92, thus: 'The covetous men ruin their (class:) equals, colleagues'. Chu supports this by referring to Shu: Yao tien 93 'He disobeys orders and ruins his peers', thinking that our lei is equal to the tsu 94 there. — B is quite plausible in itself, but we have no reason for abandoning the oldest interpr., A, which agrees best with the use of lei in the odes.

831. K'o shun k'o pi, pi yü Wen wang, k'i tê mi huei 95. In Li: Yüe ki the line is quoted with two 96 inst. of the two 97. Ch'en Huan says that the two char. 96 and 97 anciently were interchangeable, being the same word, which is quite wrong (96 was *pǐg / pǐg / pi and 97 was *pǐr / pǐ / pi). Erya says 96 = 98 'to follow, to obey' which must be based on this Li variant of our ode phr., since 96 normally can have no such meaning. Cheng is certainly right in regarding 96 as a scribe's error for 97, since the reading 97 'to associate, to be concordant with', balances the preceding 99 and therefore must be the correct reading. Pi 97 in this sense is common, e. g. Chouli: Hing fang shi 100 'He makes the great states (associate amicably with:) be concordant with the small states'; Kuan: Wu fu 1 'concordant and respectful' (with the same combination of pi and shun as in our ode).

A. The ancient expounders have felt that pi 97 must have the same meaning in both lines, which has caused very curious speculations. Earliest we find this in Tso: Chao 28. The worthy Wei Hien-tsi expounds the meaning of all the crucial words in the st.: 2. He took the wen 3 in Wen wang as one of the virtues enumerated; from his definitions it follows that he understood the line 95 thus: 'He was able to shun make (the people) docile, he was able to pi be concordant (with the good); the wang king who was pi concordant with wen refinement, his virtue had nothing that caused regret' (Wen wang was called so because he 5 pi yü wen was concordant with refinement!). This dreadful speculation was accepted by Mao and in recent times by Ch'en

甸萬姓 47. 奄有四鄰 48 奄 49 覆 50 萬物至衆而不知不足以奄之 51 蓋 52 掩 53 揜 54 陰 55 奄
有下國 55 忽逐之間 56 遽 57 奄忽 58 奄離披此梧楸 59 奄受北國 60 撫 61 奄觀鉅艾 62 奄
口久 64 淹 65 忽 66 維此王季 67 維此文王 68 猶其德音 69 終 70 猶 71 靜 72 莫 73 定 74 嘆 75
邈 76 克明克類 77 類 78 善 79 永錫爾類 80 其類維何 81 而秉義類 82 其言有類 83 后作類
84 召穆公思周德之不類 85 育類 86 威儀不類 87 克類 88 能分善惡 89 類物之官 90 勤施
無私曰類 91 貪人敗類 92 等夷 93 方命圯族 94 族 95 克順克比 96 比于文王 其德靡悔 97 俾
98 比 99 從 99 順 100 使大國比小國 1. 比順以敬 2. 度莫明類長君順比文悔 3. 文 4. 文王

Huan. It has been too strong for Waley, who turns it differently: »Well he followed, well obeyed; obeyed — did King Wen«. But this skips the inconvenient *y ü 6*, which makes this interpr. impossible. — **B.** Cheng takes *pi 97* in its common meaning of 'to compare'; he believes that the st. refers to Wang Ki (Wen wang's father), see gl. 828: »He was able to make (the people) docile, he was able to be compared: he was comparable to Wen wang« (his great son). This entirely misses the parallelism between *sh un* and *pi*. — **C.** Chu, who like Cheng believes that the st. refers to Wang Ki (see gl. 828), resolutely decides that the first *pi 97* means 'concordant', the second *pi = 7* 'to come to' (common meaning, e. g. Lun: Sien tsin 8), thus 95: »He was able to make (the people) docile, he was able to be concordant; when it came to Wen wang . . .«. This is all very well, but it is certainly a great weakness to take the two consecutive *pi* in two different senses. — **D.** Another interpr. For reasons given in gl. 828 the whole st. certainly refers to Wen wang, not to Wang Ki. *Sh un 99* is not a transitive verb 'to make docile', as the comm. will have it, but on the analogy of the preceding 9 it refers to the qualities of Wen wang himself. *Sh un 99* therefore means 'accommodating', and *pi 97* correspondingly means 'concordant'. But 'to be concordant' necessarily involves two parties. It is easy to see that in the clause *pi y ü Wen wang* the subject cannot be Wen wang but must be the other party, i. e. the people. Thus: »He was able to be accomodating, to be concordant; and when they (his subjects) were concordant with Wen wang, his virtue had nothing to cause regret« (all parties were satisfied). This is logical and simple. — Ma Juei-ch'en would alter the last line into 10, an unnecessary text alteration.

832. Wu j an p ' a n y ü a n 11.

A. Mao reads thus, defining 12 (**b'wân / b'wân / p ' a n*) as = 13 'to transgress, to rebel from the proper way' and 14 (**giwân / jiwv n / y ü a n*) as = 15 'to take' (common), thus: »Do not like that be transgressing and grasping«. For 12 cf. Lun: Yung ye 16 »He can then refrain from transgressing (what is right)«. — **B.** Ts'i (ap. Han shu: Sū chuan) reads 17, on which Meng K'ang: 12 = 18 and 19 (**g'wân / yuân / h u a n*) = 20 'to change' (the ordinary meaning of 19); Yen Shī-ku defines it more freely as = 21 'violent and licentious', equivalent to 22 'violent'. Cheng follows Mao's reading 23, but defines it by 22 'violent'. Han (ap. Shīwen) likewise defines 23 as = 24 'martial and strong', i. e. violent. — **C.** Another school (ap. Yü p'ien) reads 25 (reading 26 **b'wân*), again defined as = 22. — **D.** Waley: 23 = 'idle'. This is because of a par. which we must first examine:

Ode 252. *P ' a n h u a n e r y u y i* 27. Shīwen reads 28 **p'wân-χwân*, but Sū Miao **b'wân-g'wân*. **A.** Mao: *p ' a n h u a n* = 29 'wide and great and refined', thus: »Great and refined is your diversion«. Mao here takes 26 as loan char. for 30 (**p'wân*) 'large' (ex. in Li), and 31 as short-form for 32 (**χwân*) 'brilliant', just as in Li: *T' an kung* 33 »beautiful and brilliant« (Cheng here 31 = 34 is obviously wrong). — **B.** Cheng: *p ' a n h u a n* 28 = 35, thus: »Relaxed is your diversion«, and Chu follows this (*p ' a n h u a n* = 36 'leisurely'). B is here confirmed by the following analogous line 37 »Pleasantly diverting is your rest«. —

If we sum up all this and revert to line 11, it is clear that Mao, who takes 14 in its primary sense of 'to grasp', is wrong. We have here a binome varied in several fashions: 23 **b'wân-gi'wân*, 17, 25 **b'wân-g'wân*, 28 **p'wân-χwân*, *b'wân-g'wân*, all with the same sense. For similar variations of a binome, see gl. 98 and 334. The fundamental sense seems to be 'transgressing (12) and changing (19)', i. e. not bound by strict rules, briefly 'undisciplined'; hence on the one hand 'relaxed', on the other hand 'unbridled' in the sense of 'violent'. But the sense 'relaxed', which the binome clearly has in ode 252, phr. 27, certainly (with Waley: 'idle') best suits our ode 241, phr. 11 as well. It has been

described how Wen wang and his people lived in peace and harmony. But the theme now turns upon the great danger threatening from the enemy, the Mi state. Heaven therefore warns the king not to be slack: »Heaven said to Wen wang: **do not like that be relaxed**» (followed by: »do not like that indulge your desires»). Here an interpr.: »Do not like that be violent» (B, C) makes poor sense.

Wu jan hin sien, see gl. 559.

833. Tan sien teng yü an 38.

A. Mao (after Erya): tan 39 = 40, and an 41 = 42, thus: »Grandly you should first ascend to the high position». Chu thinks it refers to the morals: »Grandly you should first ascend to the highest point (of virtue)». For tan 39 = 'great' cf. ode 37, phr. 43 »How (extensive:) far-stretching are its joints»; Kyü: Ch'u yü 44 »Those words are (big:) boastful». An 41 regularly means 'a bank' of a river or a channel, particularly a high and steep bank, as in ode 193, phr. 45 »High banks become valleys», but that this should be a metaphor for »the high position» (the throne) or »the highest point» (of virtue) is exceedingly forced. As to tan 39, Wang Yin-chi (King chuan shi ts'i) has conclusively proved that it is here a mere initial particle, as frequently in ode 245, where Chu had already recognized its use as a particle. — B. Cheng, realizing the improbability of A, has tried another way: an 41 = 46 'litigation', cf. gl. 589; and teng 47 = 48, thus: »Grandly first (achieve =) make an end to the litigations». This is even worse than A. — C. Waley: »You must be the first to seize the high places» (i. e. so as to forestall the enemies). This is refreshingly concrete, but needs, I believe, a modification. An 41, as just stated, does not mean 'high places' generally but 'bank, high bank'. And the line hardly belongs to the *oratio recta* of Heaven's. This is shown by the initial particle tan 39, which is analogous to nai 49 (cf. its use in ode 245). After Heaven's warning, Wen wang makes ready: »And so he first ascended a high bank» (to look out for the enemies).

834. Ts'in Yüan ts'u Kung... yüan cheng k'i lü, yingo ts'u Lü (Kü) 50.

A. Mao takes Yüan 51 and Kung 52 and the second Lü 53 as names of states: »They (the enemies) invaded Yüan and marched against Kung... then he (Wen wang) formed his cohorts, and in order to stop them he marched to Lü». — B. Lu (ap. Cheng; K'ung quotes an author Chang Jung 54, who states that this was the doctrine of the Lu school) takes ts'u 55 as well as a state name, but not the following Lü, and Cheng explains: 50 »They invaded Yüan, Ts'u and Kung... then he (the king) formed his cohorts, in order to stop the cohorts of Ts'u». — At first sight B seems preferable, in so far as it takes both lü 53 in the same sense of 'cohort'. But in fact it is unreasonable, for evidently the invaded states were vassals of Wen wang's, whom he went to protect from the attacking Mi, and then »in order to stop the cohorts of Ts'u» becomes absurd. Chu therefore improves Cheng by explaining: »in order to stop the 55 marching cohorts» (of the enemy). — After all, A is preferable because of an ancient support. It may seem

5. 比于文 6. 于 7. 至 8. 比及三年 9. 明類長君 10. 其德靡晦 11. 無然畔援 12. 畔 13. 畔道 14. 援
15. 取 16. 可以弗畔 17. 畔援 18. 反 19. 援 20. 易 21. 強忍之克 22. 跋扈 23. 畔援 24. 武強 25. 件換 26.
件 27. 件受爾游矣 28. 件受 29. 廣大有文章 30. 胖 31. 英 32. 煥 33. 美哉英焉 34. 衆多 35. 縱弛之
意 36. 閑暇 37. 優游爾休矣 38. 誕先登于岸 39. 誕 40. 大 41. 岸 42. 高位 43. 何誕之節兮 44. 是言
誕也 45. 高岸為谷 46. 訟 47. 登 48. 成 49. 乃 50. 侵阮徂共... 爰整其旅以按徂旅 51. 阮 52. 共 53.

to have a great weakness in having lü 53 in two different senses ('cohort' and 'the state of Lü'), but there is a reason for this. Properly there should be no two lü 53 riming with each other. Now Meng: Liang Huei wang quotes the line: 56 *in order to stop them he marched to Kū*. 57 was *kljo / kjo / k ü and 53 was *gljo / ljo / l ü, and the second 53 *gljo of the Mao text is evidently a loan char. for the phonetically similar 57 *kljo of Meng's text, which is the correct reading (53 *gljo and 57 *kljo forming a correct rime). The very reason for this loan is that the preceding line had 53 'cohort', and the copyists carried this 53 *gljo over to the second line as well to serve for the correct 57 *kljo.

835. Wang ho s i n u 58. Mao has no gloss on s i.

A. Cheng: s i 59 = 60, and Shiwen says that Cheng read 59 (*sɿg / sɿ / s i), which ordinarily has even tone, like 61 (*sɿg, falling tone). Thus: «The king blazed forth and exhausted his wrath». K'ung says that 59 = 60 is from Erya, but the present Erya text has no such gloss. But Fang yen has an entry 62 = 60, and this is quoted by Li Shan (comm. on Wsüan) as 61 = 60; Cheng then probably based himself on this. In Li: T'an kung 63, Cheng likewise takes 59 = 60 and 64 for 65: «At my funeral (exhaustively =) all will come and look»; cf. Lü: Pao keng: «(Süan Meng said:) 66 «Eat it all» (Kao Yu 59 = 60). — B. Chu and the Ts'ing scholars all take s i 59 as a grammatical word, which is far more likely. But then there arises the question whether it is merely an «empty particle», as in ode 188, phr. 67 «I go back and return home», thus: «The king blazed and was angry»; or else a pronoun, determining n u 68 as a noun, and with h o as a transitive verb, as in ode 192, phr. 69 «They cry out their assertions», thus (with Waley): «The king blazed forth his anger»; or, finally, whether it is = 70 (common) as an object placed before the verb, as in ode 257, phr. 71 «Why should I fear this» (in Han quoted 72), or in ode 265, phr. 73 «You only moreover prolong this»; thus: «The king majestically was angry at this». The last seems preferable because of the par. 71, where the *verbum sentiendi* wei ki 'to fear' is quite analogous to our n u 68 'to be angry' here. Moreover the h o is better as an adverb 'majestically' than as a transitive verb 'to blaze forth'.

836. Yi tu y ü Chou hu 74.

A. Mao reads thus. — B. In Mencius: Liang Huei wang, hia, the line is quoted 75, with t u 76 as a transitive verb: «To affirm the prosperity of Chou». This is grammatically much better than A and it is confirmed by the analogous phr. in st. 3 of our ode: 77 «He affirmed his happiness». The y ü 78 of the Mao text has been erroneously carried over from the following line 79.

837. Yi k' i tsai king 80.

A. Cheng paraphrases: 81 «(Wen wang only sent out) (the troupes) which leaned on, were stationed in King». This is incompatible with the word sequence; it should then have been 82. But Ch'en Huan, like Cheng, takes y i 83 in the fundamental sense of the word = 84 'to rely on, to lean on' (common, ex. in ode 167), and I suppose that is Chu's idea when he freely paraphrases 85 «Wen wang quietly was in the capital». «To rely on, to lean on' a place is = 'to hold on to, to be fixed in' the place, thus: «Firmly settled he was in the capital». — B. Wang Yin-chi: y i 83 (*jər / jɛi / y i) is cognate to 86 *jən / jən / y i n, and so the clause equals 87: «Ample they (sc. the troupes) were in the capital». Ma Juei-ch'en adds that the phr. is analogous to ode 95, phr. 88 «In great crowds they fill (the grounds)». Cf. ode 167, phr. 89 «The willows were luxuriant» (Han school: y i y i = 90 'ample'); ode 218, phr. 91 «Luxuriant is that forest in the plain». — C. Waley: «They drew near to the capital». Y i 83 means 'close to' in ode 221, phr. 92 «They (lean on =) are close to the rushes». The clause is then somewhat difficult to construe; I suppose we should have to take it thus: «(Leaning on =) drawing close

was their being at the capital». — B is quite plausible in itself, but both B and C break down through a par. in ode 250, phr. 93 »Staunch was prince Liu, (on the capital place he was relying, leaning =) in the capital place he was firmly settled». Here the sense is quite unambiguous, and even Waley translates: »In his citadel so safe». It is quite evident that our *yi k' i tsai king* 80 and the *yü king s i yi* 93 are quite analogous phrases, as was realized by Chu and Ch'en Huan. — In two other odes, however, the idea of Wang Yin-chi's is more acceptable:

Ode 290. *Yu yi k' i sh i* 94. A. Cheng: *yi* 83 (**iər*) = 95 (**ər / ǎi / ai*) 'to love'. His interpr. is based on the sound similarity. Thus: »They have love for their men». — B. Wang Yin-chi: both the lines *s i mei k' i fu*, *yu yi k' i sh i* (in which *s i* 96 is merely the particle, see gl. 700) begin with descriptive expressions: »Lovable are the wives, grand are the men». — C. Waley: »The men press close to them». — B is confirmed by the similar construction in the following line: 99 »Sharp are the ploughs».

Ode 300. *Shang ti sh i yi* 100. This is said of the majestic lady Kiang Yüan. A. Mao: »God on High relied on her», i. e. *yi* 83 means *I* relied on her sons and grandsons, sc. for the royal mandate. — B. Cheng: *yi* = 2: »God on High relied on her», sc. on her body, for bearing the sons and grandsons. — C. Chu: *yi* 83 = 3: »God on High looked at her with favour». No text par. — D. Waley: »God on High succoured her». *Yi*, to my knowledge, has no such sense. — E. Another interpr. *Yi* 83 = 4, as in the ex. 89, 91 above, thus: »God on High made her (ample =) fruitful». The following lines describe her pregnancy, and in ode 245 it is told how she became pregnant by stepping on the foot-print of *Ti 'God'*.

838. *To (tsê) k' i sien yüan* 5.

For *to* 6 (**d'āk*) = *tsê* 7 (**d'āk*) 'to dwell', see gl. 794. A. Mao: 8 'small mountains separated from big mountains are called *sien*'. This is based on Erya, but the context there shows that Mao has misunderstood the Erya text. It runs: 9 (so punctuated by Ho Yi-hang), and Kuo P'o says that »big mountains» are called *sien* 10, because they are »not connecting», i. e. they are 11 'few, rare, sparse'. Moreover it is uncertain whether the Erya text is not corrupted, so that the orig. text had 12 inst. of 10 (see Ho Yi-hang *ad locum*). There is indeed no text par. whatever for *sien* 10 in Mao's sense of 'small detached mountain'. In ode 250, phr. 13, Mao defines 14 as = 15 'a small mountain separated from the big mountains', and this has caused some scholars to propound that 10 (**siän / siän / sien*) and 14 (**ngian / ngian / yen*) were identical because »similar in sound», which is phonetically utterly impossible. In support of this it has been adduced (by Ma Juei-ch'en) that in *Li: Yüe ling* 16 »The Son of Heaven then

旅 59 張融 59 但 56 以過但 57 苦 58 王赫斯怒 59 斯 60 盡 61 賜 62 漸 63 我喪斯 64 沾 65
 56 斯食之 67 言歸斯復 68 怒 69 維號斯言 70 此 71 胡斯畏忌 72 胡此畏忌 73 職尼斯引
 74 以篤于周祜 75 以篤周祜 76 篤 77 則篤其慶 78 于 79 以對于天下 80 依其在京 81 文王
 但發其依居京地之衆 82 其依在京 83 依 84 據 85 文王安然在周之京 86 殷 87 殷其在京
 88 殷其盈矣 89 楊柳依依 90 益克 91 依彼平林 92 依于其蒲 93 篤公劉于京斯依 94 有依
 其士 95 憂思 99 有略其躬 100 上帝是依 1 依其子孫 2 依其身 3 普顧 4 益 5 度其鮮原 6
 度 7 宅 8 小山別大山曰鮮 9 大山宮, 小山霍, 小山別, 大山鮮 10 鮮 11 鮮少 12 鮮 13 陟則
 在嶽 14 嶽 15 小山別于大山 16 天子乃鮮羔 17 獻羔祭韭 18 獻 19 善 20 於祿也... 為蕃鮮

(brings) fresh lamb» must correspond to ode 154, phr. 17 »We present lamb and sacrifice onions»; Cheng therefore in comm. on Li says: 10 stands for 18(!). — B. Cheng: sien 10 = 19 'good', thus »the good plain». This is a well-attested meaning, see gl. 122, but then generally referring to moral qualities. — C. Another interpr. Sien 10 fundamentally means 'fresh', and is often used in the sense of 'freshly bright', e. g. Yi: Shuo kua 20 »In regard to the growing grain it means luxuriant and freshly bright» (Shiwen 10 = 21). This must reasonably be the meaning here, cf. ode 237, phr. 22 »The plain of Chou was rich and ample». Thus: »He (the king) dwelt in the freshly-bright plain».

839. Tsai Wei chī tsiang 23.

A. Mao: tsiang 24 = 25, thus: »On the sides of the Wei (river)». Ma Juei-ch'en and Ch'en Huan think that 24 **tsiang* is loan char. for 26 **dz'iang* / *dz'iang* / *ts'iang* 'wall', in the sense of 'side walls', i. e. banks of the river. This etymology was not current in earlier times, for Shiwen has no gloss on 24 reading it otherwise than its normal **tsiang*. In support Ma adduces that for Tso: Ch'eng 3, phr. 27 (tribe name) Kuliang reads 28 and Kungyang 29. — B. We might retain the normal reading 24 **tsiang* in accordance with the ancient tradition, taking tsiang to mean 'to go forward, to advance', which is a well attested meaning, see gl. 747. Thus: »On the (run =) course of the Wei».

840. Wan pang chī fang 30.

A. Mao: fang 31 = 32 'law, rule, pattern', thus: »To the myriad states he was a pattern». Cf. Lun: Sien tsin 33 »Moreover he knows the (laws:) proper rules». As Ma Juei-ch'en points out, the line is analogous to ode 177, phr. 34 »To the myriad states he was a pattern». — B. Cheng: fang 31 is equal to 35. K'ung believes that Cheng by 35 meant 36: »He is the one towards whom the myriad states turn», fang 'place' then meaning 'direction': »the direction = the goal of all the states». Chu thinks that Cheng took 35 in its ordinary sense of 'region', synon. w. fang 31: »the place i. e. centre of all the states», which is very forced. — A is conclusively confirmed by par. 34.

Yü huai ming tê, see gl. 110 a.

841. Pu ta sheng yi sê, pu chang hia yi ko 37.

A. Mao: hia 38 = 39 'great' (common, e. g. ode 35, phr. 40 »The great house was very grand»), and ko 41 = 42, thus: »(Heaven said to Wen wang: I think cherishingly of your brilliant virtue), it is not with loud noise shown in your appearance; you do not because of your prominent greatness make any alteration» (i. e. acc. to K'ung: you do not alter your ways, such as they were when you were young and less famous; or, with Ch'en Huan: you do not alter the ancient ways). This interpr. misses the strict parallelism between the two lines. — B. Cheng: hia 38 means 43 'all the Hia states', i. e. the states of the Chou confederacy: »You do not with loud noise make a show; you do not because you chang preside over the Hia states alter» (the royal norms). This even more than A spoils the parallelism between the lines. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: yi 44 = 45 (this after Chu, who for the rest says he does not understand the line). And he quotes with approbation a wild speculation of Wang Tê-yüe: sheng 46 'sound' means 'commandment'; sê 47 means 48 'fine sights' and refers to written proclamations hung up at the gate for the instruction of the people; hia 38 refers to the 49 = 50 mentioned in Li: Hüe ki 51: »The rods of catalpa and thorn, these two things maintain the respect» (the pupils are flogged with them); ko 41 'leather' means 'leather whip'. Thus 37: »You (use) no great commandments and (fine sights =) written announcements; you (use) no long catalpas and leather whips». This nonsense is only quoted here in order to show the extravagant ideas sometimes propounded even by serious scholars like Ma. — D. Waley: »Your high renown has not made you put on airs, your greatness has not made you change your ways». — E. Another interpr. Waley is certainly right in thinking that t a

s h e n g 52 means 'great renown', since it balances c h a n g h i a 53 'prominent greatness'; cf. ode 244, phr. 54 »Wen wang has renown, fame«. But y i 44 has its normal force of 'because of', and »the changing of former ways« is much too scholastic in my view. S ê 47 'to be displayed in the outward appearance', i. e. 'to show off' and k o 41 'to change' both refer to the m i n g t ê 'brilliant virtue' just mentioned (»I think cherishingly of your brilliant virtues«). The lines mean: »(It is not, because of your great renown, shown off =) In spite of your great renown it is not shown off, (it is not, because of your prominent greatness, changed =) in spite of your prominent greatness it is not changed«. — We should study here:

Ode 273. S i y ü s h i h i a 55;

Ode 275. Ch 'en ch 'ang y ü s h i h i a 56.

A. Mao in ode 273: h i a 38 = 39 'great', but for the rest he does not explain the lines, though probably (with Ma Juei-ch'en and Ch'en Huan) he alludes to an explanation already given in Tso: Sün 12, where ode 273 is quoted and the prince of Ch'u expounds it so as to show that he took s i 57 as the common particle, and y ü s h i 58 as = 59: »(I seek the fine virtue), and then it will be great«; similarly ode 275, phr. 56 would be: »The rules (spread out =) diffused will then be great«. An analogous expl. is found in Kyü: Chou yü. — B. Cheng takes h i a 38 as the name of a piece of music, accompanying a ritual dance; thus 55: »We display it (the virtue) in this Hia song«; 56 »The rules are displayed in this Hia song«. Cf. Li: Nei tsê 60 »He dances the Ta Hia, grand Hia dance« (id. in Li: Ming t'ang wei); Chouli: Ta s i y üe: »When the king enters and leaves (the temple), they are ordered to play the Wang Hia 61; when the representative of the dead enters and leaves, they are ordered to play the Si Hia 62; when the victim animal enters and leaves, they are ordered to play the Chao Hia 63. — C. Chu: h i a is = 64 'the central kingdoms', and s i 57 = 'to spread' (common). Indeed Hia as a name for the genuine Chinese states as opposed to the Barbarians is very old. Cf. Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien) 65 »The Man and Yi Barbarians harass the Hia (Chinese)«, etc. (common). Thus 55: »(I seek the fine virtue) and spread it in those Hia states«; 56 »The rules were spread in those Hia states«. — C is simple and convincing.

842. S ü n e r k ' i u f a n g, t ' u n g e r h i u n g t i 66.

Hou Han shu quotes t ' u n g e r t i h i u n g 67 (**xiwǎng*), a word sequence demanded by the rime (68 **piwang*) and therefore correct; the inversion h i u n g t i of the traditional text is a corruption.

A. Mao: k ' i u 69 = 70: »Plan with your partner states, unite with your brothers«. For k ' i u in the sense of 'mate, companion', see gl. 2. — B. Cheng: »Lay plans against your enemy states«. K ' i u also can mean 'enemy', see gl. 2. — The parallelism between the lines decides in favour of A.

843. Y i e r k o u y ü a n, y ü e r l i n c h ' u n g 71.

A. Mao distinguishes between l i n and c h ' u n g as two different engines of assault,

21 明 22 周原 23 在渭之將 24 將 25 側 26 牆 27 牆 28 牆 29 將 30 萬邦之
方 31 方 32 則 33 且知方也 34 萬邦為憲 35 鄉 36 鄉 37 不大聲以色不長夏以革 38 夏 39 大
40 夏屋梁梁 41 革 42 有所更 43 諸夏 44 以 45 與 46 聲 47 色 48 令色 49 夏楚 50 懷楚 51 夏楚
二物收其威也 52 大聲 53 長夏 54 丈王有聲 55 肆于時夏 56 陳常于時夏 57 肆于時 58
于是 59 舞大夏 60 王夏 61 肆夏 62 昭夏 63 中國 64 蠻夷濟夏 65 詢爾仇方 同爾兄弟 66 同
爾兄弟 67 方 68 仇 69 匹 70 以爾鉤援與爾臨衝 71 鉤 72 鉤梯 73 援 74 臨 75 衝 76 梯 77 梯 78 此十

and says *kou* 72 = 73 'hooking ladder', leaving *yüan* 74 unexplained. K'ung, foll. by Chu, therefore thought that *kou yüan* was a binome equal to 73 'hooking ladder'. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: in Mo: Pei ch'eng, the detailed description of ancient warfare, are enumerated *lin* 75, *kou* 72, *ch'ung* 76, *t'i* 77 and eight more implements, resumed by 78 »these twelve things«. This clearly shows that *kou* 72 was not identical with the *t'i* 77 'ladder'. And since the enumeration has no *yüan* 74, but this word *inter alia* means 'to climb' (Chuang: Ma *t'i* 79 »a bird's nest, you can climb up and peep into it«), it is evidently the same here as the *t'i* 77 'scaling ladder' in Mo. Thus: »With your hooks and (climbers:) ladders, with your approachers and knockers« (engines of assault). Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 80 »and your high knockers«, but this breaks the symmetry of the two lines (four implements) and is therefore inferior.

844. *Lin ch'ung hien hien, Ch'ung yung yen yen* 81.

A. Mao: *hien hien* 82 = 83, and *yen yen* 84 = 85, thus: »The approachers and knockers shook, the walls of Ch'ung were high and great«. For *hien* = 'to shake', no text par. In support of 84 (**ngiän / ngiän / yen*) = 'high and great' Ch'en Huan adduces on the one hand Erya: »a big flute is called *yen* 84« (ex. in Mo); on the other hand 86 **ngät / ngät / ngo* Shuowen = 'a tall carriage'. The former is hardly convincing; the latter may contain some truth, for the 86 **ngät* occurs as Han school variant of 87 **ngiat* 'piled-up high' (sc. coiffure) in ode 111, see gl. 174. We might therefore imagine a word-stem **ngiän*: **ngiat*: **ngät* 'high, tall'. Be this as it may, it seems evident to me that 84 **ngiän* here is a loan char. for 88 (**ngiän* and **ngian*, Ts'ie yün and Shīwen) 'hill-top' (ode 250, phr. 89 »He ascended and was on the hill-top«). This word, of course, may belong to the same word-stem just propounded. Thus: »The walls of Ch'ung were (hill-top-like =) high«, which confirms Mao. — B. Cheng says nothing of *hien hien* but defines *yen yen* 84 as = 90 = 91 'going to ruin', thus: »The approachers and knockers shook, the walls of Ch'ung tottered«. 87 **ngiat / ngiat / nie* *inter alia* means 'calamity' ('ruin') and Cheng seems to conclude from the sound similarity 84 **ngiän*: 87 **ngiat*. Very strained. — C. Kuang ya has an entry *hien hien* 82 = 92 'ample', probably referring to our ode, thus: »The approachers and knockers were (ample:) huge, the walls of Ch'ung were high«. For *hien* 82 = 'ample, large, huge' cf. ode 305, phr. 93 »The many pillars were large« (Han ap. comm. on Wsüan 82 = 94); Chuang: Ts'i wu lun 95 »(The one with) great knowledge is (ample:) large-minded«; Sün: Siu shen 96 »The one who has heard much is called *po* wide (of wide knowledge), the one who has seen much is called *hien* ample (of ample knowledge)«. The w. 82 **g'än / g'än / hien* is closely cognate to 97 **kän / kän / kien* 'great' (see gl. 87, 109). — D. Chu: *hien hien* 82 = 98 'slow': »The approachers and knockers were slow (moved slowly), the walls of Ch'ung were high«. Cf. ode 111, phr. 99 »The mulberry-pickers are moving leisurely«. — C which brings out the parallelism of the lines: both the assailing engines and the defending walls were imposing, is clearly best; its word explanations are well substantiated.

845. *Shī lei shī ma* 100.

A. Mao says simply 1 »(a sacrifice) inside is called *lei*, outside is called *ma*«. This is based on Li: Wang chī: »When the Son of Heaven is on the point of marching out (on a war expedition), he makes the *lei* sacrifice to 2 God on High; and (then) he makes the *ma* sacrifice to 3 the soil on which he marches« (to placate the Spirits of the soil invaded). Mao thinks that Wen wang first »inside« i. e. in his capital had sacrificed to God on High, and then now, at the attack on Ch'ung, sacrificed »outside«, i. e. at the camping place. We should thus have to translate in different tenses: »He had sacrificed (at home) to God on High, (now) he sacrificed at the camping place« (the placating sacrifice). That *lei* was the sacrifice to Heaven is certain; we have the phr. 4 »made the

lei sacrifice to God on High» both in Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien), Li: Wang chī and Chouli: Sī shī. All comm. agree that this sacrifice was held in the 5 suburb of the capital. But there is certainly nothing to forbid the view that the king could sacrifice to God on High also when away on an expedition, and so we clearly have it here, which obviates the unnatural discrepancy in tense. — B. Lu: In Huai: Pen king we read 6 »He makes lei sacrifice to the Shê, god of the Soil», and Kao Yu (Lu school) says that the sacrifice to the Shê was called lei. Ma Juei-ch'en follows this: »He sacrificed to the god of the Soil, he sacrificed in the camping place». — C. It is very unlikely that the special sacrificial term lei could apply both to the sacrifice to Shang-ti, God on High, and to Shê, the god of the soil. Huai is a comparatively late text, and the venerable Shu, many centuries older than Huai, is decisive as to the meaning of lei. But there is another point which is missed in the commentaries: the word shī 7. They all seem to take it as the subject of the clause: »He sacrificed». Now in the Shī we have 15 more ex. of lines of this type: shī x shī x (in odes 2, 164, 210, 241, 245, 257, 300, 305), and shī 7 is then invariably the demonstrative pronoun in the accusative case (him, them etc.), an object placed before the verb: ode 2, phr. 8 »That I cut, that I boil» (shī is the object); ode 210, phr. 9 »Them we cut up, them we pickle»; ode 245, phr. 10 »Them they carried on the shoulders, them they carried on the back», etc. It is particularly important that we find this construction in our ode 241 here later in the same stanza: 11 »Them he attacked etc.», and it is quite evident that the shī 7 in our line is the object and means »them», referring to the preceding line: »The captured prisoners for the question came (serialim:) in a slow procession, the cut heads were brought (quietly:) solemnly; them he sacrificed to God on High, them he sacrificed in the camping place». Waley is undoubtedly right in stating that ku o 12 primarily meant 'to cut the head, to behead', not 'to cut the left ear' of a prisoner (in the An-yang tombs beheaded human victims are numerous). In Chuang: Lie Yü-k'ou 13 (which has been variously explained by the commentators) probably simply means: »With a wizened neck and a yellow head (face)», with Sī-ma Piao. Later on the custom was modified into cutting only the ear of the prisoner, for sacrifice.

846. Shī chī shī fu 14.

A. Mao paraphrases: 15 »He established their gods of the Soil and the Grain; he adjoined their ancestors (sc. to the royal cult: 16 = 17) and established descendants for them» (to sacrifice to them). In other words, after the victory Wen wang kindly did not destroy the sacrifices of the vanquished Ch'ung but arranged so that they should be continued. All this to be expressed by: »He established, he adjoined» (!). — B. Chu refers the line to the vanquished people. »He caused them to come, he caused them to (attach themselves =) submit». — C. Ma Juei-ch'en bases himself on Tso: Siang 25, which describes how the victorious Cheng treated the defeated Ch'en: 18 »The minister of the multitudes (brought =) annexed the people... The minister of works annexed the land»; and he explains fu 16 as equal to 19, thus: »He annexed (the people and land),

二者 7. 鳥鵲之巢可攀援而闢 8. 與爾隆衡 9. 臨衡閑閑崇墉言言 10. 閑 11. 動搖 12. 言 13. 言 14. 言 15. 言 16. 言 17. 言 18. 言 19. 言 20. 言 21. 言 22. 言 23. 言 24. 言 25. 言 26. 言 27. 言 28. 言 29. 言 30. 言 31. 言 32. 言 33. 言 34. 言 35. 言 36. 言 37. 言 38. 言 39. 言 40. 言 41. 言 42. 言 43. 言 44. 言 45. 言 46. 言 47. 言 48. 言 49. 言 50. 言 51. 言 52. 言 53. 言 54. 言 55. 言 56. 言 57. 言 58. 言 59. 言 60. 言 61. 言 62. 言 63. 言 64. 言 65. 言 66. 言 67. 言 68. 言 69. 言 70. 言 71. 言 72. 言 73. 言 74. 言 75. 言 76. 言 77. 言 78. 言 79. 言 80. 言 81. 言 82. 言 83. 言 84. 言 85. 言 86. 言 87. 言 88. 言 89. 言 90. 言 91. 言 92. 言 93. 言 94. 言 95. 言 96. 言 97. 言 98. 言 99. 言 100. 言 101. 言 102. 言 103. 言 104. 言 105. 言 106. 言 107. 言 108. 言 109. 言 110. 言 111. 言 112. 言 113. 言 114. 言 115. 言 116. 言 117. 言 118. 言 119. 言 120. 言 121. 言 122. 言 123. 言 124. 言 125. 言 126. 言 127. 言 128. 言 129. 言 130. 言 131. 言 132. 言 133. 言 134. 言 135. 言 136. 言 137. 言 138. 言 139. 言 140. 言 141. 言 142. 言 143. 言 144. 言 145. 言 146. 言 147. 言 148. 言 149. 言 150. 言 151. 言 152. 言 153. 言 154. 言 155. 言 156. 言 157. 言 158. 言 159. 言 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he comforted (the people)». Ch'en Huan takes *ch i* in the same way as Ma, but for 16 follows Mao. — D. Another interpr. All the preceding operate with the idea that the line describes what happened after Ch'ung had fallen; but the following lines still go on describing the battle. Moreover, none of the comm. do justice to the crucial *sh i* 20, for which see gl. 845. The line, in fact, continues the preceding ones: »(The captured prisoners and the cut heads, then he sacrificed to God on High, then he sacrificed in the camping place), then he brought forward, then he adjoined» (to the other offerings). 847. *Lin ch'ung fu fu* 21.

A. Mao: *fu fu* 22 (*Shiwen* **piwat* / *piuat* / *fu*) = 23 'strong and (ample =) large'. Thus: »The approachers and knockers were large». Ch'en Huan thinks that 22 **piwat* is a loan char. for 24 **b'wat* (see B next), but it seems more plausible to keep within the series of the phonetic 25 and regard it as loan char. for 26 **b'wat* / *b'uat* / *fu* 'great', cf. below. B. Kuang ya has an entry 27. The combination with *hien hien* indicates that the entry has our ode in view and some early school read 28 (**b'wat*), meaning the same as in A; 24 **b'wat*, however, means 'sudden, violent', and I can find no support for its meaning 29 'ample'. — C. Waley, who (with Mao, see gl. 844) believes that the preceding *hien hien* 30 means 'to shake', translates our *fu fu* 22 in the same way: »The siege-platforms shook». No text support. — There is parallelism with the *lin ch'ung hien hien* in the preceding st., and *hien hien* 30 there means '(ample =) huge' (see gl. 844 above). This decides in favour of A. — We compare here:

Ode 288. *Fu shi tsi kien* 31. Han (ap. *Wai chuan*) has the short-form 25. A. Mao: *fu* 26 (**b'wat*) = 32 'great', thus: »Great is that burden on my shoulder». As Ch'en Huan points out, this is the same metaphor as in *Shu*: *Ta kao* 33 »It (Heaven) (greatly threw difficulties =) loaded great difficulties on my body». To the *ta* 32 'great' there corresponds our *fu* 26 here. *Shuowen* has a 34 = 32, but of this there are no text ex. Our 26 **b'wat* is probably cognate to 35 **piwāt*, **piwād* 'great', see gl. 640. — B. Cheng: *fu* 26 = 36 'to assist', which means that he took 26 **b'wat* to be a loan char. for 37 **b'iet* / *b'iet* / *pi*, thus: »Aid me in (carrying on the shoulder =) sustaining the burden». — No reason to abandon A.

848. *Ch'ung yung yi yi* 38.

A. Mao: *yi* 39 (**ngiat* / *ngiat* / *yi*), »is equal to 40» of the preceding st., i. e. = 'high and great': »The walls of Ch'ung were high». *Shuowen* quotes 41 and Lu (ap. comm. on *Wüan*) quotes 42, readings and meanings the same. We have 39 (**ngiat*) in the sense of 'powerful, vigorous' in *Shu*: *Ts'in shi*: 43 and in *Kungyang*: *Süan* 6, phr. 44, a kindred notion. Chu therefore defines our *yi yi* 39 here as = 45 'strong'; we had better formulate the line so as to bring out this fundamental sense: »The walls of Ch'ung were powerful». — B. Han (ap. *Shiwen*): *yi yi* 39 = 46: »The walls of Ch'ung shook». No text par. — A is better substantiated.

Shi fa shi si, see gl. 787.

Ode CCXLII: *Ling t'ai*.

849. *Pu ji ch'eng chi* 47.

A. Mao paraphrases: 48 »In not a day it was completed», thus: »In less than a day they completed it». Cf. ode 30, phr. 49 »(In less than a day =) at every time of the day there are windblown dark skies». — B. Cheng: »Without a date they completed it, i. e. the king fixed no day for the work to be finished, he was so thoughtful and kind. So it was also understood by Wei Chao (comm. on *Kyü*) and Chao K'i (comm. on *Meng*). — No reason to abandon A.

850. *Shu min tsi lai* 50. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng paraphrases: »Of the people, each as a son achieving the work of the father

came and achieved it», thus: »The people (willingly like his) children came». So it must already have been understood by Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang. This, however, supposes a violent brachylogy: »The people-children-came». — B. Waley, rightly dissatisfied with this, says that since it cannot very well mean »came with their children» (?), the 51 (*tsiag / tsi / t s i) is loan char. for 52 (*tsiag / tsi / t s i) 'increase, abundant': »The people came in their throngs». — C. Another interpr. It seems better to keep within the phonetic series 51. 51 (*tsiag) is merely a short form for 53 (*tsiag / tsi / t s i) 'diligent', thus: »The people diligently came (to work)». Cf. Shu: Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi) 54 »I daily think of being diligent, assiduous»; Shu: T'ai shi (ap. Shuowen) 55 »diligent without slackness»; Ta Tai: Tseng tsi chi yen, chung 56 »daily diligent»; Ta Tai: Tseng tsi ping 57 »One who diligently improves himself together with those who come to him». The char. 58 (*tsiag 'to copulate') sometimes serves as loan char. for this word 'diligent', e. g. Meng: Tsin sin, shang 59 »He who diligently practises what is good» (similar ex. in Li: Piao ki etc.).

851. Yu lu cho cho 60.

A. Mao: cho cho 61 (*d'ök / d'äk / cho) = 62 'to sport, divert oneself', thus: »The does and stags are romping». This can only mean, with Ch'en Huan, that Mao took 61 to be a loan char. for 63 *tiok / t'iek / t'ia o 'to jump'. This is not plausible, for the par. in next line 64 has correspondingly an adjective describing the appearance. — B. Another school. Chao K'i in comm. on Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang, where this ode is quoted: »When an animal is fat and satiated, it is cho cho», and, following this, Kuang ya: cho cho = 65 'fat'. No pre-Han text ex. — C. Another interpr.: cho cho = 'bright', here, said of the deer, 'glossy'. Thus: »The does and stags were glossy». Cf. ode 259, phr. 66 »The breast-plates with hooks were bright» (Mao: cho cho = 67). The ordinary meaning of the char. 61 is 'to wash, to cleanse', and one might imagine an extension of meaning 'washed > clean > bright'. But I believe that the extension has gone the opposite way, so that the fundamental sense of the word is 'bright', and 'to make bright > to cleanse, to wash'. This is because the word *d'ök belongs to a large word family meaning 'bright, to shine': 68 *tiok 'bright': 69 *d'jok 'to shine': 70 *t'jok 'bright': 71 *d'jog 'to shine': 72 *t'jog 'morning' (light): 73 *t'jog 'bright' etc. — C is confirmed by the next line, where our word is balanced by 64 'white'. — We should study here also:

Ode 244. Wang kung yi cho 74. Mao (after Erya): cho 61 = 75 'great': »The king's works were great», but Han (ap. Sh'wen) cho = 76 'beautiful' and Chu (after Mao in ode 259, phr. 66 = 67) cho = 'bright', thus: »The king's works were bright».

Ode 263. Cho cheng Sü kuo 77. Mao again (after Erya) cho = 'great':

立後 16. 附 17. 附 18. 司徒致民... 司空致地 19. 附 20. 是 21. 臨衝 22. 第 23. 彊盛 24. 勳 25. 弗
 26. 佛 27. 閑閑 28. 勳勳... 盛也 29. 臨衝 30. 勳勳 31. 佛時仔肩 32. 大 33. 大投艱于朕身 34.
 第 35. 廢 36. 輔 37. 鄉 38. 榮 39. 穉 40. 言言 41. 圻 42. 圻 43. 允允 44. 允允 45. 允允 46. 允允 47. 允允 48. 允允 49. 允允 50. 允允 51. 允允 52. 允允 53. 允允 54. 允允 55. 允允 56. 允允 57. 允允 58. 允允 59. 允允 60. 允允 61. 允允 62. 允允 63. 允允 64. 允允 65. 允允 66. 允允 67. 允允 68. 允允 69. 允允 70. 允允 71. 允允 72. 允允 73. 允允 74. 允允 75. 允允 76. 允允 77. 允允 78. 允允 79. 允允 80. 允允 81. 允允 82. 允允 83. 允允 84. 允允 85. 允允 86. 允允 87. 允允 88. 允允 89. 允允 90. 允允 91. 允允 92. 允允 93. 允允 94. 允允 95. 允允 96. 允允 97. 允允 98. 允允 99. 允允 100. 允允 101. 允允 102. 允允 103. 允允 104. 允允 105. 允允 106. 允允 107. 允允 108. 允允 109. 允允 110. 允允 111. 允允 112. 允允 113. 允允 114. 允允 115. 允允 116. 允允 117. 允允 118. 允允 119. 允允 120. 允允 121. 允允 122. 允允 123. 允允 124. 允允 125. 允允 126. 允允 127. 允允 128. 允允 129. 允允 130. 允允 131. 允允 132. 允允 133. 允允 134. 允允 135. 允允 136. 允允 137. 允允 138. 允允 139. 允允 140. 允允 141. 允允 142. 允允 143. 允允 144. 允允 145. 允允 146. 允允 147. 允允 148. 允允 149. 允允 150. 允允 151. 允允 152. 允允 153. 允允 154. 允允 155. 允允 156. 允允 157. 允允 158. 允允 159. 允允 160. 允允 161. 允允 162. 允允 163. 允允 164. 允允 165. 允允 166. 允允 167. 允允 168. 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»Grandly they (the troops) marched against the state of Sü» (here foll. by Chu). But here again we may keep the same meaning as above: »(Brightly:) splendidly they marched against the state of Sü».

Ode 305. *Cho cho küe ling* 78. The ancient comm. do not define the *cho cho* here. Chu: »Bright (splendid) was its divine power». Waley here follows Erya: »Great was its magic power».

For Erya's *cho* (**d'ök*) = 75 'great' one might adduce as support that it could be cognate to 79 **tök* 'high', but that is, after all, very uncertain. It seems safer to carry through one and the same meaning in all the cases: 'bright, splendid', which is well supported both by text par. (e. g. 66) and by etymology.

852. Kü ye wei tsung 80.

A. Mao explains that the *kü* 81 (**g'io*) were the upright posts of the drum or bell stand (Shuowen quotes it 82 **g'io*), that the horizontal beam on top of them was called *sün* 83 (corresponding to the 84 of other texts), that on this was applied 85 a big board called *ye* 86, and that, finally, on this were applied *tsung* 87 defined as = 88 'high-rising teeth' (as decoration). These *ch'ung ya* occur in ode 280 in a corresponding context. — B. Ch'en Huan points out that whereas other texts always speak of *kü* and *sün* but never of *ye*, the *Shi* has *kü* and *ye* (so also in ode 280) but never *sün*, and he concludes that the *sün* and *ye* were one and the same thing, the horizontal upper part, for the suspension of the bell, having a board's shape. This seems very reasonable. Mao's definition of *tsung* 87 (**tsiung* / *tsiwong* / *tsung* Ts'ie *yün* and *Shiwen*, or **ts'üung* / *ts'iwong* / *ts'ung*, *Shiwen*) as = 88 is an attempt at etymology (89 **dz'iong* 'high'). — C. Chu Tsün-sheng: *tsung* 87 is a kind of tree, and this indicates the material of the *kü* and *ye*: »The posts and the board were of *tsung* wood». — The speculations of the Han-time glossists as to the shape of the archaic implements are always unsafe, and Mao's definitions may be all wrong. But C, simple and tempting though it seems, is unacceptable for reasons of parallelism. Our line *kü ye wei tsung* is parallel to next line *fen ku wei yung* 90, and since this cannot mean: »The big drums were bells», the first line cannot mean: »The posts and boards were *tsung* wood». For understanding the construction we have to refer to ode 189, phr. 91 *wei hiung wei p'i* »there are black bears and brown-and-white bears», and to ode 190, phr. 92 *chao wei yü* »there are tortoise-and-snake banners, there are falcon banners». The enumeration particle *wei* --- *wei* in 91 is abbreviated into one *wei* in 92, and so we have it in our second line here 90: »(There were) big drums, there were big bells», and corresponding to this in our first line 80: »(there were) *kü* vertical posts and *ye* horizontal boards, there were *tsung* dentated ornaments». For lack of fuller information we have to be satisfied with Mao's definition of *tsung* as some kind of pointed ornaments.

853. Wu lun ku chung 93.

A. Mao: *lun* 94 (*Shiwen* **lwən*) = 95 'to think'. This is because the next line is: *wu lo pi yung* 96, and because ode 299 correspondingly has *sī lo p'an shuei* 97, so that he thinks our *lun* 94 here corresponds to the *sī* 95 there. Evidently he gives *sī* 95 in phr. 97 its full force of a verb (Cheng expounds it so): We think of and rejoice in the semi-circular water», and thus here: »Oh we think of the drums and the bells, oh we rejoice in (the Hall of) the Circular Moat». But *lun* 94 normally means 'to discuss' and not 'to think'. And the supposed par. 97 is invalid, for *sī* 95 there does not mean 'to think' but is a mere particle, see gl. 700. — B. Cheng (reading 94 **liwən*) takes 94 to be equal to 98 'category, class', thus: »Oh, (classified=) assorted are the drums and bells». As to 94 for 98, cf. Li: Wang *chī* 99, Lü: Hing *lun* 100.

854. Wu lo pi yung 96.

The *pi yung* 1 occurs also in ode 244, phr. 2 'The Pi-yung of the Hao capital', and there Ts'i (ap. Yen t'ie lun) writes 3 (the form 4 being merely a corruption of the graph 5). There have been various expl. of this binome.

A. Mao: 6 »a water encircling (a mound:) an elevation is called *pi-yung*, because it (regulates, moderates =) keeps at a distance the onlookers». Thus Mao took 7 as a short-form for 8, the circular jade disc with a whole in the centre, and *yung* 9 as equal to 5 (as in the Ts'i school var.) = 'moat', which we have in ode 278, phr. 10 »on that western moat» (Mao = 11) — a 'moat' being called *yung* 4, 5 became it 'blocks, obstructs' (the fundamental sense of the word, common). Thus: »Oh, pleasant is the (Hall of the) Circular Moat». Mao says nothing here of the use of that place, but in ode 244 he adds that »the king in the Hao capital practised the rites of the Pi-yung», so he intimates that it was a ritual place; and in ode 299 he quotes Li: Wang chī as below, which shows that he took it to be a hall encircled by the moat. (Cheng, while in comm. on ode 299 following Mao's etymology, in comm. on Li: Wang chī says *pi* 7 = 12 and *yung* 5 = 13, thus Pi-yung = »(the place of) the bright harmony»). The oldest information about the use of the Pi-yung is in Li: Wang chī (early Han text): 14 »The (great school:) school for adults was in the suburb; that of the Son of Heaven was called Pi-yung, that of the feudal princes was called P'an-kung». The latter is also wr. 15, and all comm. agree that this is what we have in ode 299, phr. 97 »Pleasant is the (Hall of) the semi-circular water», the moat forming here a semi-circle, 16 **p'wán* being cognate to 17 **p'wán* 'a half'. (The analogy between Pi-yung and P'an-kung is confirmed by a lost ode quoted in comm. on Chouli: 18). And the Han school (quoted by K'ung) tells us that the Pi-yung was used »in the spring for (practise in) shooting (19, the foremost art taught in the school of the nobles) and in the autumn for the feasting of the old» (the feasting of the old was regularly done in the school, see Li: Wen wang shī tsī). — B. Tai Chen finds the Han-time theories of the Pi-yung too weakly substantiated. If it really were a school, it should have been mentioned in the Chouli. And he quotes some Chou bronze inscriptions having 20 »The king was in the Pi palace» and 21 »The king was in the upper palace of Yung». He further cites Tso: Chuang 21: »The prince of Cheng feasted the king 22 in the apartment of the western gate», and concludes that the Pi-yung was simply a 23 'separate palace' (or two separate palaces ?) of the king's, something analogous to the 24 »The king was in the Snow palace» of Meng: Liang Huei wang. — That the P'an-kung (14 or 15) was a school is confirmed by Li: Ming t'ang wei: 25 »The P'an-kung was the school of the Chou». The two lines ode 242, phr. 96 and ode 299, phr. 97 are certainly very analogous, *yung* meaning undoubtedly 'moat' and *shuei* meaning 'water'. If we could find it substantiated that the archery school hall was combined with a moat in early Chou time, this would strongly confirm the early Han traditions that both the Pi-yung 'circular moat' and the P'an-shuei 'semi-circular water' were

巨 83 枸 84 筍 筍 85 大板 86 業 87 樅 88 崇牙 89 崇 90 貢鼓維鏞 91 維熊維羆 92 旒 旒 93 於論鼓鐘 94 論 95 思 96 於樂辟廱 97 思樂泮水 98 倫 99 必即天
論 100 以堯為失論 辟廱 2 鏞京辟廱 3 辟離(雍) 4 雍
5 離 6 水旋邱如璧曰辟廱 以節觀者 7 辟 8 璧 9 廱 10 于彼西邕 11 澤 12 明 13 合 14 大學
在郊天子曰辟雍諸侯曰頤宮 15 泮宮 16 泮 17 半 18 有昭辟離有賢頤宮 19 射 20 王在辟
宮 21 王在黜上宮 22 于闕西辟 23 離宮 24 王在雪宮 25 頤宮周學也 26 靜殷 27 命靜嗣射

archery school halls, the latter being identical with the P'an-kung 25, the »Chou school« of the Ming t'ang wei. Now in a bronze inscription of Western Chou time, the Tsing Kuei 26 (K'ia chai tsi ku lu 11: 5, cf. BMFEA 8, p. 53) we find: »The king was in the P'ang capital; on the day ting-ma o he 27 ordered Tsing to direct the shê shooting in the H'ue kung Study Hall; the siao tsī and Fu and the siao ch'en and their squires h'ue shê 28 studied (practised) shooting (archery); in the 8th month, the first decade, the king with Wu etc. (several persons) --- shê yü ta ch'ī 29 shot by the great pool (moat); Tsing 30 studied (practised) untiringly« (the king gave Tsing presents, and Tsing made the vessel to commemorate the event). For ch'ī 'pool' in the special sense of 'moat' cf. Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou, hia 32 »The wall is (nothing but high =) very high, the moat is very deep«. Here we find a striking confirmation of the tradition in the early Han schools that there was a special archery school with a pool or moat, which strongly supports the A interpr.

855. T'o ku p'eng p'eng 33.

A. Mao: p'eng p'eng 34 = 35, thus: »The alligator-skin drums (sounded) harmoniously«. No text support. — B. Lu (ap. Kao Yu comm. on Lü) reads 36, and Kuang ya says 37 = 38: »The alligator skin drums (sounded) b'ung b'ung«.

Ode CXXLIII: Hia wu.

856. Shī tē tso k'iu 39. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng (after Erya): k'iu 40 = 41 'to end' and tso 42 = 43, thus: »Through (the virtue of generations =) the hereditary virtue he makes an achievement« (achieves his task). Chu Tsün-sheng believes that Erya takes 40 *g'îôg as loan char. for 44 (*k'îôg) 'to end, in the end'; I rather suspect that it took 40 *g'îôg to be a short-form for 45 *k'îôg 'to save' i. e. 'to bring to a happy end'. In ode 244, phr. 46 Cheng likewise says 40 = 41 »He achieved tranquillity«, but here k'iu 40 obviously has its ordinary meaning: »He sought tranquillity« (cf. ode 241, phr. 47 »He sought tranquillity for the people«). Still more curious is it that in Chouli: Niu jen 48, where Cheng Chung naturally explains: »He furnishes the oxen for offering, the oxen for prayer«, Cheng Huan again says 40 = 41: »He furnishes . . . the achieving oxen«, i. e. the oxen of the second and final sacrifice(!). There is really no reliable text support for A. — B. Su Ch'ê (Sung time): tso 42 = 49, and k'iu has its ordinary meaning. Tso frequently means 'to rise, to act, to be active' (as opp. to 'to be still, passive'), as in Meng: Kao tsī, hia: »When they are distressed in mind and perplexed in their thoughts 50 they act«. Thus here: »The hereditary virtue — that he actively seeks«. — C. Ch'en Huan and Ma Juei-ch'en: k'iu 40 is a short-form for 51 = 52, thus: »For the virtue of generations he is a match«. This means that these scholars take 51 *g'îôg to be a loan char. for 53 (*g'îôg) 'a match'. This was Mao's (and Shuowen's) idea in ode 1, phr. 54, because Lu has the reading 55. But as I pointed out there (gl. 2), 51 fundamentally means 'to assemble, to meet', and in that ode line 51 need not be a loan for 53, but means: »For the lord a good (meeting =) mate«. We should therefore rather have to express the C interpr. here thus: 40 (*g'îôg) is a loan char. for the homophonous 53. For this loan there is no safe text par. — We cannot decide the case without studying a striking par. in the Shu: K'ang kao: Wo shī k'ī wei Yin sien chē wang tē, yung k'ang yi min, tso k'iu 56 »I always think of the virtue of Yin's former wise kings, in order to tranquillize and govern the people, tso k'iu«. As to the last two words the comm. disagree widely. a. Pseudo-K'ung paraphrases 57, and K'ung Ying-ta thinks that by this he means: »I seek to (equal them)«, but that was certainly not his meaning. Ts'ai Shen (Sung school) correctly says that P.-K. took 58 = 59: »I am their equal, match« (paraphrasing 60 »I am a match for Shang's former kings«). This agrees with interpr. C

in our ode above. — β . Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen, after Erya 40 = 41: »I make an achievement, I carry it through. This agrees with interpr. A in the ode above. — γ . It is astonishing that all these authors have not realized that this Shu sentence must be judged in the light of a preceding line in the same K'ang kao: 61, where all agree that k' i u 58 has its ordinary meaning 'to seek': »Go and widely seek from (*auprès de*) Yin's former wise kings, thereby protecting and governing the people». Since k' i u here undeniably means 'to seek', it must mean the same in the former line, which is but a variation of the latter thus: »I always think of the virtue of Yin's former wise kings, in order to tranquillize and govern the people, and I actively seek it» (their virtue). — We now revert to our ode above. The theme (the *tê* virtue of the former kings) and the mode of expression tso k' i u 62 is exactly the same as that in the K'ang kao, the true meaning of which was revealed by the earlier line, where k' i u unambiguously means 'to seek'. We thus obtain in our ode line: »The hereditary virtue, he actively seeks it», which confirms B (Su Ch'è). It is inconceivable that the phr. tso k' i u should mean two quite different things in such analogous texts as the K'ang kao and our ode.

857. Mei tsī yī jen, ying hou shun tē 63.

Lu (ap. Sün) inst. of shun 'compliant' has 64 'careful'.

A. Mao says simply: ying 65 = 66 and hou 67 = 68 (thus being a particle), but for the rest does not explain the line. Cheng expounds: »Lovable is the (One man =) sovereign, he can (respond to =) be equal to the compliant virtue» (of the ancestors). This is grammatically excluded. The line should then have been 69. As it stands, ying cannot be a transitive verb separated from its direct object by a particle hou 67 = 68. There are more than a dozen ex. of 67 as a particle in the Shī and scores of ex. of wei 68, but in no single case are they placed in that way. When Ch'en Huan affirms that hou is merely a filling-out particle in the middle of the clause, having no meaning and simply to be skipped, he shows that he has not sufficiently studied the use of hou and wei in the Odes. — B. Sün (Chung-ni) quotes the line in a context which shows that he took ying to refer to the subjects responding to the goodness of the sovereign; Chu has seized upon this and paraphrases: 70, thus 63: »They (the people) love their (One man:) sovereign, their response is a compliant virtue». (Wang Sien-k'ien prefers to take ying 65 = 'ought', thus: »their duty is to observe their virtue», which is decidedly less good). Huai: Miu ch'eng varies the idea expressed in yet another way: yī jen 71 does not mean 'the One man' = 'the sovereign', but expresses that by the influence of 'one single man' all the people become good. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: Erya says hou 67 = 72, and he quotes Tso: Hi 12, phr. 73, where nai 72 clearly means 'you'; in the same way hou 67 here would mean 72 'you': »We love you, this (One man:) sovereign, and respond to your compliant virtue». This is quite impossible, in spite of the

擊宮²⁸ 擊射²⁹ 射于大池³⁰ 擊³¹ 池³² 城非不高也池非不深也³³ 鼙鼓逢逢³⁴ 逢³⁵ 合³⁶ 鼙鼓³⁷ 辭³⁸ 辭³⁹ 聲⁴⁰ 世德作求⁴¹ 求⁴² 終⁴³ 作⁴⁴ 為⁴⁵ 突⁴⁶ 救⁴⁷ 適求厥寧⁴⁸ 求⁴⁹ 民之莫⁵⁰ 共其享牛求牛⁵¹ 起⁵² 而後作⁵³ 述⁵⁴ 匹⁵⁵ 伏⁵⁶ 君子好述⁵⁷ 君子好伏⁵⁸ 我⁵⁹ 時其惟殷先哲王德用康乂民作求⁶⁰ 為求⁶¹ 等⁶² 求⁶³ 等⁶⁴ 為等⁶⁵ 匹於商先王也⁶⁶ 往敷⁶⁷ 求于殷先哲王用保乂民⁶⁸ 作求⁶⁹ 紹茲一人應侯順德⁷⁰ 愼⁷¹ 愼⁷² 當⁷³ 侯⁷⁴ 維⁷⁵ 侯⁷⁶ 應侯順德⁷⁷ 所以應之維以順德⁷⁸ 一人⁷⁹ 乃⁸⁰ 余嘉乃勳應乃懿德⁸¹ 迺⁸² 諸侯⁸³ 王⁸⁴

Tso par. (for which see below), for *hou 67* is = *nai 72* in the sense of the particle 74, but certainly not = *nai 72* in the sense of 'you'. If *hou 67* were to be a possessive phr. as in the *nai yi tê* »Your fine virtue« of Tso, we should have to take it as the noun 'prince': »They respond to the prince's compliant virtue«. But *hou 67*, though certainly meaning 'prince' in a general way (75), never serves as denomination for a king 76, but only for feudal princes subordinated to the king. — D. Another interpr. The *mei 77* of the first line certainly refers to the king's popularity with the people. But like all the rest of the ode it enumerates his own mental qualities, not the actions of the people. Thus 63: »Lovable is this (One man:) sovereign, responsive is his compliant virtue«, he is responsive to the love of the people and compliant to their wishes. Thus both *mei* in the first line and *ying 65* in the second are predicates placed before the subject, a construction that is exceedingly common in the Shī. For the former, cf. ode 39, phr. 78 »Beautiful are those Ki-family ladies«; for the latter, *ying hou shun tê, 79* equal to 80: »responsive is his compliant virtue«, cf. ode 269, phr. 81 »amply illustrious is the virtue«, etc. — We must revert to the Tso passage, 73, which is clearly an allusion to our ode. The *ying 65* there has been defined as = 66 by K'ung (after Mao above), thus: »I approve of your merits, I find suitable your fine virtue«; but Lin Yao-sou (Sung time) takes it = 82 »I requite your fine virtue«. Again Huei Tung (Ts'ing dyn.) thinks that *ying 65* is a loan char. for 83 = 'to receive': »I receive (accept) your fine virtue«. It is evident that we must translate, in accordance with our results above: 73 »I approve of your merits, responsive is your fine virtue« (which tallies well with the story told in the paragraph).

858. Chao tsī (tsai) lai hū 84.

Tsī 85 is a corruption for tsai 86, due to analogy with the first line in the preceding st. (87); the *chao tsai* is a repetition of the preceding line. It is correctly wr. 88 in a Han stone inscr. quoted by Wang Ying-lin, Shī k'ao.

A. Mao: *hū 89* = 90. This is ambiguous, for *tsin 90* may mean intransitively 'to advance' and transitively 'to bring forward'. Cheng took it as the former, adding (after Erya) *lai 91* = 92, thus: »Brightly he diligently advances« (in the good path). Erya's gloss 91 = 92 really refers to the fact that *lai 91* in falling tone means 'to cause to come' = 'to stimulate, to encourage', as in ode 203, phr. 93 »They only toil and are not encouraged«; and here, with Cheng, we should have to force the text into meaning: »Brightly he ('being caused to come, stimulated') diligently advances«. Very strained. For *hū 89* = 'to advance' there is no text support whatever. (Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou, shang: »The deeds of Kuan Chung and Yen-tsi 94« is expl. by Chao K'i: »can they again be started 95, but it means: »can they again be promised«, i. e. can you promise to repeat them). Ch'en Huan and Ma Juei-ch'en therefore believe that Mao took 89 **χῖο* / *χῖω* / *hū* as loan char. for 96 **ngῖο* / *ngῖω* / *y ü* (because in comm. on Sū Han shu the line is quoted 97), which is phonetically unlikely (in spite of the fact that both 89 and 96 have the phonetic 98 **ngo*). And it is true that this char. 96 in ode 177 is defined by Mao as = 90, but then this is in the sense of 'to present food to, to serve', and *y ü 96* never means intransitively 'to advance' (it sometimes means 'to go out to meet'). — B. Chu: *hū 89* = 99 (for an interchange 89 = 99 and its reason see gl. 417), but this 99 making really no sense here, Yen Ts'an has had to supplement Chu by saying that 89 = 99 is a mere »empty particle«. — C. Another interpr. *Hū 89* has its ordinary meaning of 'to permit' (common), and the clause connects with the following: »Brightly he comes and is permitted (has the prerogative) to continue in the footsteps of his ancestors«. This is a logical sequel to the preceding line: »Brightly he continues their task«.

Sheng k'i tsu wu, see gl. 20; Pu hia yu tso, see gl. 111.

Ode CCXLIV: Wen wang yu sheng.

Yü kuan k'ue ch'eng, see gl. 732.

859. Chu ch'eng yi hü, tso Feng yi p'i 100.

For Mao's yi hü 1 **χiwək* Han (ap. Shīwen) reads yi hü 2 (**χiwət*) 'moat', and this is the correct form, as proved by the rime 3 **p'it*, cf. *Grammata Serica* p. 229. A. Mao p'i 3 = 4 'to match', and Cheng expounds this as meaning 'answering to the standard rules for a wall' for his position, i. e. bigger than those of a feudal lord but smaller than that of a king. — B. Chu takes yi 5 = 6: 'He built the wall according to the (already existing) moat, he made Feng according to the matching', i. e. so that it matched the wall, did not become too extensive. — C. Another interpr. Yi 5 cannot mean 6 'according to' here. The two lines are par. to each other in construction, but also to the following wang kung yi cho 7 'The king's work was brilliant'. Here yi 5, as often, is = 8 (with Erya), cf. ode 152, phr. 9 'His girdle is of silk', ode 248, phr. 10 'Your viands are slices', ode 291, phr. 11 'The food brought is millet' etc. Now, just as yi cho 12 = 13 is the predicate in line 7, so yi hü 14 and yi p'i 15 are predicates in their lines, thus: 'The wall he built was moated, the (city) Feng he made matched it'.

860. Fei ki k'i yü 16. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: ki 17 = 18. This means that 17 **kiək* is loan char. for 19 (**kiək*) 'to urge, urgent', see gl. 354. And indeed Shīwen reads 20, indicating 17 as a variant. Thus: 'He did not urge his wishes'. — B. Ts'i (ap. Li: Li k'i) reads fei ko k'i yü 21. Cheng in his comm. on Li tries to reconcile this with the Mao version, saying that 22 (**kek / kek / k o*) is = 18, and Shīwen follows Cheng: 22 here read **kiək / kiək / k i* (i. e. = 19). Cheng further says yü 23 = 24, thus: 'He did not urge on his principles' (whatever that may mean). And Lu Wen-ch'ao and Ma Juei-ch'en go even so far in their zeal to reconcile the two versions that they say that 23 (**ziög / iəu / y u*) is equal to 25 (**giuk / iwok / y ü*). This is all plainly impossible. If we read the Ts'i school line without any prejudice and without trying to force it to agree with Mao's version, the line obviously means: 'He did not alter his plans'. — The rime word is 26 **χög / χau / h i a o*, and since this makes a fairly good rime to 23 **ziög* but certainly not to 25 **giuk*, the B version is clearly preferable. It might be added that when on Li: T'an kung 27 Cheng likewise says ko 22 = 18 (i. e. = 19 **kiək*): 'Your illness is (urgent:) extreme', I am not at all sure that this is true; I believe it means what it says: 'Your illness is changing (for the worse), takes a bad turn'.

Yü chuei lai hiao, see gl. 1041; Wang kung yi cho, see gl. 851.

861. Wei Yü ch'i tsi 28.

A. Mao: tsi 29 (**tsiək / tsük / tsi*) = 30, Cheng = 31. This is based on Erya, which defines 29 both as = 30 and 31 and 32. Thus: 'It was the work of Yü'. 29 fundamentally means 'to spin', and this might be an extension of meaning: 'handiwork, work, deed'. Cf. Tso: Ch'eng 8, phr. 33 'He will have great achievements'; Tso: Chao

媚₇₈嬖₇₉彼₈₀詰₈₁姪₈₂應₈₃侯₈₄順₈₅德₈₆應₈₇維₈₈順₈₉德₉₀不₉₁顯₉₂維₉₃德₉₄報₉₅應₉₆齊₉₇昭₉₈茲₉₉來₁₀₀許₁₀₁茲₁₀₂哉₁₀₃昭₁₀₄茲₁₀₅來₁₀₆許₁₀₇許₁₀₈進₁₀₉來₁₁₀勤₁₁₁職₁₁₂勞₁₁₃不₁₁₄來₁₁₅可₁₁₆復₁₁₇許₁₁₈乎₁₁₉興₁₂₀御₁₂₁昭₁₂₂哉₁₂₃來₁₂₄御₁₂₅午₁₂₆所₁₂₇築₁₂₈城₁₂₉伊₁₃₀泐₁₃₁作₁₃₂豐₁₃₃伊₁₃₄匹₁₃₅滅₁₃₆伊₁₃₇泐₁₃₈匹₁₃₉配₁₄₀伊₁₄₁因₁₄₂王₁₄₃公₁₄₄伊₁₄₅濯₁₄₆維₁₄₇其₁₄₈帶₁₄₉伊₁₅₀紵₁₅₁爾₁₅₂殽₁₅₃伊₁₅₄脯₁₅₅其₁₅₆饌₁₅₇伊₁₅₈黍₁₅₉伊₁₆₀濯₁₆₁維₁₆₂濯₁₆₃伊₁₆₄泐₁₆₅匹₁₆₆匪₁₆₇棘₁₆₈其₁₆₉欲₁₇₀匪₁₇₁惡₁₇₂匪₁₇₃惡₁₇₄匪₁₇₅革₁₇₆其₁₇₇猶₁₇₈革₁₇₉猶₁₈₀道₁₈₁欲₁₈₂孝₁₈₃子₁₈₄之₁₈₅病₁₈₆革₁₈₇矣₁₈₈維₁₈₉禹₁₉₀之₁₉₁績

32, phr. 33 a »Not throw away the old merits« (common). — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: t s i 29 is loan char. for 34 'footprints, tracks'. Thus: »It was the vestige of Yü«. In the classics it is often spoken of »the tracks, vestige of Yü«, e. g. Tso: Siang 4, phr. 35 »Wide were Yü's tracks«; Tso: Ai 1, phr. 36, Shīwen var. 34. Now 29 was *tsiək but 34 was *tsiäk / tsiäk / t s i, so this loan theory is not quite satisfactory. But Ma points out that there is also the char. 37 *tsiək / tsiäk / t s i meaning 'footprint, track' (ex. in ode 183), cognate to but not identical with 34 *tsi'ik, and it is quite plausible to assume that our 29 is loan char. for this 37 (both *tsiək, and both with the same phonetic). — It is very difficult to decide the etymology of t s i here. It may be an extension of meaning of 'to spin' ('handiwork') as stated above. But it may also be an extension of the meaning ('to spin' =) 'thread, line, continuance' (Erya 29 = 38). Cf. ode 300, phr. 39 »Continuing the work of Yü«, where s ü 40, fundamentally meaning 'line', means 'the succession, inheritance, work taken over from a predecessor'. Or again 29 may be loan char. for 41 *tsiək 'to accumulate', as it is in the common expression 42, thus: »the accumulation = heaped merits of Yü«: or, finally, with B, 29 may be loan char. for 37 'footprints, vestige'. If we decide in favour of the last (B), it is because of a par. in ode 305, phr. 43 »To establish the capital in the tracks of Yü« (where Yü has trodden). It is very forced here to take t s i 29 in the abstract sense: »To establish the capital in Yü's work (achievement)«, which Legge has circumscribed: »within the sphere of labour of Yü«, Waley: »where Yü wrought his work«, Couvreur: »ut instituerent urbes praecipias in Yü operibus« (!). Thus, when Erya says 29 = 38 'to continue', it is in the sense of 'to follow in the footsteps of'. And when Tso: Ai 1 has 36, it does not mean »He restored the (spun thread =) line of Yü« but »He restored the (footsteps =) succession of Yü« (hence var. 34); cf. ode 243, phr. 44 »Descending footsteppers =) successors in a line are the Chou«: the 29 = 37 'footsteps' in Tso is analogous to the 45 'footsteps' in that ode. And whenever t s i 29 means 'achievement, merit', as it often does (see ex. above), it is really in the sense of 'vestige, remaining result' of labour.

Huang wang wei pi, see gl. 567; Hao king pi yung, see gl. 854.

862. K'ao pu wei wang 46.

A. Cheng: k'ao 47 = 48, thus: »The one who examined the oracle was the king«. — B. Ch'en Huan and Ma Juei-ch'en (after Erya): k'ao = 49, thus: »The one who (achieved =) performed the oracle was the king«. — Both meanings of k'ao occur in the Shī: k'ao = 'to examine' in ode 257, k'ao = 'to achieve' in ode 56. No reason to abandon the anc. interpr.

Tsê shī Hao king, see gl. 794.

863. Wu wang k'i pu shī 50.

A. Mao: shī 51 = 52, thus: »Did Wu-wang not work«. Ts'i (ap. Yen tsī) reads 53; 51 and 54 (both *dz'ig / dz'i / shī, rising tone) are etym. one and the same word, the former a verb 'to serve, to function as a (worker:) officer', the latter a noun 'a (worker:) officer, a functionary'. Both belong to the same stem as 52 (dz'ig / dz'i / shī, falling tone) 'to work, to serve, service, business'. — B. Legge takes 51 in its sense of 'officer', here as a verb: »Did Wu-wang not employ (good) officers«. — The context goes against B: Wu wang did great work and handed it down to his descendants.

864. Yi küe sun mou 55. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng (ap. comm. on Li: Piao ki): »He handed down to his (grandsons:) descendants his plans«. — B. Cheng, in his gloss on our ode: sun 56 is a short-form for 57 = 58 (this abbrev. is common): »He handed down his complaisant plans«. — The reason for this B interpr. is that the following line has 59, and it has struck Cheng as curious that the »grandsons« should precede the »son«. But that is no sufficient justification for the unnatural B interpr.

Ode CCXLV: Sheng min.

K' o yin k' o s i, see gl. 690.

865. Yi fu wu ts i 60.

A. Mao: fu 61 = 62, thus: »In order to eliminate her having no child», i. e. »that she might no longer be childless». As pointed out by Shīwen, 61 (**p'iwət* / *p'uat* / f u) is then a short-form for 63 (**p'iwət* / *p'uat* / f u) 'to brush off, wipe off, beat off' (common). In st. 5 of our ode, 64 is used as loan char. for the same word: 65 »He cleared away the rank grass». — B. Cheng: 61 is a loan char. for 66 (**p'iwət* / *p'uat* / f u, and **p'iwäd* / *p'wvi* / f e i, Ts'ie yün and Shīwen) 'to expel noxious influences'. T'ai p'ing yü lan quotes the line 67, which was probably no ancient school reading but merely a correction of the text on the basis of Cheng's gloss. — There is really no fundamental opposition between A and B, for 66 **p'iwət* is etym. the same word as 63.

866. Li ti wu (min:) mu 68.

K'ung and Chu and all the official editors carry the following word h i n to this line: 69, but that is wrong, for 70 is the riming word, riming with 71 **dziag*: **tsiag*: **tiag*. The char. 70 was read **müwën* in Anc. Chinese (Ts'ieyün) and is consequently m i n in Mandarin; but it has as phonetic 72 **mwag* / *muäi* / m e i and rimes in the -*ag* class in ode 211, so that the graph must have been made for a word **mäg* or **mwag* 'diligent, active' and then later been transferred to a synon. word*? / *müwën* / m i n.

A. Mao refers ti 73 to Kiang Yüan's husband (Kao Sin) and to her sacrifice, in his company, to obtain children: »She walked in the emperor's footsteps, being assiduous (70 = 74), and so 75 the spirits enjoyed» (her offerings). — B. Lu (ap. Erya), foll. by Cheng: 70 = 76 'big toe', ti referring to 'God': »She trod on the big toe of God's footprint», and so 75 she became elated etc. Since 70 was **mäg* or **mwag*, as stated above, it could very well serve as loan char. for 76 (**mäg* / *mäu* / m u) 'big toe' (ex. of which in Yi: Kua 31, Kyü: Ch'u yü etc.). — C. Another school (ap. the Shê-jen comm. on Erya) reads 77: »She trod on God's footprint in the acres (fields)»; 78 (**mäg* / *mäu* / m u) suits the rime equally well as 70. The m u here would then be equal to 79, the preposition being left out, which is not uncommon in the Shī. — B is grammatically better than C, and intrinsically far superior to A.

Hin, yu kie yu ch i, see gl. 679.

867. Tsai chen tsai su 80.

A. Mao (after Erya): chen 81 = 82 'to move' and su 83 = 84 'early, soon', thus: »And so she (was moved =) became pregnant and so (it was soon =) it came quickly about» (after her sacrifice to obtain a child). So Mao is expounded by K'ung. Ch'en Huan thinks that s u = 84 refers to the quick birth, described in next st.: »And so she became pregnant, and so it was (early =) quickly done», which is far-fetched. 81 (**tiän* / *tsiën* / c h e n) 'to be shaken, to be moved' = 'to become pregnant' is common, e. g. Tso:

22 績 30. 業 51 功 22 事 33 斯有功績 33a 不廢舊績 34 迹 35 芒芒禹迹 36 復禹之績 37 蹟 38 繼
39 續禹之緒 40 緒 41 績 42 敗績 43 設都于禹之績 44 下武維周 45 武 46 考卜維王 47 考 48
緒 49 成 50 武王豈不仕 51 仕 52 事 53 武王豈不事 54 士 55 詒厥珠謀 56 珠 57 遜 58 順 59 以
燕異子 60 以弗無子 61 弗 62 去 63 拂 64 第 65 第厥豐華 66 被 67 以被無子 68 履帝武敏 69
履帝武敏歆 70 歆 71 祀子止 72 年 73 帝 74 疾 75 歆 76 持 77 履帝武敏 78 歆 79 于歆 80 載展

Chao 1, phr. 85 »When Lady Yi Kiang was pregnant with T'ai-shu». The same w. is often specifyingly wr. 86 'to become (be) pregnant' (*t'ien / ts'ien / chen* and **s'ien / s'ien / shen*, the latter another aspect of the same word stem). Su 83 generally means 'early, morning' (87 'morning and night'), but then also 'early' generally, e. g. ode 57, phr. 88 »The great officers retire early (in the evening)», and sometimes also by extension of meaning 'soon', e. g. Yi: Kua 40, phr. 89 »If you have to go somewhere, it is auspicious to do it soon (without delay)». — B. Cheng: su 83 (**s'iek*) is loan char. for 90 (**s'iek*) 'to be reverent', here in the sense of 91 'to be reverently abstemious', thus: »And so she became (moved:) pregnant, and so she (was reverent =) kept abstinence» (further expl. as: did not sleep with her husband). I know of no other ex. of 83 being loan for 90. (In Li: Nei tsê: »Three months after the birth of the child, she [the lady] 92 rinses the mouth, washes and su ch'ai; here Couvreur translates: »purifies herself by a severe abstinence», thus taking 83 = 90; but no comm. gives that sense, and Legge translates: »adjusts herself early in the morning», and presents the baby in the inner chamber). — C. Waley accepts Cheng's 83 = 90, but in a more general sense: »In reverence, in awe». But since it is here a description precisely of her pregnancy and childbirth, it would be strange indeed if chen did not mean 'to become pregnant' as it often does. — B and C are too poorly substantiated; A is simple and well supported.

Tan mi küe yüe, see gl. 833.

868. Sien sheng ju ta 93.

A. Mao: ta 94 = 95 'to bear, to be born'. This shows that he read ta in its ordinary way: **d'ât / d'ât / ta* 'to penetrate, burst through, come forth', as in ode 290, phr. 96 »Amplly-growing are the sprouting blades» (see gl. 467). Ch'en Huan adds that ju 97 then is = er 98, as often in the Shī (see gl. 471, 536), and the line (= 99) then becomes a natural sequel to the preceding: »She fulfilled her months, and the first-born then came forth». — B. Cheng: ta 94 should be read **t'ât / t'ât / t'a* = 'lamb', thus: »The first-born was like a lamb», i. e. came as easily from the mother as a lamb from the ewe. Shuowen has a 100 **t'ât / t'ât / t'a* = 'lamb', and Cheng thinks that 94 is a loan char. for that word. But of this 100 there are no text ex. whatever. This interpr. is therefore too poorly substantiated. — C. Another interpr. mentioned by Chu Tsün-sheng: 94 (**t'ât*) = 1 **t'ât / t'ât / t'a* 'glancing off, slipping' (see gl. 237): »The first-born was as if slippery», i. e. came out so easily. Very forced. — No reason to abandon A, which takes 94 with its ordinary meaning and makes good sense.

869. Kü jan sheng ts'i 2.

A. Cheng paraphrases 3 'silently, quietly', thus: »(Quietly:) tranquilly she bore her son» (cf. gl. 557). In st. 8 of our ode we have 4 »God on High (tranquilly:) placidly enjoyed» (the fragrance of the sacrifice), on which Cheng: kü = 5. This is an extension of meaning of the fundamental sense of kü: 'to sit down, to dwell, to be stationary, remain still'. — B. Ch'en Huan: kü 6 = 7 and jan 8 = 9, the line being equal to 10 »And so she bore her son». This is based on Wang Yin-chī, who in his King chuan shī ts'i adduces some cases, very doubtful and refuted in gl. 557, where he believes that kü 6 is »a particle»; but none in the sense of the k'i 7 here proposed by Ch'en. — A is simple and convincing.

Niu yang fei ts'i chī, see gl. 432; Kü sheng tsailu, see gl. 824.

Tan shī p'u po. For p'u po 11 Shīwen registers the var. 12, cf. gl. 98.

870. K'o k'i k'o yi 13.

A. Mao: k'i 14 (**g'jēg / g'jēg / k'i*) = 15 'to understand meanings', and yi 16 (**ngjak / ngjak / yi*) = 17 'to know', thus: »He was able to understand, he was able to know». The Ts'ing scholars think that Mao defined 14 (**g'jēg*) = 18 (**t'jēg*) by sound similarity. No text par. As to 16, Shuowen quotes the line 19, defining this (**ngjak /*

ngiək / *y i*) as = 20 'a small child having understanding'. Neither for 16 nor for 19 is there any support in par. texts. And yet I think it might be possible to keep fairly close to Mao's fundamental idea, in taking 14 (**g'jēg* / *g'jē* / *k' i*, even tone) as loan char. for 21 (**g'jēg* / *g'jē* / *k i* oblique tone) 'skill, dexterity, skilful, dexterous', and 16 or 19 (**ngiək* / *ngiək* / *y i*) as loan char. for 22 (**ngiəg* / *ngji* / *y i*) 'to estimate, calculate'; thus: 'He was able to be dexterous, to be calculating'. The rime words are 23 **b'ək*, **d'ək*, and a 22 **ngiəg* inst. of 16 **ngiək* (Shīwen) would be a less good rime; yet rimes in -*g* : -*k* do occur in the Shī (e. g. odes 1, 79, 196 etc., see Grammata p. 90 ff.). — B. Chu: *k' i y i* 24 = 25 'of a high and (luxuriant =) splendid appearance' (14 is the name of a mountain, and 26 **ngiək*, **ngiəg* means 'luxuriant'), thus: '«(And then he, sc. the baby, crawled), he was able to be high, to be (luxuriant =) splendid». A comical interpr. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: 14 **g'jēg* is a loan char. for 27 **k'jēg* / *k'jē* / *k' i* 'to raise oneself on the toes, to stand on tiptoe', here then more freely 'to raise oneself on the feet'; and 16 is loan for *y i* 28 in the phr. 29 'to stand straight and firm' (Cheng = 30), which occurs *passim* in the Yili (Shī hun li, Hiang yin tsiu li etc.) Shīwen in these Yili cases reads 28 both **ngiək* / *ngiək* / *y i* and **ngiət* / *ngiət* / *y i* (the latter because Lu Tê-ming takes 28 as equal to the 31 in Kungyang: Sūan 16); but only the former, which tallies with the phonetic series, will do as rime in our ode. Waley has improved on Ma's interpr. further by preferring not to take 14 **g'jēg* as loan char. for 27 **k'jēg*, which latter after all properly means 'to stand on tiptoe', but in its original reading **g'jēg* / *g'jē* / *k' i*. In Lie: Shuo fu 32 and in Huai: Miu ch'eng 33 means 'a bifurcating road' (id. w. 34). Thus we obtain: 'He was able to (straddle =) stride, to stand firmly'. — B being obviously impossible, the choice is between A and C (the latter in Waley's modification). A operates with two loan characters, C only with one; A rimes -*g* with -*k*, C rimes correctly **ngiək* with **b'ək*, **d'ək*. A has the advantage of coming very near to the ancientmost interpr. (Mao's), and makes good sense when combined with the following line. But C is much better in view of the whole context. A: '«And then he crawled, he was able to be dexterous, to be calculating, in order to seek food for his mouth; he planted beans . . .»'; C: '«And then he crawled; (then) he was able to (straddle =) stride, to stand firmly; and so he sought food for his mouth, he planted beans . . .»'. It is easily seen that A jumps much too abruptly from the 'crawling' stage of infancy to the stage of a grown-up farmer. C gives a more logical sequence.

871. Huo yi suei suei 35.

Yi:

A. Mao: *y i* 36 (**djək* / *jək* / *y i*) = 37. This has been differently understood: α. K'ung thinks that Mao's 37 means 'rank, file, row': 'The rows of grain'. 36 often means 'war service, military expedition', and soldiers marching in *r a n k s* would cause this simile here. A very forced expl. β. Tuan Yü-ts'ai (foll. by Ma Juei-ch'en and Ch'en

載夙²¹ 震²² 動²³ 夙²⁴ 早²⁵ 邑姜方震大叔²⁶ 娠²⁷ 夙夜²⁸ 大夫夙退²⁹ 有攸往夙吉³⁰.
肅³¹ 肅戒³² 激潏夙齊³³ 先生如達³⁴ 達³⁵ 生³⁶ 騶騶其達³⁷ 如³⁸ 而³⁹ 先生而達⁴⁰ 肇⁴¹
1. 泰汝 2. 居然生子 3. 居默然 4. 上帝居歆 5. 安 6. 居 7. 其 8. 然 9. 是 10. 其是生子 11. 匍
匍¹² 扶服¹³ 可岐可嶷¹⁴ 岐¹⁵ 如意¹⁶ 嶷¹⁷ 識¹⁸ 知¹⁹ 嶷²⁰ 小兒有知也 21. 技 22. 擬 23. 匍
食²⁴ 岐嶷²⁵ 峻茂之狀 26. 蘇 27. 跂 28. 疑 29. 疑立 30. 正立自定之兒 31. 危 32. 岐路 33. 岐道 34.
歧 35. 承役綏綏 36. 役 37. 列 38. 梨 39. 黍稷 40. 穎 41. 稷 42. 三百里納結服 43. 結束也服束役也

Huan) believes that Mao wrote 37 short for 38, Shuowen = 39 'stalks of millet', and that he did so because he took *y i* 36 as loan char. for the 40 of version C below, thus: 'The stalks of grain'. But firstly 36 was **djēk* and 40 was **giēng* — such a loan is phonetically excluded; and secondly this 40 does not mean 41 'stalk' but 'ear of grain'. Ch'eng Yao-tien tries to prove that *y i* 36 could mean 'stalk' by referring to the pseudo-K'ung comm. on Shu: Yü kung 42 'From the region of 300 li they presented the straw, and did their service', on which p.-K. 43, which Ch'eng thinks means: **k i a* = straw; *f u* = the outer cover of the straw. But the gloss simply means: **k i a* = straw; *f u* 'the service' means *k a o y i* the service of (presenting) the straw. This comm., besides, is so late that it has no value for proving a meaning of 'straw, stalk' of *y i* 36 in pre-Han times. — B. Another interpr. *Y i* 36 fundamentally means 'service, to do service, work, a worker', particularly 'war service' but by no means limited to military work. In Tso: Siang 7, *y i* 36 means a workman busy on earth-work; in Li: Chao *y i* a good minister of state is called 44 'the (worker for =) servant of the gods of the Soil and the Grain'; in Li: Piao *ki we* find: 45 'The sage by reverence and frugality strives to (serve:) work for goodness'; Kyü: Tsin *yü* 46 'He does not work for profit'. Now there is a homophonous word 47 **djēk* / *jäk* / *y i* which means 'to work well' particularly said of agriculture, e. g. Meng: Tsin sin 48 '(Work:) cultivate well the fields'. Here 47 **djēk* 'to change' is obviously a loan char., and it is a loan precisely for the word 36 **djēk* 'to do service, to work' (the notions 'service' and 'work' are in Chinese regularly expressed by one and the same word, e. g. 49 'to serve, service, work, business'). In the sense of 'agricultural work' then our 36 or 47 are but two ways of writing the same word. This is proved by a striking Shī par. Just as we have *h u o y i* 50 in our present ode, we have *h u o y i* 51 in ode 211, phr. 52 'The grain is well (worked:) cultivated all over the acres' (see gl. 681). This line is indeed equal to a 53. In our present ode we have the primary graph 36, in ode 211 we have the loan char. 47. The two odes are quite analogous, but for this different choice of characters for the word **djēk* 'to work'. 'Mao's text 50 thus means 'The culture of grain =) the grain cultivated'. — C. Another school (ap. Shuowen) reads 54: 'The ears of grain . . . '.

Suei suei:

A. Mao: suei suei 55 (**dziwəd* / *zui* / *suei*) = 56 'the (sprouts:) growing grain being beautiful'. Erya says: suei suei = 57 'sprouts, growing grain'. No text par. — B. Another school ap. Shuowen: suei 55 = 58 'the appearance of ears of grain'. Now 59 is Shuowen's form for 60 **dziwəd* / *zui* / *suei* 'ear of grain' (ode 212 etc., common). Since this is homophonous with our 55, it is quite evident that 55 is merely a variant for this common 60. —

Thus the A text version means: 'The grain cultivated had plenty of ears'. The C version means: 'The ears of grain were many ears'. A is the oldest version attested and quite satisfactory.

872. Yu siang chī tao 61.

A. Mao: siang 62 = 63 'to help' (common). Cheng takes this to mean: '(The husbandry of Hou Tsi) had the way of getting help' (was as if the gods gave him help, was so successful). Chu refers it to the human labour helping the growth: 'had the method of helping (the growth)'. — B. Si-ma Ts'ien, in paraphrasing this theme (Shī ki: Chou pen ki) takes 62 = 64 'to inspect' (common), thus: 'had the method of inspecting' (the soil, to find out which soil was suitable for the various products). — Chu is undoubtedly right, for the foll. lines describe how he helped nature by clearing the ground.

Fu küe feng ts'ao, see gl. 865.

873. Shī ying shī li 65.

Mao says simply: li 66 (**liēt* / *liēt* / *li*) = 67, which tells us nothing. A. Li 66

ordinarily means 'chestnut' (ode 50 etc.) and Shuowen defines it: 68 'a tree. . . its fruits hang down'. Because of this, Ma Juei-ch'en thinks that Mao's *li li ja n* 67 is equal to 69 (**lia / liē / li*) 'to hang down, to droop' (ode 65, see gl. 196). Thus: »It had ears, they hung down». This is a quite arbitrary guess, with no support whatever, the Shuowen definition of the chestnut of course having no value as to the fundamental sense of the stem **liēt*. — B. Cheng: *li* 66 = 70 'achieved' and said of the grain this means 'ripe, fully developed'. Chu expounds this further: *li* 66 = 71 'not empty husks', thus: *It had (ripe) ears, it had solid kernels*. There are two par. *Li*: P'ing yi 72 »(The jade) is dense and compact (hard, solid)», Cheng 66 = 73 (Wang Yün and Chu Tsün-sheng in their Shuowen comm. think that 66 here is a short-form for 74 'regularly veined', but the combination with *chen mi* 75 decides in favour of Cheng). Tso: Huan 6, phr. 76 »Sweet spirits of fine ripe grain», on which Fu K'ien 77 »when grain is just ripe, it is *li*». (Here Tu Yü takes *li* 66 to be short-form for 78 'dread, respect': »Sweet spirits presented with respect»; Legge refers the *li* to the spirits: »Admirable and strong sweet spirits»; but Fu K'ien is obviously right, for *kia li* 79 is analogous to the common *kia ku* 80 'fine grain'). — B is well supported.

874. *Tan kiang kia chung* 81.

A. Mao takes Heaven as the understood subject: »It (Heaven) sent down fine cereals». — B. Chu understands Hou Tsi as the subject: »He (Hou Tsi) sent down (to the people) the fine cereals». He supports this by a par. in Shu: Lü hing 82 »Tsi sent down and spread the cereals». — B is certainly preferable, for the whole theme of the ode is to describe how Tsi was the great creator of the agriculture of the tribe.

875. St. 6. *Yi kuei chao si* 83;

St. 8. *Hou Tsi chao si* 84.

A. Mao on st. 6: *chao* 85 (**d'ioḡ / d'jäu / chao*, vulgar form of 86) = 87 'first, to begin, to initiate' (common meaning), thus: 83 »With them he went home and initiated a sacrifice»; 84 »Hou Tsi initiated the sacrifice». — B. Cheng: *chao* 85 is loan char. for the homophonous 88 (**d'ioḡ / d'jäu / chao*) = 89 'the sacred place of the Spirits in the suburban sacrifice'. His reason for this is that Ts'i (ap. Li: Piao ki) reads st. 8: 90. For this *chao* 88 he alludes to Chouli: Siao tsung po 91 »He makes the *chao* of the Five Sovereigns in the four suburbs», and in the comm. on that passage Cheng takes *chao* 88 to mean 'to delimit, (to make) an enclosure' (cf. ode 303 below), saying: 92 »*chao* is the boundary, enclosure of the altar», here basing himself on Shuowen, which quotes the Chouli line as 93 and defines *chao* 94 as = 95 ('separating bank'). Cheng, taking our *chao* 85 = 88 (94) in this technical sense, interprets st. 6, phr. 83: »With them he went home and *chao* in the enclosure (of the suburb) *si* sacrificed». In st. 8, phr. 84 he has offered two different opinions. In his gloss on our ode he interprets: »Hou Tsi in the enclosure (of the suburb) sacrificed», this tallying with st. 6. But in his

社稷之役 45 君子恭儉以求役 46 不役於利 47 易 48 易其田疇 49 事 50 禾役 51 禾易
 2 禾易長畝 52 禾役長畝 53 禾穎穰穰 54 穰 55 苗好美也 56 苗 57 禾采之兕 58 采 59 穗 60
 有相之道 61 相 62 助 63 視 64 貴穎實粟 65 粟 66 粟粟然 67 木也...其貴下土 68 離離 69 成
 就也 70 不秬 71 穰密以粟 72 堅 73 環 74 穰密 75 嘉粟 76 酒 77 穀之初熟為粟 78 粟 79 嘉粟
 80 嘉穀 81 言降嘉種 82 稷降播種 83 以歸肇祀 84 后稷肇祀 85 肇 86 肇 87 始 88 兆 89 郊之
 神位 90 后稷兆祀 91 兆五帝於四郊 92 兆為壇之營域 93 兆五帝 94 兆 95 畔 96 郊 97 兆祀

gloss on the quotation in Li: Piao ki he turns it round another way: »Hou Tsi was sacrificed to in the enclosure (of the suburb)«, explaining that he was adjoined, as a god, to Heaven, in the suburban (96) sacrifice. — Quite apart from Cheng's inconsistency in regard to st. 8, his idea to take *chao* as = 'boundary' = 'sacrificial enclosure in the suburb' is very far-fetched. *Chao* 88 is often used as loan char. for 85 'to initiate', and so it is in the Ts'i version (90) of st. 8 (97 there equal to the 98 'to initiate the sacrifice', with Mao). Cf. Tso: Ai 1, phr. 99 »He began to lay his plans« (etc., common). A is therefore preferable. — We should examine here:

Ode 303. St. 1: *Cheng yü pi si fang* 100;

St. 2: *Chao yü pi si hai* 1.

A. Mao: *cheng* 2 = 3, and 4 (**giwək* / *jiwək* / *yü*) = 5 (**giüg* / *jiü* / *yu*) 'to possess', thus: 100 »(Anciently God gave his appointment to the martial T'ang) to preside over and possess the (states of) the four quarters«. Mao takes **giwək* to be = **giüg* because of the sound similarity. On st. 2, phr. 1, Mao has no gloss, but Wang Su follows up his view and interprets: *chao* = 'first', *yü* 'to possess': »Now first they possessed the (states between) the four seas«. — B. Cheng in st. 1 takes *yü* 4 as a noun: 'boundary' = 'territory', paraphrasing 6 'to preside over and have the state-territories (and govern over) the whole world'. Thus 100 word for word: »To preside over the (boundaries =) territories of the four quarters«. In st. 2, on the contrary, he takes *yü* 4 as a verb = 'to delimit, draw boundaries'. And he says »*chao* 7 ought to be 8 »with the same sense, thus: 1 »They delimited and drew boundaries in the (countries between) the four seas«. Cf. Shu: Yao tien 9, in Shang shu ta chuan quoted 10 »He delimited the twelve provinces«; here an interpr.: »He (initiated =) founded the twelve provinces« would be much less convincing than »he drew boundaries for, delimited«, in accordance with the use of 8 (94) in the Chouli (91), see above, and Shuowen's definition = 95 (so both Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen, the best Shu authorities). Indeed, Erya already had the definition 8 = 4; cf. Yili: Shī sang li 11 »To the south of the (delimited space:) enclosure« etc. — C. Chu: *cheng* 2 = 12 (common) and *yü* 4 = 13 'boundaries', thus: 100 »To regulate and delimit (draw boundaries for) the states of the four quarters«. But in 1 he takes 7 = 14 (no text support): »They opened up the boundaries to the four seas«. — It is obvious that the two lines 100 and 1 are parallel, and that just as *si fang* means »the (states of) the four quarters«, so *si hai* (with Wang Su) means »the (states between) the four seas«. Since *chao* 8 is well attested in the sense of 'to delimit, boundary', and since *chao* 7 is attested as loan char. for this 'to delimit' in the Shu phrase 9, it is evident that *chao yü* 1 = 15 has *yü* 4 in its regular sense of 'boundary' (with B and C) and is no loan char. for *yu* 5 (A). Finally it is clear that both clauses have to be taken as principal clauses, and that the first is not an object clause to the preceding *ku ti ming wu T'ang*. We thus obtain: 100 »(Anciently God gave his appointment to the martial T'ang); he (T'ang) regulated and set boundaries for those (states of) the four quarters«; 1 »(The Royal domain was of a thousand li, that was where the people [of our tribe] settled); but they (also) delimited and set boundaries for those (states between) the four seas« (all the world).

876. *Huo ch'ung huo yü* (*yu*) 16.

A. Mao reads thus: »Some pound (the grain), some bale it out«. — B. Another school (ap. Shuowen) reads *huo yü* 17 (18), same meaning. — The char. 19 is properly read **dü* / *ü* / *yü*, having 20 **dü* for phonetic. This, however, fails in the rime here (21 **üög* etc.). The char. 22 has in Ts'ie yün three alt. readings: **düög* / *ü* / *yu* and **düög* / *ü* / *yo* and **dü* / *ü* / *yü*. It is only the first one: **düög* which makes a correct rime here. Influenced by his knowledge of the Shuowen text version (22) in our ode, Lu Tê-ning (Shiwen) says that 19, besides its regular reading **dü* / *ü* / *yü*, could

also, in our ode here, be read **djög* / *iqu* / y u. This shows that he thinks that 19 of the A text was a loan char. for the 22 **djög* of the B text. But that is certainly erroneous. A **dju* could not be loan char. for a **djög*, and this alternative reading of Lu's is a mistake. Evidently the orig. Shī text had 22 **djög*, and this has been expl. by 19 in some early gloss; the 19 of the gloss has then been erroneously substituted for the correct 22 of the Shī text.

877. Huo po huo jou 23.

Mao's gloss tells us nothing of the meaning of j o u.

A. Cheng: j o u 21 = 24, further expl. by 25, thus: »Some sift it, some moisten it». No text par. Ma Juei-ch'en and Ch'en Huan think that 24 is a scribe's fault for 26 'to knead', but they then have to surmise that the following 27 'to moisten' of Cheng's gloss is also a text corruption, which is very unlikely. — B. Ts'ang hie p'ien (ap. Yi ts'ie king yin yi): j o u 21 = 28 'to tread, to trample'. Shuowen considers this to be the same word as 29 'foot-print'. Thus: »Some sift it, some tread it». Text ex. of 21 'to trample, to tread' earliest in Han writings (Han shu, Si king fu). Ma Juei-ch'en explains that 'to tread' here means 'to tread with the hands', i. e. 'to knead', but for this there is not the slightest support. — B is best substantiated.

878. Shī chī sou sou 30.

Shī:

A. Mao: shī 31 (*śiäk* / *śiäk* / shī) = 32 'to wash rice'. Shuowen has a char. 33, with this reading and meaning, and the 31 of the text is merely a corruption of 33, due to the similarity of the char. — B. Lu (ap. Erya with Fan Kuang's comm.) reads 34, this **siek* / *siek* / si = 'to wash rice' (ex. in Meng). — Undecidable whether the orig. Shī had **śiäk* or **siek*. The two words are synon. and cognate.

Sou sou:

A. Mao: sou sou 35 (**śiög* / *śiqu* / sou) = 36, thus taking it as an onomatopoe: »They wash it (it sounds) *śiög śiög*». — B. Lu (ap. Erya with Fan Kuang's comm.) reads 37 (**śiög* / *śiqu* / sou), Erya defining it as = 38 'to wash' (rice). Thus: »They wash it, so as to become soaked». Cf. Li: Nei tsē 39 »They wash it» (sc. the grain). — The line balances 40 in next line, and Mao does not take 41 (Lu var. 42 ap. Erya) as an onomatopoe but = 43 'steam': »They steam it, so as to become steamed through». Consequently the sou 35 of Mao's text is obviously not an onomatopoe but a short-form for the 37 'to wash' of version B, which is confirmed by the Li par. 39.

879. Ang ch'eng yü tou 44.

A. Mao: ang 45 = 46: »We fill (food) in the tou vessels». Ang = 'we' also in odes 34, 229 (in both cases quite unambiguous). — B. Waley: ang = 'high': »High we load the stands». Ang means 'high, majestic' in ode 252. — St. 7 begins: 47, here in st. 8 we have correspondingly 44. Wo 'we' in 7 and ang 'we' in 8 balance each other.

Shang ti kü hin, see gl. 557; Hu hui tan shī, see gl. 553.

22 肇祀 29 兆其謀 30 正域彼四方 1 肇域彼四海 2 正 3 長 4 域 5 有 6 使之長有邦域
為正於天下 7 肇 8 兆 9 肇十有二州 10 兆十有二州 11 兆南 12 治 13 封竟 14 開 15 兆域
16 或春或榆 17 或否 18 揆 19 揆 20 俞 21 際 22 否 23 或龜或跡 24 潤 25 潤溼 26 潤 27 溼 28 踐
29 內 30 釋之叟叟 31 釋 32 浙米 33 釋 34 浙之 35 叟 36 聲 37 溲溲 38 浙 39 溲溲之 40 蒸之浮
浮 41 浮 42 輝 43 氣 44 印 益于豆 45 印 46 我 47 誕我祀如何 48 維葉泥泥 49 葉初生泥泥 50

Ode CCXLVI: Hing wei.

T'uan pi hing wei, see gl. 390; Fang pao fang t'i, see gl. 365.

880. Wei ye ni ni 48.

Mao says 49 »The leaves when first growing out are ni ni»; this tells us nothing precise as to how he understood the word. — A. Chu: ni ni 50 = 51 'soft and moist'. The char. 50 (*niar / niei / ni, even tone) properly means 'mud, mire', but also (same sound but in rising tone) 'moist, soaking', e. g. ode 173, phr. 52 »The fallen dew is soaking». In our ode here Shīwen likewise reads 50 *niar / niei / ni in the rising tone, as in ode 173, and Chu evidently has seized upon this. Thus: »The leaves are succulent». — B. Lu (ap. Ts'ien fu lun) reads 53 (the present version of the Ts'ien fu lun has 54, which is a corruption of 55, as shown by the rime; comm. on Wsüan quotes correctly 53), and Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 56 (*niar, rising tone, Ts'ieyün) defined as = 57 'plants being ample, luxuriant'. The Ts'ing scholars take the 50 of the Mao text as loan char. for this 55, 56. Thus: »The leaves are luxuriant». — In ode 167, phr. 58 »What is that ampleness (luxuriance)» the 59 (Mao = 60 'flowers being ample, luxuriant') is read *niar / niei / ni, rising tone, and this is quoted 61 in Shuowen. Again, in ode 105, phr. 62 »The hanging reins are numerous» (Mao: 63 = 64 'numerous', a notion kindred to 'ample'), the 63 is read *niar / niei / ni, rising tone (see gl. 264). Cf. also the binome 65 (*ia-niär) 'luxuriant', see gl. 188. There can thus be no doubt whatever that in the Shī language there existed a word *niar, rising tone, meaning 'ample, luxuriant', and just as we have the radical 85 'water' in 63, so we have it in Mao's 50 here, as a variant of the 55, 56 of the Lu and Han schools (55 has also a reading *niar / nji / ni in the Ts'ie yün, but then in another sense). All this confirms B.

Shou ki yu ts'i yü, see gl. 618.

881. Kia yao p'i küe 66.

Mao says nothing of kia, thus taking it in its ordinary sense: 'fine (viands)'. Cheng thinks it stands for 67 'additional viands', an arbitrary and uncalled-for guess. We had the phr. 68 also in odes 192, 218, and there Cheng had no such speculation.

A. Mao: küe 69 (*g'iak / g'iak / k ü e) = 70. Fu K'ien (2nd c. A. D.) in his T'ung su wen (ap. Shīwen) says: 71 »the top of the mouth is called k ü e, the bottom of the mouth is called h a n». This disagrees with Mao, who identifies k ü e and h a n. Shuowen has a char. 72 (otherwise known only as part of compound characters) *g'iak / g'iak / k ü e = 73 'the top of the mouth, the palate', and registers 69 as a variant of 72. Hū Shen thus took k ü e to be the top of the mouth, and Fu K'ien probably followed him. Under h a n 70 (fundamentally meaning 'to envelop, to contain') Shuowen says = 74 'tongue' (the thing enveloped, contained in the mouth). Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes that 70 = 74 is here a corruption of 70 = 72, but Kuang-ya also says 70 = 74, which supports the traditional Shuowen text. And Shuowen (as quoted by Shīwen) continues with a line which we have in two versions. Some editions read 70 = 75 'the flesh inside the mouth'; other editions read 76, and this has generally been taken to be equal to 77. Hu Ch'eng-kung explains this as = 78 'the flesh at the sides of the mouth', and this has caused Legge and Waley to translate our k ü e 69 by 'cheek'. But 79 means 'next to', and Shuowen's line 76 means 'the flesh adhering to the mouth' equal to the 'flesh inside the mouth' 75 of the other editions. Briefly, Shuowen's additional line expounds further its definition h a n 70 = 74 'tongue' by saying 'the flesh adhering to or inside the mouth'.

The idea of 'cheek' being thus eliminated, we have two opposite interpr. of k ü e 69: that of Mao, making it equal to h a n 70 'tongue, the flesh in the mouth', and that of Hū Shen and Fu K'ien, making it mean 'palate'. Now the palate is notoriously bare of flesh, having only a very thin covering on the bone, and a sacrificial meat dish could

hardly be made of the flesh of the palate. This reality speaks in favour of Mao. Moreover 69 is homophonous with and probably the same word as 80 (*g'jak / g'jak / k ü e) in Kuang ya defined as = 74 'tongue' and used in that sense in Yang Hiung: Yü lie fu. This further confirms Mao. The ode line thus means: **«Fine viands, tripe and tongue»**. — B. Tsi yün says: k ü e 69 = 81 'minced meat', explaining: «one takes tripe and kidneys, puts them in an intestine and fries it, this is called k ü e». There is no support for this in ancient texts.

882. Tuei kung ki kien 82.

A. Mao: tuei 83 (*twər / tuəi / tuei, Sü Miao; Lu Tê-ming reads *tiōg / tieu / tia o, because he knew of version B and took 83 to stand for 84; but of course an 83 could have no reading *tiōg, which falls outside the range of the phonetic 85) = 86 'a painted bow'. Shuowen has a char. 87 (in Kuang yün read *twən / tuan / t u n) = 86, but of this there are no text ex. — B. Lu (ap. Chang Heng, quoting the latter part of our st.) reads 88. — The idea that 83 and 84 mean 'to paint' is based on Sün: Ta lüe 89 «The Son of Heaven had a tia o bow, the feudatory princes had red bows, the dignitaries had black bows». The comm. have all concluded that the first, tia o, must be a colour, like the second and the third. But this is obviously wrong. In ode 284 we have 90 (*twər / tuəi / tuei) 'to carve and chisel', corresp. to ode 238, phr. 91 (*twər / tuəi / tuei) 'to carve and chisel', for which again the Lu school has 92 (*tiōg / tieu / tia o), see gl. 807. It is precisely the same word *twər 'to carve' that we have here, wr. 83 as in ode 284 (id. w. the 93 *twər of ode 238); 84 *tiōg regularly and frequently means 'to carve, engrave'. And just as in ode 238 there was uncertainty as to the orig. Shī text (whether *twər 'to carve' or *tiōg 'to carve'), so we have the same uncertainty in our ode here. The line in any case means: **«The carved bows are strong»**.

883. Tuei kung ki kou 94.

A. Mao quotes Chouli: Sī kung shī and Kung jen: «The bows of the Son of Heaven 95 «nine (bows) combined make a circle» (describing the degree of curvature of the bows). Thus: **«The carved bows are curved»**. K o u 96 (*ku / kəu / k o u) normally means 'hook', here then 'a curve, curved'. It rimes here with 97 *g'u: *d̥iu: *m̥iu. — B. Lu (ap. Chang Heng: Tung king fu) reads 98. Chu thinks that Mao's k o u 96 was a loan char. for this k o u 99 in its common sense of 100 'to bend (a bow), draw to the full': «The carved bows are drawn to the full». — C. Shao Tsin-han (comm. on Erya) likewise thinks that Mao's 96 is a loan for 99 but in another sense. Erya says k o u 99 = 1 'good'. Thus: The carved bows are good» (corresp. to the earlier line: «The carved bows are strong»). But of 99 = 'good' there are no text ex. (It probably refers to some now unknown early text in which 99 *kūg served as loan char. for 2 kuk 'good'). — The word 99 was *kūg / kəu / k o u, which fails in the rime (*g'u: *d̥iu: *m̥iu, see above). Some early glossist of the Lu school probably guessed that the 96 'curve' of the text referred to the bending of the bow when shooting (inst. of the curve characteristic of the bow when made), and therefore replaced it by the common 99 'to bend, draw to the full', without heeding that he spoiled the rime. B and C therefore have to be rejected.

泥 51 柔澤 52 零露泥泥 53 維葉杞杞 54 檉檉 55 杞 56 維葉花花 57 草盛也 58 彼爾維何 59
爾 60 華盛兒 61 蘭 62 垂轡滿滿 63 滿 64 衆 65 旂旂 66 嘉穀脾脾 67 加 68 嘉穀 69 脾 70 函 71
口上曰脾口下曰函 72 合 73 口上阿 74 舌 75 口裏肉 76 口吹肉 77 口次肉 78 口邊肉 79 次
80 蒙 81 切肉 82 敦弓既堅 83 敦 84 弓 85 享 86 畫弓 87 彈 88 彤弓 89 天子彤弓諸侯彤弓大
夫黑弓 90 敦琢 91 追琢 92 彤琢 93 追 94 敦弓既句 95 合九成規 96 句 97 銀樹序 98 彤弓既

Ki hie sī hou, see gl. 770.

884. Huang kou t'ai pei 3.

Lu (ap. Erya and Chang Heng: Nan tu fu) reads 4, and it is generally admitted that 5 is a short-form for 6 'globe-fish, Tetrodon'.

A. Cheng: When a man becomes old, he gets 7 globe-fish spots on the back, thus: »(Yellow =) wizened-faced old age and spotted back«. An extraordinary idea, which nonetheless has been accepted by Chu and Ch'en Huan. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en thinks that 5 and 6 are loan char. for t'ai 8 'black' (Kuang yün 9 = 10 'very black'; Ma further adduces 11 t'ai pei, which the Tsī lin defines as = 'black cowries'; none of these words are known from ancient texts). Ma explains that old men have 12 'black spots' on the back(!). — C. The globe-fish is striking in that it can distend the body to a globular form. This has caused the simile here: 'globe-fish-like = globular back' means a back that is not straight as in youth but rounded, thus: »(Yellow =) wizened-faced old age and (globular =) rounded back«. I suppose this is what Waley means when he translates: »bent back«.

Yi yin yi yi, see gl. 433.

Ode CCXLVII: Ki tsuei.

885. Chao ming yu jung 13.

A. Mao (after Erya): jung 14 (**diōng* / *iung* / j u n g) = 15 (here read ch'ang, not ch'ang, as shown by the context in Erya, syn. w. 16) 'long, extensive (in time or space)', thus: »May your brightness be extensive«. Kyü: Chou yü, alluding to this ode, says 17; here Wei Chao says jung = 15, thus: »Manifest and extensive brightness«, but of course it could equally well be interpr. acc. to B next. In Tso: Chao 5, phr. 19, Fu K'ien says jung 14 = 20 'high', thus: »Brightness, but not yet high« (reaching far and high); but Tu Yü says jung = 21 'bright': »Brightness, but not yet brilliant«, cf. B next. Fang yen (W. Han coll.) has j u n g 14 = 15 'long', and Li Shan in comm. on Wsüan thinks that the word is id. w. 18 (**diōng* / *iung* / j u n g, like 14 in even tone) 'sacrifice on the following day' (thus: 'extended, protracted, consecutive'). Cheng furthermore says that y u 22 stands for 23, which is quite unnecessary (cf. ode 43, phr. 24, ode 57, phr. 25, ode 101, phr. 26, etc.). — B. Chu: j u n g 14 = 27 'a high degree of brightness', thus: »May your brightness be very brilliant«. The fundamental sense of j u n g 14 is 'heat', as in the mythological name Chu Jung 28 'the Spirit of the Heat'; therefore it can also mean 'to smelt, to fuse', as in Lie: Huang ti 29 »Bones and flesh are (fused =) dissolved«. And just as wen 30 means both 'warm' and then by extension of meaning 'genial, mild, harmonious', so j u n g can also have this secondary meaning: Tso: Yin 1, phr. 31 »Its joy is very (genial:) harmonious»; one school in ode 191 reads 32 »Great Heaven is not (genial:) friendly, kindly« (see gl. 520). — The notions 'heat, fire' and 'brightness' are constantly combined semasiologically in Chinese (see BMFEA 1934, p. 69), and interpr. B is therefore in itself quite plausible; it is also possible to take j u n g in the secondary sense of ('hot' =) 'warm, genial' of the ex. 31, 32 above (so Waley: »May the light beam mildly upon you«). But the ancientmost interpr., well supported by the comparison with 18 and by the fact that j u n g 14 = 15 'long' survived in Han-time colloquial, is confirmed by the parallelism in the st.: the next line is 33 »May your high brilliance (have =) last to a good end»; 'extensive' and 'lasting to the end' balance each other. Thus 14 is here really a loan char. for 18.

886. Ling chung yu ch'u 34.

A. Mao (after Erya): ch'u 35 (**iōk* / *t'iōk* / ch'u) = 36, thus: »The good end has its beginning«. Cf. ode 212, phr. 37 »We start (work) on the southern acres; for other

texts see gl. 683. — B. Cheng: *ch' u* 35 = 38 'thick, ample', thus: »The good end is ample». It seems that Cheng took 35 **t'îôk* as loan char. for 39 (**tôk* / *tuok* / *t u*), which is defined as = 38 in Erya. — C. Shuowen, quoting this ode, says *ch' u* 35 = 40, thus: »The good end is (good =) happy». This means that Hū took 35 to be a loan char. for 41 (**t'îôk* / *z'uk* / *s h u*) 'good'. — The loan speculations of B and C are quite uncalled for. A is well supported. We compare:

Ode 259. *Yu ch' u k' i ch' eng* 42. A. Mao (after Erya:) *ch' u* 35 = 43, thus: »(The prince of Shao planned it), they started work on its walls». This is merely an extension of meaning of *ch' u* = 'to begin'. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en (after Shuowen above): *ch' u* = 40: »Good (well worked) were its walls.» — C. Waley: »Stout were its walls». I suppose he means, with Cheng above, that 35 stands for 39. — Here again there is no reason for abandoning the fundamental sense of the word (A).

887. *Kung shī kia kao* 44.

A. Mao: In the ancestral temple the king used a *k' i ng* 45 minister as *sh ī* 46 representative of the dead; Cheng adds that the feudal princes, when meritorious, became ministers of the king. Thus: »The prince-representative (of the dead) makes a happy announcement». — B. Chu: Though the Chou ruler was called *wang* 47 king, and we should expect a *wang shī* »the royal representative», the nomenclature from the time when the Chou were merely *kung* 'princes' remained on this point: Similarly, he says, in Ts'in time the ruler was called *huang-ti* 'emperor', but his sons were simply called *kung tsī* 48 »the prince's sons». Thus *kung shī* here means »the princely representative» (equal to a more correct »the royal representative»). — C. Couvreur: »The representative of the (dead) princes makes a happy announcement». (Legge like Couvreur translates: »The personator of your ancestors», but in a note he quotes Chu with approbation, whom he seems to have misunderstood). — *Kung* often refers to the ancestors in the *Shī*; cf. ode 166, phr. 49 »to princes and former kings» (see gl. 427); ode 258, phr. 50 »All the many princes and former rulers»; ode 252, phr. 51 »and like the former princes (your ancestors) end them» (see gl. 497). This confirms C.

888. *P'eng yu yu shē* 52.

Mao's gloss tells us nothing about the construction. *Yu* 53 is the common mark of the passive, as in ode 211, phr. 54 »We are (increased =) enriched, we are blessed»; ode 209, phr. 55 »We are rewarded by a longevity of a myriad years», see gl. 679.

A. Cheng: »You are assisted by your friends» (foll. by: »They assist with a dignified demeanour»). — B. The ode is a praise of the lord, host at the sacrificial feast, and not his guests — the ode is sung by the guests themselves in his honour. The »dignified demeanour» therefore refers to the host himself, who performs the rites faultlessly. Thus: »The guests are assisted; they are assisted with a dignified demeanour». »To assist» means to encourage to eat and drink, just as *yu* 56 'to assist' means the same in ode 209, phr.

穀 29 穀 100 引滿 1 善 2 穀 3 黃耆 4 背 5 台 6 鮑 7 鮑文 8 黑 9 駭 10 大黑 11 貽貝 12 黑文 13 昭明有融 14 融 15 長 16 永延 17 顯融 昭明 18 彤 19 明而未融 20 高 21 朗 22 有 23 又 24 新臺有泚 25 四牡有騶 26 雷道有瀟 27 明之盛 28 祝融 29 骨肉部融 30 溫 31 其 樂也 融融 32 昊天不融 33 高朗命終 34 命終有倣 35 倣 36 始 37 倣戴南歐 38 厚 39 篤 40 善 41 淑 42 有倣其城 43 作 44 公尸嘉告 45 鄉 46 尸 47 王 48 公子 49 于公先王 50 羣公先正 51 似先公 52 朋友攸攝 53 攸 54 攸介攸止 55 萬壽攸酢 56 有 57 以妥以侑 58 宜求之壺 59

57 »We make (the representative) sit at ease, we (assist him =) encourage him to eat» (see gl. 659).

Wei yi k'ung shī, see gl. 553; Yung si er lei, see gl. 830.

889. Shī kia chī k'un 58.

A. Mao: k'un 59 (*k'wən / k'uən / k'un) = 60 'wide, ample'. This is based on Kyü: Chou yü, where this ode is quoted, expounding: 61 »That means to be amply generous towards the people». The ode line, acc. to the Kyü author, then means: »The ample generosity of your house». But Mao saying simply k'un = k'uang 'wide, ample' probably took it to mean not 'ampleness' as shown to others but 'ampleness' generally, thus: »(What are those good things [given by Heaven]?) The ampleness of your house». No text par. But, as Waley points out, our 59 *k'wən might be cognate to 62 *k'wän 'wide, ample' (for the alternation ə : â in a word stem cf. 63 *d'wän 'grieved': 64 *d'wän 'grieved'; 65 *d'am 'to speak': 66 *d'am 'to speak' etc., see BMFEA 1934, p. 112). — B. Cheng: 59 *k'wən (rising tone) is equal to 67 (var. 68) *k'wən (rising tone), further expounded: 69 (var. 70). What Cheng meant by this has been discussed, but probably (with Ma Juei-ch'en) he took 67 in the sense he thinks it has in Yili: Ta shē yi 71 »When they have taken the arrows, they adjust them» (Cheng: k'un = 72), thus his line 69 above: »When first the house has been adjusted, he reaches to the whole world», which is equal to Li: Ta küe 73 »When the house is adjusted, the whole state will be well ordered». Thus our ode line 58, acc. to Cheng: »(What are those good things [given by Heaven]?) The adjustment of the house». — C. Another school. Erya has an entry 74 »An alley, passage in the palace is called k'un», and Shuowen, building on this, says k'un = 75 'a path in the palace', quoting this ode. Chu expounds: 76 »that expresses that it was deep and far-reaching and imposing». A small house has only one or a couple of buildings, but the great mansion of a prominent lordly family has a great many buildings and yards, alleys leading from the one to the other, as in a wealthy Chinese mansion today. Thus: »(What are those good things [given by Heaven]?) (The alleys of your house =) your house with its alleys». Legge has tried to ameliorate this by taking the line as an adverbial phrase, connecting with the following 77 »for the lord a myriad years», thus: »(What are those good things?) That along the passages of your house you shall move(!) for ten thousand years». This is certainly no improvement. — D. Waley: »Your house shall be raised». How he has arrived at this he does not say. But we might imagine that 59 stands for k'un 68 in the sense it has in Meng: T'eng Wen kung, shang 78 'to hammer sandals' (Chao K'i: k'un = 79), thus: »The hammering (building) of your house». — For the Erya gloss k'un = 'an alley in the palace' there is no text par. The graph is not known earlier than in its seal form (early Han) 80, which, however, in spite of its deterioration, suggests a drawing of a mansion plan (81 being the archaic graph for 82 'a road'), which bears out the Erya. Though interpr. A is not excluded, based on a loan char. theory that might be plausible (the B and D loan theories are more far-fetched), C has the advantage of taking the word in its primary sense in which it is confirmed by the graph. Erya's gloss certainly refers to our ode, and interpr. C is thus very ancient. It seems to be the safest alternative.

890. 1. King ming yu p'u 83;

2. Li er nü shī 84.

A. Mao: p'u 85 (*b'uk) = 86 (*b'iu) 'to attach', and li 87 = 88 'to give'. For the rest Mao does not explain the lines. K'ung thinks that by fu 86 Mao only meant to give what he thought was the etymology of the common p'u 85 'servant, attendant': 'one who is attached (to your person)'. Thus: »The great appointment and attendants». Ch'en Huan furthermore, basing himself on the Sū (Preface), which he believes was written by Mao (in fact it is much later), thinks that Mao in the second line took 89 not

as *nü* 'woman' but as *ju* 'you', and understood *er-ju* 90 as a binome = 'you': »It (Heaven) gives you officers». Such a combination is grammatically unnatural. The par. adduced by Ch'en is Meng: Tsin sin, *hia* 91 »not to stand to be called thou, you», but it is not conclusive, for here *er* and *ju* are not a binome but two coordinated words. If Mao really took 89 as = 'you', the clause would be: »It gives you your officers». Even this, however, is very forced, and it goes against the testimony of the Lu version (ap. Lie nü chuan) which reads 92. — B. Cheng follows Mao as to *p'u* 85 = 86, but in another sense; and he takes *yu* 93 = 94, thus: »The great appointment also will be attached (to you)». Further *nü shi* 95 = 96 »a lady who acts like a gentleman', thus: »It (Heaven) gives you a gentlewomanly lady». Ma Juei-ch'en supports all this. As to *p'u* he refers to Chouli: K'ao kung ki, introduction 97 »one wants it to be well »attached», on which Cheng: 98 = 99 'firmly attached'. And *nü shi* 95 or (with Lu) *shi nü* he compares with ode 225, phr. 100 »those noble ladies». But *p'u* 85 = 1 in the Chouli ex. is no good confirmation, for it does not there mean 'attached' (this is expressed by 2) but 'tight, dense, compact' (1 fundamentally = 'dense shrubs'). In fact, the meaning *p'u* 85 = 86 'to attach' is not well substantiated. There are two more possible text par. Chuang: Jen kien *shi* 3 »Then the mosquitoes and gadflies attach themselves» (to the horses); but the anc. comm. all take it differently: Hiang Siu: *p'u* = 'densely' (= 1) »The mosquitoes and gadflies in dense crowds attach themselves»; thus the par. is unsafe. In Kuan: Ti yün 'a snail' is called 4, in which 85 has been expl. as = 86, but here the etymology is really very obscure. Altogether 85 = 86 is insufficiently substantiated. — C. Waley: 83 »A long life and a gift as well», thus word for word: »A great life and also an (attachment =) addition». That *p'u* = 'addition' is not confirmed, see B above. And king ming 6 certainly does not mean 'a long life', but is analogous to the *ta ming* 7 »the great appointment» in ode 255, the *tsün ming* 8 »the great appointment» in ode 235 and the constantly recurring *t'ien ming* »Heaven's appointment», particularly since the preceding line speaks of Heaven's endowments. — D. Another interpr. *P'u* 85 fundamentally and regularly means 'a servant', and then, in an extended sense, 'attendant, follower', cf. Chuang: Tsê yang 9 »He is a follower of the sages» (comm. 85 = 10). In our ode the last lines of the three st. balance each other: st. 6, phr. 11 »Forever there will be given you blessing and posterity (descendants)»: st. 7, phr. 83 »The great appointment and followers»: st. 8, phr. 12 »You will be followed by grandsons and sons». The char. 89 has certainly, with Cheng, to be read *nü*, yet neither *nü shi* (Mao) nor *shi nü* (Lu) means 'a gentlewomanly lady' but we have here two coordinated words: »It (Heaven) will give you young ladies and young gentlemen (children)». In the *Shi* this combination of *shi* 13 and *nü* 89 is quite common. Sometimes it means simply 'men and women', e. g. ode 211, phr. 14 »To bring good to our men and women»; ode 82, phr. 15 »The girl says: The cock

壺 60 廣 61 廣裕民人之謂也 62 寬 63 博 64 悅 65 設 66 譚 67 捆 68 捆 69 室家先以相捆致已
乃及於天下 70 捆級 71 取矢捆之 72 齊箒之 73 求齊而國家治 74 宮中供行謂之壺 75 宮中
道 76 言深遠而嚴肅 77 君子萬年 78 捆屨 79 扣振 80 81 紉 82 行 83 果命有僕 84 釐爾女
士 85 僕 86 附 87 釐 88 予 89 女 90 爾女 91 無受爾女 92 釐爾士女 93 有 94 又 95 女士 96 女而
有士行者 97 欲其僕屬 98 僕屬 99 附著堅固兒 100 彼君子女 1 僕 2 屬 3 適有奎蜚僕緣
4 僕累 5 果命 6 大命 7 駿命 8 聖人之僕 9 徒 10 承錫作胤 11 從以孫子 12 士 13 以穀

crows, 16 the gentleman says: it is but the twilight of the morning». But sometimes it more particularly refers to young ladies and gentlemen, e. g. ode 95, phr. 17 »gentlemen and girls» (describing the love-making of the young nobles).

Ode CCXLVIII: Fu yi.

891. Fu yi tsai King 18.

A. Cheng: King is 19 the name of a river, thus: »The wild ducks are on the King». The King is a well-known river. — B. Tuan Yü-ts'ai: In the following stanzas there are no corresponding names of places or rivers, but appellatives. Hence Cheng's text has been corrupted and should read: 20 'the middle of the river'. The word should be id. with 21, Erya = 22 'a straight flow' (which would again be etym. id. w. 23 'a short-cut'). Of 21 in this sense there are no early text ex. — B carries the demand for parallelism too far.

892. Fu lu lai ch'eng 24.

A. Cheng takes ch'eng as a transitive verb: »Felicity and blessings come and (achieve, complete =) make you perfect». On the analogy of this, in the par. lines the verbs are transitive: 25 (Cheng: wei 26 = 27 'to help'): »Felicity and blessings come and (act for =) favour you»; 28 »Felicity and blessings come and descend on you»; 29 »Felicity and blessings come and are piled up (heavily:) amply on you». — B. Waley takes all the verbs as intransitives: 24 »Blessings are in the making»; 25 »Blessings are being made»; 28 »Blessings are coming down»; 29 »Blessings go on heaping up». (Legge and Couvreur are inconsistent, taking some as transitives, others as intransitives). — B is quite plausible in itself. But there are many unambiguous par. in the Shī to the A construction: ode 4, phr. 30 »May felicity and dignity (achieve, complete =) make him perfect» (same verb ch'eng 31 as in our ode here); ode 216, phr. 32 »May felicity and blessings stabilize him», etc. — We should compare:

Ode 274. Fu lu lai fan 33. Mao says fan 34 = 35. This is ambiguous and may be taken in two ways: A. Cheng: »Felicity and blessings come and are repeated». — B. Fan is transitive: »Felicity and blessings (come and revert to us:) repeatedly come to us».

893. Fu yi tsai ts'ung 36.

A. Mao: ts'ung 37 = 38, thus: »The wild ducks are at the junction of the rivers». — B. Cheng: ts'ung 37 = 39 'a height on the (outside:) side of the river', or, as Kuang ya defines it: ts'ung = 40 'a bank', thus: »The wild ducks are on the river bank». — No text par. or other support for either definition. Acc. to the Shuowen, the word is cognate to chung 41 'many' (several rivers), which is then not merely a phonetic in the graph. An arbitrary guess. We have no alternative but to accept the oldest interpr.

894. Kung shī lai chī hūn hūn 42.

A. Mao: hūn hūn 48 = 44, thus: »The representative of the (dead) princes comes and stays and is pleased». No text par. — B. Another school (ap. Shuowen) reads 45, defining hūn 46 as = 47 'drunk'. Thus: »The representative of the (dead) princes comes and feasts and is drunk». In fact, the char. 46 is merely a specifyingly enlarged form of 48 (both **χiwən*, even tone), which fundamentally means 'smoke, steam, vapour, fumes' (common); here it means 'befumed, befuddled' (cf. Shakespeare: »Keep his brain fuming»). Shuowen's yen 49 agrees better with the preceding stanzas than Mao's chī 50.

Ode CCXLIX: Kia lo.

Kia lo kūn tsī, see gl. 758.

895. Wei yi yi yi 51.

Yi 52 is read **iək* / *iək* / *yi* in Ts'ie yün, and all modern dialect forms derive from this reading (so also the ancient loan forms in Korean, Japanense and Annamese); but in ode 220 it rimes with **b'iet* and **d'iet*, and in ode 249 with **d'iet* and **p'iet*, which suggests that the char. could also serve for a word **iet* synonymous with **iək*.

The phr. 51 occurs thrice in the Shī (odes 220, 249, 256, in this last inverted: *yi yi wei yi*), and Mao has two different interpr. A. In ode 220: *yi yi 52 = 53* 'careful'; in ode 256 (after Erya) simply: *52 = 54*, same meaning. The fundamental meaning of the word is 'to repress', thus: »The deportment is (repressed, restrained =) dignified«. Cf. Meng: T'eng Wen kung, hia 55 »Yü repressed the vast waters»; Kyü: Tsin yü 56 »Shu-yü (repressed =) refuted the prince of Hing». — B. In ode 249 Mao says: *yi 52 = 57* 'beautiful', thus: »The deportment is beautiful«. In ode 106, phr. 58 Mao says: *yi 52 = 59* 'of a beautiful (colour:) appearance': »How beautiful the forehead«. — The Ts'ing scholars think that when 52 (**iək* or possibly **iet*) means 'beautiful', as it undoubtedly does in ode 106 (said of the forehead), it is a loan char. for 60 **iēd* / *i* / *yi* 'excellent, good', but that is phonetically quite excluded. It is probably an extension of meaning: repressed = smoothed down, smooth (not wrinkled or furrowed). This particular sense in ode 106 is not applicable here, and in our phr. 51 the A meaning is therefore preferable.

896. Mu mu huang huang 61.

A. Mao reads thus: »August and majestic«. — B. Lu (ap. an ode by Pan Ku) reads 62: »August and brilliant«. — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

897. Yi kün yi wang 63.

A. Mao reads thus, interpreting: »Fit to be ruler, to be king«. The line corresponds to 64 »He orders well the people, the men» in st. 1 (for this meaning, see gl. 589). In spite of the parallelism, the meaning of *yi* cannot be the same in the two stanzas. — B. Shiwen reads the line 65 »He will be ruler, he will be king«. But that reading is excluded by the parallelism with st. 1 just mentioned.

Tê yin chī chī, see gl. 317.

898. Shuai yu k'ün p'i 66.

A. Mao reads thus, taking *yu* 67 = 68: »He follows and employs all his peers (in wisdom)«. This was criticized in gl. 200. The *shuai yu* is obviously a binome: »He follows the way of his peers«. — B. Ts'i (ap. Ch'un ts'iu fan lu) reads 69, same meaning (*k'iu-p'i* being a synonym-compound). — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

Sī fang chī kang, chī kang chī hi: chī 70 is here = 71, the pronoun as object referring back to the preceding noun; see transl. of ode 215 (with note), where we have a perfect par. to our construction here.

我士女 15 女曰 16 士曰 17 士與女 18 鳧鷖在涇 19 水名 20 水中 21 僅 22 直波 23 徑 24 福祿
來成 25 福祿來為 26 為 27 助 28 福祿來下 29 福祿來巢 30 福履成之 31 成 32 福祿綏之 33
福祿來反 34 反 35 復 36 鳧鷖在深 37 深 38 水會 39 水外之高者 40 屋 41 衆 42 公尸來止燕
燕 43 和說 44 公尸來燕 45 燕 46 燕 47 醉 48 燕 49 燕 50 止 51 威儀抑抑 52 抑 53 慎密 54 密 55
出却洪水 56 叔魚抑邢侯 57 美 58 抑若陽兮 59 美色 60 懿 61 穆穆皇皇 62 穆穆煌煌 63 宜
君宜王 64 宜民宜人 65 且君且王 66 率由羣匹 67 由 68 用 69 率由仇匹 70 之 71 是 72 思輯

Ode CCL: Kung Liu.

899. Sī tsi yung kuang 72.

A. Mao says: «This expresses that the people was concordant and thus was illustrious in its age». Mao skips sī 73 and thus treats it as a mere initial particle, which is amply confirmed by text par., see gl. 700. Thus: «They (the people) were concordant and thereby (brilliant =) illustrious». — B. Cheng takes sī 73 as the verb and the king as the subject: «He (thought of =) was bent on harmonizing (the people) and thus to make brilliant (his principles)». — C. Waley: «Far and wide he gathered his stores». This is certainly right. Sī 73 is merely the initial particle, with A above. Tsi 74 *dz'iap is etym. id. w. 75 *dz'iap 'to collect', and pseudo-K'ung in comm. on Shu: Wu yi quotes the line 76. Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang quotes it 77 (*tsiap, see gl. 693), precisely with the meaning of 'to collect'. For tsi 74 'to collect', cf. Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien) 78 «He collected the five insignia», etc. The line sums up a description of how the prince collected provisions for the expedition, so that this meaning here forms a logical sequel. When Waley translates 'far and wide', I suppose he has in mind that kuang 79 (*kwāng, even tone) has often been so interpreted: Shu: Yao tien 80, on which pseudo-K'ung 81 = 82 'fully' (Erya 83 = 82): «He (fully:) extensively (covered =) possessed the four extreme points» (here Han shu: Wang Mang chuan quotes 84; 83 and 85 are the same word, both read *kwāng, falling tone). Analogous to this Shu phr. are Tso: Chao 28, phr. 86 «Extensively he possessed the whole world»; Kyü: Cheng yü 87 «They will certainly extensively enlarge the territory»; Kuliang: Hi 15, phr. 88 «The one who has (thick:) ample virtue, its flow is far-reaching, the one who has a (thin:) small virtue, its flow is (low:) short». (Fan Ning comm.: kuang 79 = 89 'far'). In some of these cases one could certainly take kuang 79 in its ordinary sense (so Cheng on 80: «His brilliance covered the four extreme points», or: «He brilliantly [covered =] possessed. . .»). But in 87 this would be exceedingly far-fetched, and in 88 quite impossible. It must therefore be admitted that the anc. comm. have well substantiated this meaning of the word. There is dissension as to whether 79 *kwāng, even tone, is loan char. for 90 *kwāng, rising tone, or for 83, 85 *kwāng, falling tone. I believe this is a futile dispute, for those are merely three aspects of the same word stem. For 85 cf. further Li: K'ung ts'i hien kü 91 «To spread them out over the whole world». Our ode line thus means: «His collecting (stores) thus was extensive». — In some cases Mao has gone too far and applied this sense also where it is not convincing:

Ode 241. Tsai si ch'i kuang 92: «And so it was given him (brightness =) glory». Here Mao 79 = 93 is less plausible.

Ode 288. H'ue yu ts'i hi yü kuang ming 94. For ts'i hi see gl. 618. «I will learn from those who are continuously bright in their (brightness =) enlightenment». Here Mao 79 = 90: «in their wide enlightenment». But the very combination of kuang ming 94a shows that kuang 79 has its ordinary sense of 'bright'.

900. Yüan fang k'i hing 95.

A. Mao paraphrases: 96, adding: «He went to Pin; the princes who followed him were namely 18 states». This shows that he took fang 97 as = 'region', and his line means either: «According to regions he opened up roads», or: «With (the states of various) regions he opened up roads» (what Mao meant is doubtful, and Chao K'i's comm. on Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang, which has been adduced for its elucidation, is uncertain as to its wording, so that it is of little help, see Tsiao Sün *ad locum*). Cheng modifies Mao by saying yüan 98 = 99: «He said. . .», but that is quite inadmissible, for yüan 98 is synon. with yüe 99 as an initial particle but never in the sense of 'to say'. — B. Chu: fang

97 = 100, taking yü an fang as = 'and then'. This has been universally accepted by later comm. As to k'i hing, Chu explained it in ode 177, phr. 1 («With them we went in front and opened up the march») as = 2, thus our ode line here: «And then he (opened up =) commenced his march».

Yü sū k'i yüan, see gl. 790; Ki shun nai süan, see gl. 791 a; Ho yi chou chī, see gl. 630; ping peng jung tao, see gl. 692; Nai kou yü king, see gl. 761.

901. Yü shī lü lü 3.

Mao says simply: lü 4 = 5 'lodging, to lodge'. The difficulty is that lü 6 has so many meanings: 'multitude', 'guest', 'traveller', 'to lodge'. A. Cheng: «There he lodged his guests». — B. Ch'en Huan: «There he lodged his multitudes» (Waley: «He lodged his hosts»). — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: lü 4 and lü 6 «had the same sound and were interchangeable». Thus: «There he lodged». He adduces that Kyü: Ts'i yü 7 «The people of Wei went out and lodged in Ts'ao» recurs as 8 in Kuan. — It is not true, with C, that the two words were homophonous; 6 was *gl̥io / l̥iwo / l̥ü in rising tone (9 *gl̥io 'spine' is id. w. 10 *gl̥io 'spine', which is phonetic in 11 and 12, both *kl̥io / kl̥iwo / k̥ü, which reveals the guttural). But 4 was *l̥io / l̥iwo / l̥ü in even tone. It may even be that there has been a guttural initial here as well, though there is no trace of it in the great phonetic series 13 (see Grammata p. 145), for the graph contains a 14 (*χo) which may be a phonetic; in such case we should have to reconstruct 4 *gl̥io as well; but in any case there is a tone difference between 4 and 6. There can be no doubt, however, that both can mean 'to lodge', in this function being quite synonymous. And since the other lines of the st. have doublets: 15, 16, 17, it is quite obvious, with C, that lü - lü 18 should be a synonym-compound: «There he lodged». Let us add here that Waley thinks that yen 19 is a short-form for 20 'to remonstrate gently', which he translates: «They were at peace», and that 21 is a loan char. for 22 'to rejoice'; but this is forbidden by the very combination of the two words yen 19 and yü 21, which proves that they have their ordinary meaning.

Yü king sī yi, see gl. 837; Ts'iang ts'iang tsi tsi, see gl. 266.

902. Ki teng nai yi 23.

A. Mao: «When they (sc. the guests) had stepped up (on the mats), they leaned on (the stools)». But obviously the prince is the subject in the whole st., thus: «He stepped up (on the mat) and leaned (on the stool)». — B. Cheng takes yi 24 as loan char. for yi 25: «He (the prince) ascended (the hall) and stood (with this back turned towards) the ornate screen». — B is very far-fetched. A follows naturally upon: «One supplied mats, supplied stools».

903. Nai ts'ao k'i ts'ao 26.

A. Mao: ts'ao 27 = 28. This has been differently understood. a. Cheng: «They

用光 73. 思 74. 輯 75. 集 76. 思集用光 77. 思載用光 78. 輯五瑞 79. 光 80. 光被四表 81. 光 82. 充 83. 枕 84. 橫被四表 85. 橫 86. 光有天下 87. 以光啓土 88. 德厚者流光德薄者流卑 89. 遠 90. 廣 91. 以橫于天下 92. 戴錫之光 93. 大 94. 聖有綏熙于光明 95. 光明 96. 爰方啓行 97. 以方開道路 98. 方 99. 爰 99. 曰 100. 始 1. 以先啓行 2. 發程 3. 于時廬旅 4. 廬 5. 寄 6. 旅 7. 衛人出廬于潛 8. 衛人出旅于潛 9. 贊 10. 呂 11. 莒 12. 呂 13. 庸 14. 虎 15. 于時處處 16. 于時言言 17. 于時語語 18. 廬旅 19. 言 20. 闇 21. 語 22. 處 23. 既登乃依 24. 依 25. 展 26. 乃造其曹 27. 曹 28. 羣 29. 造 30. 為 31.

went to the herd» (followed by: »and took a swine from the pen»), thus referring 27 = 28 to the herd of animals. β . Ch'en Huan: the char. 29, read *ts'a o*, means *wei* 30, thus: »For his crowd (of subjects)» (he took a swine from the pen). This is decidedly wrong, for 29 means *wei* 30 in even tone in the sense of 'to make' but never *wei* 30 in falling tone = 'for, in favour of'. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: the char. 29 occurs as name of a sacrifice in Chouli: Ta chu 31 »He manages the six prayers... the second is called *ts'a o* 29», on which Tu Ts'i-ch'un: *ts'a o* = 32 'sacrifice to ancestors'. On the other hand Shuowen, as quoted in Yi wen lei tsü, has an entry (now lost in the current ed.): *ts'a o* 33 = 34 'to sacrifice to the ancestor of the swine'. The 27 of the ode text is a short-form for this 33, thus: »He made ancestral sacrifice to the ancestor of the swine» (and then took a swine from the pen). In other words, he made a propitiating sacrifice to the swine's ancestor before killing a swine. This is very ingenious. But 29 as name of a sacrifice refers to human ancestors (in the ancestral temple). And for Shuowen's 33 there is no support whatever in ancient texts. — C. Another interpr. It is true, with A, that *ts'a o* 27 frequently means 'a crowd', but then it always refers to human beings, never to animals. The word fundamentally means 'a pair', two together, and so we have it in Ch'u: Chao hun 35 »Divided in pairs they advance abreast», and in Mo: Hao ling 36 »The soldiers who keep guard in the great gate are a pair, not more than two men». But then it is extended to mean 'a troop, a group' more generally, e. g. Tso: Chao 12: »Kiao of Yüan oppressed his servants, 37 and caused them to run away *ts'a o* in a troop, all together»; Kyü: Chou yü 38 »What the people (in a crowd =) all love»; Lü: Chi tu 39 »The crowd of greedy and deceitful people will keep far away». And thus it has become a mark of plural for persons: Hanfei: Wai ch'u shuo, yu shang 40 »We». In short, the word particularly refers to a group of persons of low standing, the servants, the common people. In Han texts 41 means 'the lower officials, the functionaries'. It seems natural to take it in this sense here, which agrees best with the oldest text ex. we have, those of Tso and Mo above (36, 37), both of which refer to menials: soldiers on guard and servants. The *ts'a o* 29 is then transitive (causative): »He sent out his (troop =) servants» (to take a swine in the pen).

904. Kün chi tsung chi 42.

A. Mao takes the prince as the subject: »He was a sovereign to them, a founder». — B. Cheng: »They made him their sovereign, they honoured him». — In the preceding line the prince was the subject of the clause: »He gave them food, gave them drink», which makes A more consistent.

905. K'i kün san tan 43.

A. Mao: san tan 44 = 45. This has been differently understood. α . K'ung expounds: 46 »the three ranks were single, and (doubling, here =) trebling each other made up the army». We might express this simply: »His army was three (singles =) units». β . Hu Ch'eng-kung thinks that Mao by *sia ng si* 45 meant 47 'to succeed each other', thus: »His army was three successions», each one serving alone and relieving the other. But tan 49 can have no such meaning. — B. Cheng explains: 48 »The soldiers filled the number of three armies; tan means that there was no surplus of soldiers». He thus takes tan 49 in the sense of 50 'to exhaust, barely' (common, see gl. 423). Thus: »His armies with three were exhausted», i. e. was limited to the number of men of three armies. This is very forced. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: in Yi Chou shu 51, K'ung Chao interprets: »The old and weak lived (single =) unprotected», and this is the meaning in our ode as well: »His armies were three (single =) without fortifications». — A α is undoubtedly the most simple and plausible.

905 a. Ch'ê t'ien wei liang 52.

A. Mao: ch'ê 53 = 54, thus: »He arranged the fields for provisions of grain».

Ch'ê fundamentally means 'to penetrate, pass through', and with an extension of meaning it would here mean 'to go through successively, arrange, distribute'. Fang yen (W. Han coll.) says *ch'ê* 53=55, same meaning. — B. Cheng: *ch'ê* is a technical term, as in Lun: Yen Yüan and in Meng: T'eng Wen kung, shang, and means to tax the fields by taking a certain percentage by acreage. Thus: «He taxed the fields for provisions of grain». *Liang* 56 as a rule does not mean simply 'grain' but 'provisions of grain', i. e. grain delivered and hoarded, a store of grain. This confirms Cheng's view that *ch'ê* refers to the measures taken by the government for obtaining its store of grain from the working people. In ode 259 we have the same term: 57 «(The king charged the prince of Shao) to tax the soil and fields of the prince of Shen». There Mao likewise says simply: *ch'ê* 53 = 54, but Cheng defines it as the technical percentage system. Again, in ode 259, st. 6, we have 58, but there (Mao having no gloss) Cheng interprets: 59 «to fix the land-boundaries of the prince of Shen», thus following Mao's idea in our present ode. This is because of the word *kiang* 60 'boundary'. But obviously *ch'ê* must have the same sense here as before. *Kiang* certainly means 'boundary', but also, more generally, 'territory', and the line means, just as above: «To tax the soil and territory of the prince of Shen».

906. *Shê Wei wei luan* 61.

A. Mao (after Erya): 62 'to cut straight across is called *luan*'. *Luan* is thus a verb, here taken as a noun: «For fording the Wei he made a crossing(-place)». The word is known also from Shu: Yü kung 63 «He crossed the River». — B. Cheng expounds the line: «He let people make boats to cross straight over the stream», and this has caused Chu to draw a curious conclusion: *luan* 64 = 'a boat that crosses a stream', thus: «For crossing the Wei he made (a crossing-boat:) a ferry»; and Chu Shan develops this idea further: *luan* 64 is a 65 'square boat'. There is no support whatever for this.

907. *Ts'ü li ts'ü tuan* 66.

A. Mao says simply: *tuan* 67 (**tuân* / *tuân* / *tuan*, Shîwen var. 68) = 69 'stone', which tells us very little. It has been differently understood. *a*. Shuowen (foll. by Kuang ya): *tuan* 68 = 70, thus synon. w. the preceding *li* 71 'whetstone' or at least very kindred to it: 'polishing stone'. Ch'en Huan has accepted this: «He took whetstones and polishing stones», explaining that in building the temple he certainly needed polishing stones. Though he does not say so, he probably has in mind Kyü: Tsin yü 8: «The buildings of the Son of Heaven, they carve its beams and scrape them, 72 and apply polishing stones to them». *β*. Cheng: 73 'hammering stones are such as are used as anvil-stones in hammering'. Thus: «He took whetstones and anvil-stones». Cheng has thus taken 67, 68 to mean 'to hammer', but not conceived it as the stone with which one hammers but the stone on which one hammers. But this is somewhat far-fetched: the two coordinated instruments *li* and *tuan* of our text are certainly both active

掌大析...二曰造 32 祭于祖 33 饗 34 祭于豕先 35 分曹並進 36 吏卒侍大門中曹曹無過
二人 37 使曹逃 38 民所曹好 39 貪得詐為之曹遠矣 40 吾曹 41 諸曹 42 君之宗之 43 其軍
三軍 44 三軍 45 相襲 46 三行皆軍而相重為軍 47 相代 48 丁夫滿三軍之數軍者無羨卒
也 49 單 50 盡 51 老弱單處 52 徹田為糧 53 徹 54 治 55 列 56 糧 57 徹申伯土田 58 徹申伯土
疆 59 治申伯之土疆之所至 60 疆 61 涉渭為亂 62 正絕曰亂 63 亂于河 64 亂 65 方舟 66 取
厲取鍛 67 鍛 68 破 69 石 70 厲石 71 厲 72 加密石焉 73 鍛石所以為鍛質 74 如以破投卵 75

instruments (cf. the Shu par. 77 below), thus: «He took whetstones and hammering stones». (Waley: «pounding-stones»). This is confirmed by Sun-tsi: Shī p'ien 74 «As if throwing a hammering stone against an egg»; here *t u a n* cannot mean 'hammering stone' in the sense of 'anvil' but is the striking instrument. — B. Chu, rejecting Mao's idea that *t u a n* was a 'stone', says *t u a n* = 75 'iron': «He took whetstones and iron». He seems to have got the idea from Shuowen, which defines *t u a n* 67 as = 76 'small smelting', i. e. tempering (red-heating and then cooling). This treatment can only refer to iron, and so *t u a n* means '(the thing that one tempers =) iron'. — For a decision we must refer to a par. text in Shu: Pi shī 77 «*T u a n* your dagger-axes and *m a o* lances, whet your pointed and edged weapons». Here the *t u a n* has been explained in several ways. *α*. Pseudo-K'ung: *t u a n* = 78, foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en (Sung school): *t u a n* = 79: «Temper your dagger-axes and *m a o* lances». This is based on the Shuowen definition 76, see above. *β*. Ts'ang Hie p'ien (ap. comm. on Wsüan), foll. by Kuang ya: *t u a n* 67 = 80 'to hammer': «Hammer your dagger-axes and *m a o* lances». *γ*. A third possibility would be (with Ch'en Huan, A *α* above): «Polish your dagger-axes and *m a o* lances». Of these three alternatives, *β* alone is confirmed by text par. *T u a n* 67, 68 means 'to hammer, to strike'. For the Sun-tsi ex. 74 see above. Cf. further Chouli: Han jen 81 «If the hammering is not perfect»; Chuang: Lie Yü-k'ou 82 «Take a stone and hammer it» (to pieces); Han fei: Wai ch'u, yu hia 83 «to hammer»; further Chouli: K'ao kung ki 84 «the forger» (Shuowen 85 = 86 'to hammer things'). The Shu par. 77 consequently means, with *β*: «Hammer your dagger-axes and *m a o* lances». And since the combination of *t u a n* 67 and *li* 71 (87) is exactly the same in our ode as in the Shu par., A *β* «hammering stone» is certainly correct. It should be added that the primary graph must have been simply 85 'to hammer'; the hammer was originally of stone, hence the enlarged char. 68; later this was supplanted by a metal hammer, and the char. was then altered into 67. Mao's idea that *t u a n* primarily was a stone is further supported by the N. Pr. in Tso: Kungsun Tuan 88 (in Shuowen quoted as 89), whose title name was Tsī-shī 90.

908. 1. Chī ki nai li 91;
2. Chī lü nai mi 92.

It is evident that these two lines, inside the same stanza, balance each other, are quite analogous and must be interpreted so as to preserve the parallelism. Mao says simply: *mi* 93 = 94 'tranquillity, quiet', without explaining the lines. *Mi* 93 = 'quiet, silent' is very common. A. Cheng: 91 «He *chī ki* did the work on the buildings, *nai li* and thereafter he drew boundaries for the fields»; 92 «He *chī lü* stopped the (military) cohorts, *nai mi* and so there was tranquillity». This misses the parallelism entirely. Cheng takes *chī* 95 in a quite another sense in the second line than in the first; and he takes the prince as the understood subject of *li* 96 as a verb, but the corresponding *mi* 93 as an independent verb «there was tranquillity». — B. Chu: *chī* 95 = 97, and *ki* 98 = 99, thus: 91 «When the *chī* (stopping-place =) abode was *ki* (founded =) established, he made boundaries for the fields»; 92 «The *chī lü* settled multitude *nai mi* then became dense». This maltreats the parallelism even worse than A. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: the lines correspond in construction to the preceding 100 and 1. And since *ki* 2 fundamentally means 'to finish' and *chī* means 'to stop', the latter is here synon. w. the former, and the line may be transcribed into 3 and 4, the *chī* 95 like *ki* 2 being merely a particle denoting perfective aspect. Further *lü* 5 means exactly the same here as it did earlier in our ode: 6 «There he lodged», thus 'to lodge, lodging'. And the lines mean: 91 «He (founded =) built houses and then drew boundaries»; 92 «He made lodgings and then it was (dense =) prosperous». As to *li* 96 and *mi* 93, Ma misses the parallelism just as much as A and B above. Again, for *chī* 95 = *ki*

2 he can adduce no single text par. as support. But his idea that lü 5 means 7 as balancing ki 98 is ingenious and undoubtedly right. — D. Another interpr. Chī 95 'stopping-place' is common in the sense of 'a dwelling, settlement' (with Chu = 97). Cf. Shu: To shī 8 »You may still find peace in your occupations and dwellings«. And ki 98 'foundation' has the same sense of 'settlement'. So chī-ki is a binome = 'settlement'. Again, lü 5 (with Ma) means 'to lodge, a lodging' (common), and chī lü 'dwelling-lodging' is a binome quite analogous to the chī ki of line 1. Li 96, as in ode 237, phr. 9 »He made boundaries, made divisions«, means 'to arrange, distribute, lay out the houses in divisions'. And mi 93 here, which corresponds to li 96, must refer to the distribution and placing of the buildings, and therefore Chu's 'dense' (common meaning of mi) is better than Mao's 'quiet'. We thus obtain: 91 »The settlements were well distributed«; 92 »The lodgings were dense«. — We may study here also:

Ode 271. Su ye ki ming yu mi 10. Ts'i (ap. Li: K'ung tsī hien kü) has the short-form 11 for 15; Lu (ap. Sin shu) for mi 21 has the var. 12 (same meaning). Mao follows Kyü: Chou yü, hia, where Shu Hiang expounding this ode says: su ye 13 = 14 'to be respectful'; ki 15 = 16 'to begin, to found'; ming 17 = 18 'trust'; yu 19 = 20 'broad'; mi 21 = 22 'tranquil, quiet', the line thus being equal to 23, which makes merely an absurd jumble of words (how can ming 17, besides, mean 18?). Later comm. have in vain tried to make any sense of it. Hence Waley would take mi 21 = 24 'to endeavour', but that is not very fortunate, for though we know that the binome 25 'to exert oneself' has the variant 26 (see gl. 95), there are no ex. of mi 21 alone having that sense. It is therefore best simply to take the words of the ode as they stand, in their ordinary sense: »Morning and evening (i. e. untiringly) he laid the foundation of his (appointment:) great task, magnanimous and quiet«.

909. Yü an chung yü an yu 27. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: »The people were numerous and (possessing =) prosperous«. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: yu 28 is equal to chung 29, cf. ode 170, phr. 30 »The lord has wine, it is good and in quantities«. — C. Another interpr. The line, as shown by the context, refers to the sites, the plots of the farmers. Referring to a territory, yu 28 means 'having' i. e. 'rich', cf. ode 180, phr. 31 »(Look at that plain), it is great and very (having =) rich (in game)«. Thus here: »(The settlements were well distributed), the sites were numerous and (having =) rich«.

910. Juei kü chī tsi 32.

Chī tsi 33 here is = 34 »to that they went, reached«.

A. Mao: Juei 35 = 36 'river bank'; kü 37 (*kiók / kiuk / kü) = 38 (*kióg / kiú / kiü) 'extremity'. The latter is a gloss based on sound similarity. We have this char. 37 *kiók = 'brought to extremity' in odes 35 and 258 (wr. 39 'go to the extreme' in ode 101, see gl. 253). Cheng defines this further: juei 35 means 40 'interior' (40 *nwád:

鐵₂₈小₂₉治₃₀鍛₃₁乃₃₂戈₃₃牙₃₄礪₃₅乃₃₆鋒₃₇月₃₈鍊₃₉淬₄₀椎₄₁鍛₄₂不₄₃擊₄₄取₄₅石₄₆來₄₇鍛₄₈之₄₉椎₅₀鍛₅₁段₅₂段₅₃氏₅₄段₅₅椎₅₆物₅₇石₅₈礪₅₉公₆₀孫₆₁段₆₂公₆₃孫₆₄段₆₅子₆₆石₆₇止₆₈基₆₉廼₇₀理₇₁止₇₂旅₇₃廼₇₄密₇₅密₇₆安₇₇止₇₈理₇₉居₈₀基₈₁定₈₂既₈₃登₈₄乃₈₅依₈₆既₈₇景₈₈廼₈₉固₉₀既₉₁基₉₂廼₉₃理₉₄既₉₅旅₉₆廼₉₇密₉₈旅₉₉于₁₀₀時₁₀₁廬₁₀₂旅₁₀₃廬₁₀₄爾₁₀₅乃₁₀₆尚₁₀₇寧₁₀₈幹₁₀₉止₁₁₀廼₁₁₁疆₁₁₂廼₁₁₃理₁₁₄夙₁₁₅夜₁₁₆基₁₁₇命₁₁₈密₁₁₉其₁₂₀謚₁₂₁夙₁₂₂夜₁₂₃恭₁₂₄基₁₂₅始₁₂₆信₁₂₇寬₁₂₈寧₁₂₉電₁₃₀電₁₃₁勉₁₃₂密₁₃₃勿₁₃₄復₁₃₅聚₁₃₆聚₁₃₇有₁₃₈有₁₃₉衆₁₄₀君子₁₄₁有₁₄₂洒₁₄₃旨₁₄₄且有₁₄₅其₁₄₆祀₁₄₇孔₁₄₈有₁₄₉芮₁₅₀鞠₁₅₁之₁₅₂卽₁₅₃之₁₅₄卽₁₅₅是₁₅₆卽₁₅₇芮₁₅₈水₁₅₉涯

35 **njwad*, cognate words); k ü 37 = 41 'the outside of a river'. This makes sense only if we apply it to a bend of a river, thus: »They reached to the inner side and the outer side of the river bend». This was certainly Cheng's meaning; he evidently took j u e i 35 to be a loan char. for the homophonous 42, for on Shu: Shao kao Lo j u e i 43 he says that j u e i is = 44 'the interior of a river bend'. In Shuowen this j u e i 42 is defined as = 45 'junction of rivers', and Ma Jung on Shu: Yao tien 46 likewise says j u e i = 47, but this is not another sense but indicates the 'interior' = nook formed where two rivers join. The sense of 'inner side of a river bend' or 'junction of two rivers' of the w. 42 is very common, cf. below. — B. Ts'i (ap. Han shu: Ti li ch'i) reads 48, and Yen Shī-ku in his comm. adds that Han had the same reading. Yet another school (ap. Cheng Hsian's comm. on Chouli) reads 49 (var. 50). 51 was **kjōk* / *kjūk* / k ü just like Mao's 37. Pan Ku in Han shu says: 52, and some later comm. have understood this so: »The Juei and the Kü of the Ode were streams in Yung chou», thus taking k ü as well to be a river name. But that, I believe, is to misunderstand the Han shu text, which simply means: »The Juei kü (outer side of the Juei) of the ode refers to a stream in Yung chou». So Chang Yi, author of the Kuang ya, took it, for he says: k ü 53 = 54 'outer side of a river bend'. Our B schools therefore took the k ü 51 in the same sense as the k ü 37 of A, but 35 = 42, not as = 'the inner side of the bend' but as a river name: »They reached to the outer side of the bend of the Juei». Chu follows this interpr. J u e i 42 as a river name is attested in Chouli: Ch'i fang shi 55 »Its rivers are the King and the Juei». The Shuei king chu tries to vindicate that in Shu: Yao tien 56 j u e i is likewise a river name (and not the 'nook' = junction of Ma Jung's interpr. above), thus: »He sent down the two girls to the Kuei and Juei rivers». But that is very unlikely, for in the Shu, besides Kuei juei 56 we have 43 Lo juei (Shao kao) and 57 Wei juei (Yü kung) and in Tso also 58 (Süan 8), 59 (Chao 4), 60 (Chao 5), 61 (Chao 24) etc. So j u e i 42 in the Yao tien is certainly an appellative as well, as in the other cases, and not a river name. — The Ts'ing scholars Ma Juei-ch'en and Ch'en Huan accept A in Cheng's formulation but add an etymology for **kjōk*: Mao's 37 **kjōk* does not mean 'the extremity' = 'the farther side' but is a loan char. for 51 **kjōk*, and this is cognate to 62 **k'jūk* / *k'jwok* / k' ü and means simply 'a bend'. Nevertheless, it means 'the outer side of the bend', with Cheng. This, of course, is possible, for it is quite natural that the land on the »convex» side of a river bend (63) should be called 'a bow'. Whatever its etymology the meaning of **kjōk* / *kjūk* / k ü, (wr. 37 or 51), seems safely established. The question remains whether the j u e i 35 = 42 means 'the river Juei' as in the Chouli text 55 (B schools, accepted also by Chu), or 'the inner side of a river bend' as in the Shu and Tso texts (56—61) (A school in Cheng's formulation). Both interpr. make good sense and have support in par. texts. I find, however, (with Mao, Cheng, Ma and Ch'en) that the very combination of j u e i with k ü forms an antithesis or rather a balanced phrase, which favours interpr. A: 32 »They reached both to the inner and to the outer side of the river bend» (they extended very far, not stopping even at this side of the bend but passing beyond, to the other side).

Ode CCLI: Hiung cho.

911. K' o y i f e n c h' i 64. Var. 65.

F e n :

A. Mao: F e n 66 (**pjwən* / *pjwən* / f e n) = 67. Erya says 68, var. 69: »f e n and l i u mean to steam, to cook (rice)», and later comm. have explained that f e n was the first »half-steaming» and l i u was the thorough steaming, No text par. — B. Shuowen says 70 f e n = 'to wash rice'. Ts'ang Hie p'ien (ap. Shīwen to Erya) says 71, and this has caused some comm. to think that Shuowen's 72 is here equal to this 73 and that both

mean 'to steam'. But that is quite arbitrary, for 72 is well known as meaning 'to wash' (Li: Nei tsê); so the 73 of the Ts'ang Hie p'ien may just as well be a var. of 72 'to wash' (the rice), and T. may have thought that f e n 65 meant 'to wash rice', like Hū Shen. No text par. — Attempts have been made to reconcile A and B by supposing that the first 'half-steaming' was to wash through the rice with hot water, but this is a mere speculation. There is undoubtedly a dissension here, A taking f e n to mean 'to steam', B 'to wash'. Now 65, 66 **piwən*, however, is probably cognate to 74 **b'üwən* / *b'üwən* / f e n 'vapour', which confirms the meaning 'to steam' (A).

Ch' i:

A. Mao (after Erya): ch' i 75 (**i'äg* / *ts'i* / ch' i) = 76 'wine and food'. This makes no sense here (the wine can neither be 'steamed' nor 'washed', cf. above), so the gloss must mean here simply 'food' generally; thus: »With that (sc. the water) one can steam the food«. Cf. ode 166, phr. 77 »Auspicious and pure are your sacrificial wine and food«. The same word recurs wr. 78 in odes 302, 303 and wr. 79 in Chouli: Ch' i jen, one version. Fang yen (W. Han coll.) says more precisely that 78 means 80 'cooked rice'. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: In Chouli: Ch' i jen 81, Cheng Chung says that the Ch' i jen 82 was the official in charge of the 'heating, cooking', and in Yili: Shī yü li 83 »the cooking stove was at the east« Cheng Hūan says 84 »to heat, cook the millet is called ch' i«. In our ode ch' i is this verb, coordinated with f e n: »With that (sc. the water) one can steam and cook« (the rice or millet). — While B is quite plausible in itself, A agrees better with the usage in the Shī. Ch' i undoubtedly fundamentally means 'cooked grain' (rice or millet), also as a verb 'to cook grain', but it has further been enlarged to mean 'food' generally, even 'drink and food' (as in ode 166).

Ode CCLII: K'üan ngo.

P' an huan er yu, see gl. 832.

912. Pei er mi er sing 85.

A. Mao (after Erya): mi 86 = 87 'to finish, to end'. Cf. ode 245, phr. 88 »She (went to the end of =) fulfilled her months (of pregnancy)«; Yi: Hi ts' i 89 »(To the end =) completely understanding the laws of heaven and earth«, etc. Cheng adds that sing 90 is = 91 'life', as in Tso: Chao 8, phr. 92 »Nobody preserves his life«. Thus: »May you (end:) fulfil your natural years«. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: mi 86 = 93 'to prolong, extend, increase', thus: »May you extend your years« (live long). Cf. Kyü: Tsin yü 94 »Slandorous words (extended =) increasingly rise«. — C. Hu Ch'eng-kung: mi 86 means 87 'go to the end' in the sense of 95 'to exhaust', and sing 90 has its ordinary meaning of 'nature, natural disposition': »May you give full scope to your natural qualities«. — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr., A, which is well substantiated.

Sī sien kung ts' iu, see gl. 497.

32鞠 33究 34鞠 40内 41水之外 42汭 43洛汭 44隈曲中 45水相入 46汭 47水所出入 48
芮隈 49汭 50汭泥 51隈泥 52詩芮隈雍州之川也 53泥 54隈 55其川涇汭 56降二女于
汭 57渭汭 58渭汭 59夏汭 60羅汭 61豫章汭 62曲 63 64可以饒饒 65饒 66饒 67饒 68
饒饒也 69饒 70饒饒 = 饒饒 71饒 = 饒 72饒 73饒 74饒 75饒 76饒食 77吉饒為饒 78饒
79饒 80饒 81饒人 82主炊官 83饒饒在東 84炊黍稷曰饒 85俾爾彌爾性 86彌 87終 88誕
彌辰月 89彌綸天地之道 90性 91性命 92莫保其性 93長 94饒言彌與 95盡 96亦孔之厚

913. Yi k'ung chī hou 96.

A. Cheng: »You treat them (your subjects) very generously«. — B. Chu paraphrases: 97 »It is very ample« (or, as Legge turns it: »It is perfectly secure«), thus considering chī 98 as a mere »particle«, to be skipped. This is unallowable, see transl. of ode 157, note. — C. Chī 98 is certainly a pronoun as object, with A, and hou = 'to make ample, to enrich' (see gl. 423); but the line connects with the preceding: »Your domain is great and splendid, and you also greatly enrich it«.

Fu lu er k'ang yi, see gl. 45; Ch'un kia er ch'ang yi, see gl. 708; Yu p'ing yu yi, yi yin yi yi, see gl. 433.

914. Yung yung ang ang 99.

A. Mao: yung yung 100 = 1 'genial, mild'; ang 2 = 3 'ample'. Erya defines 99 as = 4 'the virtue of the lord', which says nothing, and is expounded by Sun Yen = 5 'the appearance being mild and kind'. In Yi: Kua 20 the w. yung 100 is defined as = 6 'respectful, careful' by Ma Jung (cf. B below). — B. Chu: yung yung ang ang 99 = 7 'majestic'. In fact yung 100 occurs in ode 177 meaning 'big' (the sense there unambiguous) and ang 2 means 'high', e. g. Sün: Fu p'ien 8 »very high« (Yang Liang = 9), etc. thus: »Great and high«. Lu (ap. an essay by Ts'ai Yung) reads 10 (11 merely a short form), and 12, homophonous w. 2, means 'high' in Ch'u: Yüan yu and Pu kü. Chu's expl. is only a freer mode of expressing this »great and high«. In the Yi ex. quoted (Kua 20), Yü Fan, defines yung 100 as = 13 'having majestic dignity', which comes to the same thing. — C. In Huai: Shu shen is a passage which obviously alludes to our ode: »When the sage inhales and exhales the yang and the yin breaths, 14 (with the var. 15 for 100, which shows that Huai took yung = 15 'to gape' and ang as = 16 'to look up') of all the beings there are none who do not gape at (admire) and look up to his virtue«. Our ode line 99 would then mean: »To be (gaped at =) admired, to be looked up to«. — B is best supported.

Huei huei k'i yü, see gl. 172; Yi tsi yüan chī, see gl. 461; Wei yi suei ko, see gl. 184.

Ode CCLIII: Min lao.

915. Hi k'o siao k'ang 17.

A. Mao: hi 18 (**χīət* / *χīət* / hi) = 19 'danger'. K'ung expounds this: »(The people is toiled) 20 and it is endangered, near to destruction«. Hi 18 is loan char. for 21 (**χīət* / *χīət* / hi), and Lu (ap. Han shu) reads 22. This hi means 'to come to, to approach' (ode 245, phr. 23), and K'ung thinks that Mao took the line 17 to mean: »It is drawing near (to destruction) and should have a little rest«. — B. Cheng: hi 18 = 24 in the sense of 25 ('it is near to =) there are chances that, *hoffentlich*', and Tu Yü in comm. on Tso: Chao 20, where this ode is quoted, says hi 18 = 26, likewise taking it to be an optative adverb. Hu Ch'eng-kung even thinks that Mao means the same by his 19 'danger': »there is danger of« = »there are chances that«, just as 27 'danger' often means 'possibly, perhaps', and he quotes Han texts in which wei 19 had the meaning of an adverb of probability. Be this as it may, with the B interpr. the line 17 would mean: »Perhaps they may have a little rest«. — The comm. have speculated much about how hi 18 can have this sense. Some (e. g. Ma Juei-ch'en) think that 18 (**χīət*) is a loan char. for 24 (**kīər*) because of sound similarity, a hopeless idea. Others base themselves on Shuowen, which says: hi 18 = 28 'water drying up'. This definition alludes to Yi: Kua 64, phr. 29, which the comm. Kan Pao interprets: »The small fox, when the water is drying up, crosses the stream«. And Kuang ya says 18 = 30 'to exhaust', which we have in Lü: T'ing yen: 31 »They become exhausted« (Wang Nien-sun therefore thinks that 18 **χīət* is cognate to 32 **kīəd*). Now Shuowen after its defini-

tion *hi* = 'water drying up' quotes our ode line, and Wang Sien-k'ien expounds this: *hi* = exhaustedly, barely: »May they (barely =) at least be allowed a small rest». Others again, e. g. Tuan Yü-ts'ai, think that *hi* 18 from 'water drying up, on the point of being exhausted' by an extension of meaning came to mean 24 'on the point of' generally, the line 17 thus: »It is on the point of their having a little rest» = perhaps they may have a little rest. (In Yi: Kua 64, phr. 29, Yü Fan takes the *hi* 18 in this »extended» sense: »When the small fox 24 is on the point of having crossed the stream», as against Kan Pao above). — C. Yen Shī-ku in comm. on Han shu: Yüan ti ki, where this ode is quoted 33 says: *hi* 21 = 34 'to come to' (as in ode 245, phr. 23). Mao's 18 is then only a loan char. for this 21. Thus: »(The people is toiled), it has come to (the point that) they should have a little rest». This is quite analogous to the 35 'to come to' in ode 29, phr. 36 »It has come to (the point that) he does not love me», etc., see gl. 76, 283. — C is simple, plausible and well supported.

916. Wu tsung kuei suei 37.

A. Mao takes *suei* 38 in its ordinary sense of 'to follow': »Do not give indulgence to the wily and obsequious». — B. Another school (ap. Tso: Chao 20) reads 39 »Do not follow the wily and obsequious» (Shīwen here takes 40 to be a short-form for 41, but there is really no reason for that). — C. Wang Yin-chī: Kuei-suei should be a binome. *Suei* 38 (*dzwia / zwiɣ / suei) is a loan char. for 42 *t'wā / t'wā / t'o Fang yen (W. Han coll.) = 'wily'. Of this *w*. there are no pre-Han text ex., and Wang tries to support it by identifying it with 43 (44) 'unreliable, deceitful' which occurs e. g. in Ts'ê: Yen ts'ê. Now it is true that Kuang yün and even a T'ang yün ms. has a reading 45 *t'wā / t'wā / t'o, but the earlier Ts'ie yün inst. of this has 45 *t'ā / t'ā / t'o, which is correct with a view to the phonetic (46), which should have no medial *w*. Another reading of 47, 48 is *dīa / iɣ / y i (T'ang yün, Kuang yün), as e. g. in Ch'u: Kiu chang and Meng: Kao tsī, hia. It is therefore quite unallowable to identify the colloquial Han word 42 *t'wā with 44 *t'ā, *dīa; at most we could say that they may be cognate words. Thus interpr. C entirely lacks the support of pre-Han text par. — A and B both make good sense, and it is undecidable which of them best repr. the orig. Shī.

917. Jou yüan neng er 49. The same phr. occurs in Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien).
Jou u:

Mao (after Erya): *jou* 50 = 51. This may be interpr. in two ways. A. Shīwen records the var. 52, thus taking it to mean 'to tranquillize', as in ode 259, phr. 53 »He tranquillizes (pacifies) these myriad states». 52 is etym. id. *w*. 50 'soft, flexible': 'to make soft, to make yielding', i. e. to subdue, tranquillize. Thus in our phr. 49 here: »Tranquillize the distant ones». So it was understood by Cheng, who paraphrases 54, and already by Liu Hsiang in his Shuo yüan (who paraphr. 55). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en (Sung school) on the Shu phr.: *jou* 50 = 'to be gentle with, mild to, to treat gently', likewise a natural application of the fundamental sense of 'soft'. Thus: »Be gentle with the distant ones».

17. 既甚厚矣 22. 之 29. 顯顯印印 100. 顯 1. 溫 2. 印 3. 盛 4. 君之德也 5. 體免溫潤 6. 敬 7. 黃
嚴 8. 印印兮 9. 高免 10. 昂昂昂昂 11. 昂 12. 昂 13. 有威容免 14. 羣生莫不顯顯然仰其德 15.
喝 16. 仰 17. 沕可小康 18. 沕 19. 危 20. 又危耳近於喪亡 21. 迄 22. 迄可 23. 迄于今 24. 幾 25. 庶幾
26. 其 27. 殆 28. 水涸 29. 小狐沕濟 30. 盡 31. 沕盡 32. 既 33. 迄可小康 34. 至 35. 逝 36. 逝不相好 37.
無縱詭隨 38. 隨 39. 毋從詭隨 40. 從 41. 縱 42. 謂 43. 詭 44. 詭詭詭 45. 詭 46. 它在也 47. 詭 48. 詭 49.
乘遠能通 50. 柔 51. 安 52. 揀 53. 揀此萬邦 54. 安遠方之國 55. 遠者安之 56. 無不柔嘉 57. 申伯

— In ode 256, phr. 56 Mao again says *j o u* 50 = 51, and here it is clear that *a n* 51 cannot mean 'to pacify' (to make somebody else soft) but means 'soft' = 'mild': »In all things be mild and good» (same phr. quite unambiguous in ode 260). In ode 259 indeed we have a contrast between 50 and 52: 57 »The virtue of the prince of Shen is mild and straight; he pacifies these myriad states». On the other hand, in ode 273, phr. 58, where Mao also says 50 = 51, the meaning is obviously: »He cherishes and mollifies all the spirits» (here a meaning: »he is mild to, not severe against» would make poor sense). Thus both meanings A and B are well supported by Shī par. But, as we shall see below, the balancing word *n e n g* 59 means 'to treat well, be kind to', thus referring to the mode of action of the agent, his mental disposition in treating others, and parallelism demands that our *j o u* 50 should do the same: *j o u* ('soft, mild') is a quality of the agent, who treats the people, not ('soft' = 'yielding, submissive') a quality of the people.

N e n g 59. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: *n e n g* 59 = 60 (= 61), thus: »Be compliant to the near ones». In the same way, on the same Shu passage, Cheng says *n e n g* 59 = 62 'be indulgent towards'. This has been differently understood. a. Sū Miao (ap. Shīwen) thinks that Cheng took 59 **nang* / *nang* / *n e n g* to stand for 63 **nag* / *nai* / *n a i* 'to have forbearance with' (just as in Li: Yüe ki 64 »There cannot but be disorder» Cheng says that *n a i* 63 was the »ancient form» of *n e n g* 59; cf. that 59 **nang* sometimes serves for 65 **nag* / *nai* / *n a i*, as in Ts'ê: Wei ts'ê 66, which is equal to 67 »The king then again enfeoffed his son»). β. Sun Sing-yen (comm. on Shu): Cheng takes 59 **nang* to serve for 68 **niag* / *nai* / *e r*. And since 68 and 61 are synonymous (see gl. 471), Sun explains this 68 by 69, i. e. 61 'to accord with'. Now it may be true that 59 **nang* sometimes stands for 68 **niag* (Wang Yin-chī in King chuan shī ts'ī adduces some ex., most of which, however, are not convincing), but then always as a particle, never as a verb = 'to accord with'. — B. Pseudo-K'ung in comm. on Shu: »(If you tranquillize the distant ones), you can (tranquillize also) the near ones». — C. Tu Yü in comm. on Tso: Chao 20: *n e n g* 59 means 'to promote acc. to ability', thus: »Judge by ability the near ones». — D. Ch'en Huan reverts to A β above, viz. 59 stands for 68, but in the function of a particle; he adduces a Han-time stone inscr. where our ode is quoted 70, and interprets: »Tranquillize the distant ones and bring them near». This misses the constantly recurring antithesis of *y ü a n* 'the distant ones': *e r* 'the near ones'. — E. Yen Shī-ku in comm. on Han shu: Po kuan kung k'ing piao, where our ode is quoted, says: *n e n g* 59 = 71 'to treat well, be kind to'. Wang Nien-sun adduces a long series of ex. where *n e n g* 59 in this way means 72 'to treat well, to be kind to': Shu: K'ang kao 73 »If you do not treat your house-people well»; Tso: Hi 9, phr. 74 »If you can enter (the state) and treat the people well»; Tso: Chao 11: »He offended the ruler 75 and did not treat the people well»; Tso: Wen 16, phr. 76 »He did not treat his dignitaries well»; Tso: Siang 21: »(Fan Yang and Luan Ying were both dignitaries of the ducal house) 77 but did not treat each other well (did not get on well)»; Kungyang: Hi 24, phr. 78 »He did not behave well to his mother». Ma Juei-ch'en thinks that 59 **nang* in this function is equal to 79 **nieng* ('to tranquillize'), which is phonetically unlikely. Others take it to mean simply the ordinary 'to be able' in the sense of 'able to manage'. This might do for the first examples: 73 »not able to manage the house-people», etc.; But it does not exhaust the meaning in 77 (Legge: »could not stand each other»), or 78 (»He was not able to manage towards his mother» makes poor sense; Ho Hiu on 78 therefore freely paraphrases: »He was not able to serve his mother»). *N e n g* 59 in all these ex. means something more than 'to be able'. It is an extension of meaning: 'to act ably, behave well towards, to treat well, to be kind to', as rightly emphasized by Wang Nien-sun. And these par. show conclusively that in our

neng er 80, just as in neng min 81, neng hu mu 82, the neng 59 has its ordinary reading and is not a loan char. for nai 63 nor for er 68. Thus our ode line means: »(Treat softly =) be gentle with the distant ones, (treat well =) be kind to the near ones».

Yi kin wang ki, see gl. 182.

918. Yi kin ch'ou li 83.

A. Mao: ch'ou 84 = 85, thus: »To make careful the many wicked ones». Ch'ou = 'a crowd' is common, see gl. 438. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: ch'ou is analogous to li and also means 'evil': »To make careful the evil and wicked ones». Indeed, ch'ou fundamentally means 'ugly', and by extension of meaning 'ominous, evil', cf. ode 193, phr. 86 »We found it greatly (ugly:) ominous»; Tso: Wen 18, phr. 87 »He was a bad sort and an evil thing». — B is obviously right. — We compare:

Ode 299. K'ü ts'ik'ün ch'ou 88. A. Mao: k'ü 89 = 90 'to gather in' and ch'ou 84 = 85: »He assembles with him this multitude». Han (ap. Shiwen) has the same definition, paraphrasing 92 »He gathers in and obtains this multitude». Erya says k'ü 89 = 93 'to collect'. The only text par. that has been adduced is Yili: P'ing li 94, where Cheng expl. k'ü by 95; the phr., however, simply means »(bent =) rolled up cords», which is no support for A. A would only be possible as an extension of meaning: k'ü = 'to bend' = 'to roll up': 88 »Winding up (i. e. assembling round himself) this multitude», which is very strained. — B. Cheng: k'ü 89 = 96 'to regulate', and ch'ou 84 = 97 'evil', thus: »He regulates these many evil ones». Erya says 98 = 96, and a comm. on this quotes our ode 99. Cheng has evidently had this Erya entry in mind and thought that 89 (*k'iwat / k'iuat / k'ü is a short-form for this 98 (*kwat / kuat / k u). The latter is id. w. 100 (*kwat / kuat / k u), which is well known in the sense of 'to regulate' (sc. rivers, e. g. in Kyü). — C. Ma Juei-ch'en thinks that 89 *k'iwat stands for 1 *t'iwat / t'iuat / ch'ou (phonetically similar and with the same phonetic in the graph), thus: »He eliminates these many evil ones». — D. Chu: k'ü 89 = 2 'to subdue', thus: »He subdues all this multitude». K'ü fundamentally means 'to bend', and this is an extension of meaning. Cf. Meng: T'eng Wen kung, hia 3 »One whom force cannot (bend =) subdue», on which Chao K'i: k'ü = 4 'repress his will'. Etym. the s. w. is 5 (*k'iwat), cf. Ts'ê: Ts'in ts'ê 6 »to subdue the enemy's country» (Wei chao: k'ü 5 = 2). — Whereas B and C take ch'ou 84 to mean 'evil' (as in ode 253 above), A and D take it = 'a crowd, a multitude', a well attested meaning, see gl. 438. The latter is confirmed by a par. in ode 180, phr. 7 »We pursued the herd (of animals)». It would be strange indeed if the same phr. k'ün ch'ou meant 'multitude, herd' in ode 180 and 'the many evil ones' in our ode. There remains the word k'ü. A lacks text support, D is well corroborated by par.

919. Yi kin k'ien k'üan 8.

Mao: k'ien k'üan 9 (*k'ian-k'iwän) = 10. This has been differently understood.

之德柔惠且直操此萬邦 51 懷柔百神 52 能 53 順依 54 如 55 恣 56 耐 57 不而無亂 58 乃 59
王能又封其子 60 王乃又 61 而 62 依 63 深遠而通 64 善 65 相等 66 不能厥家人 67 入而能
民 68 而不能其民 69 不能其大夫 70 而不相能 71 不能乎母 72 審 73 能通 74 能民 75 能乎
母 76 以謹醜厲 77 醜 78 衆 79 亦孔之醜 80 醜類惡物 81 屈此羣醜 82 屈 83 收 84 衆 85 收斂
得此衆 86 聚 87 屈纒 88 斂 89 治 90 惡 91 淫 92 淫此羣醜 93 汨 94 黜 95 服 96 威武不能屈 97
挫其志 98 黜 99 敵國 100 從其羣醜 101 以謹纒絕 102 纒絕 103 反覆 104 固若不拔 105 纒絕從

A. K'ung thinks that Mao means 'to revert to again and again, not leave alone', the k'ien k'üan of the ode meaning 11 'firmly attaching oneself to and not letting go', quoting Tso: Chao 25, phr. 12 »We shall hold fast to and follow the prince» (Tu Yü: k'ien k'üan = 13 'not leave'). He further expounds the ode line: »To make careful those who cling to (evil)». There are no other pre-Han text ex. of the binome, and Ma Juei-ch'en tries to explain it by referring to Ch'u = Kiu si 14 »My heart is (as if) tied, and I am pained», on which Wang Yi: 15 (**k'ien-k'wän*) = 16 'tied'. Thus 'tied to' = 'clinging to'. The Kiu si text, however, is too late (2nd c. A. D.) to have any corroborative value. Indeed we do not know whether the radical 17 in 9 was there in the Chou-time text, or the binome was wr. simply 18 (Shiwen records a variant 19). Kuang ya says 20 = 21, probably having our binome in view, and Wang Nien-sun, because of the radicals 22 and 23, takes it to mean 24 »sticky, sticking together' as the paste of a 21 'dumpling'. — B. Chu, accepting K'ung's k'ien k'üan = 'attached to' (without entering upon its etymology), explains: »To make careful those who cling to (the prince)». — C. Ch'en Huan: Mao's fan fu 10 is the same as 25 'deflected' = 26 'not straight', thus: »To make careful the perverse ones». This may really have been Mao's idea, for he probably thought of the following 27 »Do not let the straight be (deflected =) perverted». If so, he may have thought of the meaning 'curved, bent, crooked' of the phonetic 19 and several of its derivates (see Grammata Serica p. 185). For k'ien 28, however, no such sense of 'crooked, deflected' can be substantiated. And it is hardly applicable to the Tso ex. 12. — The only early text par. known, that of Tso, 12 above, strongly supports the idea that k'ien k'üan, whatever its etymology may be, really means 'to cling to, adhere to', and this eliminates C. Since A ('to cling to evil') is hopelessly scholastic, we can do no better than accept B and translate, with Legge: **»To make the (clinging ones =) parasites careful».**

920. Wang yü yü ju 29. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: »Oh king, I want to make you (like) a jade». — B. Chu: »The king wants to treat you like jade», i. e. treasure you like precious jade. — C. Yüan Yüan (foll. by Ch'en Huan and Ma Juei-ch'en): yü 30 **ngiuk* / *ngiwok* / yü is loan char. for 31 **xiök* / *xiuk* / h ü, thus: »Oh king, I want to cherish you». A bold speculation. — The idea of A and C, that wang is a vocative, is excluded, for the whole ode is an exhortation not directed to the king but to the officials in general, as clearly shown by lines like »in order to stabilize our king» (st. 1), which would be meaningless if addressed to the king. Chu holds this view, which is obviously right. Cheng's cutting of the line: wang! yü yü ju goes against the rhythm and has no par. in the Shi. Yü 'jade' as a simile for a flawless and fine person is common in the odes: ode 23 yu nü ju yü »There is a girl like a jade»; ode 108 mei ju yü »He is beautiful like a jade»; ode 186 k'ien ju yü »That man is like jade»; ode 238 kin yü k'isang »(Like) gold and jade is his (look:) appearance». The simile is the same here: **»The king wants to (consider you as jades =) find you like jades».**

Ode CCLIV: Pan.

921. Shangtipanpan 32.

A. Mao: pan 33 (**pwan* / *pwan* / pan) = 34 'to turn aside'. Erya reads 35 (same sound) = 36, same meaning, and so the phr. is quoted in comm. on Wsüan and comm. on Hou Han shu; 33 and 35 are variants for the same word and interchangeable. Thus: »God on High is (turning aside, deviating =) perverse». Cheng adds that »God on High» really symbolizes the king. Han (ap. Wai chuan) has the same idea, explaining 37 »When the ruler turns away from the proper path, the people suffers». All this, however, is merely a script etymology, explaining 33, 35 **pwan* by its phonetic 34 **piwan*. — B.

Another interpr. In ode 220, phr. 38, the *fan* 34 is merely a short-form for *pan* 39 'great, grand' (**pwan*, rising tone), the Han version (ap. Shīwen) having 40 and Lu (ap. Ts'ien fu lun) having 41, where 33 (**pwan*, rising tone) is a loan char. for 39 'great', see gl. 711. In our present ode this doublet *pan* - *pan* (**pwan*, rising tone) recurs wr. 33, as in the Lu version of ode 220, and since it is a question of »God on High», who is frequently referred to as »august» (odes 192, 241, 274), it is obvious that we here have the same *pan* - *pan* (33 = 39) as in ode 220, thus: »God on High is grand». We must not let the script etymology (34) deceive us, and »God on High» does not allude to the king. — We should compare:

Ode 255. *Tang tang Shang ti* 42. A. Here Mao says that »God on High» refers to the ruler; and Cheng in the same way explains *tang tang* 43 as = 'reckless'. (Erya has 44 = 36, where *tang* 44 'to rinse' is loan char. for 43); thus: »Reckless is God on High». Cf. Lun: *Yang huo* 45 »The (wild ones =) impulsive ones of the present age are excessive, reckless». — B. Chu: *tang* 43 = 46 'wide and great', thus: »Grand is God on High». Cf. Lun: *T'ai po* 47 »He was grand, among the people none could find a name for it». — The fundamental sense of *tang* is 'extensive', and 'excessive, reckless' is an extension of meaning. The doublet *tang* - *tang* is the same in Lun as in our ode, and this confirms B.

922. *Hia min tsu tan* 48.

Mao defines *tan* 49 (Shīwen var. 50) as = 51 'suffering'. Properly it means 'exhausted', see gl. 402.

A. Cheng: *tsu* 52 = 53 (hence Shīwen reading it **tsiwət* / *tsiut* / *tsu*) 'to end, to the end', thus: »The people are utterly exhausted». — B. Han (ap. Han Shī wai chuan) reads 54 »The lower people are distressed and exhausted». Hence Ma Juei-ch'en thinks that Mao's 52 is a short-form for 55 **dz'iwəd* / *dz'wi* / *tsuei* 'suffering, distress', just as in ode 191, where 56 stands for 57, see gl. 522. — B is very tempting, but in st. 5 we have 58 »Your demeanour is utterly (gone astray =) at fault». The parallelism within the ode proves that Mao's reading in st. 1: *tsu*, corresponding to *tsu mi* in st. 5, is preferable to the Han reading, and that 52 really means *tsu* 'utterly'.

923. *Mi sheng kuan kuan* 59.

A. Mao: *kuan kuan* 60 (**kwān*, rising tone) = 61 'to have nobody to rely upon', thus: »You have no wise men and are helpless». Probably Mao took 60 as a loan char. for the homophonous *ku an* 62 'exhausted' cf. ode 169, phr. 63 »The four stallions are tired out», on which Mao: 62 = 64 'exhausted, tired out'. Erya defines this 62 as = 65 'sick, suffering'; Shuowen has a 66 (same reading) = 67 'suffering, distress' (Kuang yün but not Ts'ie yün quotes Mao as having this 66 inst. of 60), but there are no text ex. of this char. In fact, the w. 62 is known exclusively from the ex. in ode 169, and there it is quite clear from the context that it does not mean 'sick, ill', but 'exhausted, tired out' (for which Erya's 65 is then but another mode of expression). If the fundamental sense is 'exhausted', Mao's extension of meaning = 'destitute, alone and helpless'

公 13 不離散 14 心聚衆 15 傷懷 16 聚衆 17 糾紛 18 系 19 遺巷 19 巷 20 鍵巷 21 搏 22 食 23 米
24 黏 25 反側 26 不正直 27 無俾正反 28 遺縷 29 王欲玉女 30 玉 31 畜 32 上帝板板 33 板 34
反 35 版 36 俾 37 君反道而民怨 38 威儀反反 39 敗 40 威儀敗敗 41 威儀板板 42 蕩蕩上帝
43 蕩 44 蕩蕩 45 今之狂也蕩 46 廣大 47 蕩蕩乎民無能名焉 48 下民卒瘁 49 瘁 50 俾 51 病
52 卒 53 盡 54 下民瘁瘁 55 瘁 56 卒 57 瘁 58 威儀卒迷 59 靡盬 60 管 61 無所依 62

is quite plausible. Possibly also Mao may have felt it to be cognate to 68 **kwen* / *kuan* / *kuan* 'widower', a person alone and helpless (cf. 69 **kwen* / *kuan* / *kuan* 'distressed', Shu). — B. Cheng paraphrases: »The king has no rules of a wise man, and 70 *kuan* - *kuan* - wise gives himself liberty acc. to his heart». It seems that he took *kuan* 62 to mean something like 'unbridled, self-indulgent'. Thus the ode line: »(He) has no (ways of a) wise man, being self-indulgent». I can find no support for such a meaning.

924. Wu jan hien hien 71.

For the following line wu jan yi yi 72 »Do not be so garrulous», see gl. 88.

A. Mao: hien hien 73 = 74, thus: »Do not be so elated». This does not mean, with Ma Juei-ch'en, that he takes 73 **χiǎn* / *χiǎn* / hien (falling tone) to be loan char. for 74 **χiǎn* / *χiǎn* / hin, but, with Ch'en Huan, that he takes it as loan char. for 75 **χiǎn* / *χiǎn* / hien (even tone). For such a loan use cf. Li: Yüe ki 76 »They put down the right (knee) and lift the left» (Cheng: 73 read like 75); Li: Chung yung 77 »The high, fine virtue». The fundamental sense of hien 75 is 'high, to raise high' (hence also = 'carriage high in front'), cf. ode 177, phr. 78 »As if rising tall», and it is etym. id. w. 79 **χiǎn* / *χiǎn* / hien 'to lift' (ex. in Tso). Now it is no coincidence that 74 **χiǎn* is »phonetic» in 79 **χiǎn*, for they are cognate words, 74 **χiǎn* meaning really 'lifted up, elated'. Thus the hien hien of our ode: 73 = 75 = 79 means 74 'elated'. — B. Lu (ap. Erya) says hien hien yi yi 80 (81 and 82 are interchangeable) = 83 'to lay down the law'. Cheng has tried to reconcile this with Mao (A), but that is to force the Erya. It really takes hien 73 in its fundamental sense of 'law, rule': »Do not be so normative, so talkative» — laying down the law to others. — B is quite plausible in itself, as far as the char. 73 is concerned, but the whole context shows that the idea is rather that the officials reproved are lighthearted and careless: we have later 84 »Do not make them a matter for laughter», 85 »Do not jest so». This confirms A.

Ts'i chi yi yi, min chi mo yi, see gl. 819.

925. Min chi hia yi 86.

A. Mao reads thus. — B. Another school (ap. Tso: Siang 31) reads min chi hie yi 87. — The meaning is the same, but A 88 **g'ep* / *γǎp* / hia suits the rime (89, var. 90 **dz'ǎp*) better than B 87 **g'iap* / *γiep* / hie.

926. T'ing wo ao ao 91.

A. Mao: ao ao 92 = 93 (both **ngog* / *ngáu* / a o). In ode 193, phr. 94 »The slanderous mouths are clamouring», Han (ap. Sh'wen) reads 95, same meaning; 96 and 97 are the same word (the latter meaning 'to clamour against, to vilify' in Lü, see gl. 558). So Mao evidently means: »You listen to me, clamouring» (receiving my words with vilifying clamour). — B. Lu (ap. Ts'ien fu lun) reads 98. This 99 is often a short-form for 100 (**ngog* / *ngáu* / a o) 'proud, insolent, arrogant', and since Erya has ao ao 99 = 100, Chu says: ao ao 92 = 1 'self-satisfied, not willing to accept (my) words', thus: »You listen to me arrogantly». Now the ao 92 of the Mao text is sometimes loan char. for this 100, e. g. Meng: Wan Chang 2 »He arrogantly said» (Chao K'i: ao ao 92 = 'self-satisfied'). So it probably is the same loan here. — A is much less logical than B.

927. Lao fu kuan kuan 3.

A. Mao: kuan kuan 4 (**kwán* / *kuán* / k u a n) = 5 'sincere'. Cheng expounds: »I, the old man, am very sincere» (6 »you, the youths, are arrogant»). Mao, as often, explains a difficult word by a superficial sound similarity with another word. 4 **kwán*, falling tone, would be loan char. for 5 **k'wán*, rising tone. This is very arbitrary and unlikely. Erya has an entry 7 = 8 'distressed and without anybody to appeal to', which could be forced into meaning 'sincerely distressed', and the Ts'ing scholars think that Mao's 4 is a loan char. for this 7; but of 7 in this sense there is no text ex. whatever, so the Mao expl. remains quite unsupported. — B. Another school (ap. comm.

on Shang shu ta chuan) reads 9. This 10 **xwân / xwân / h u a n* (s. w. a. 11) means 'to cry out, to clamour', e. g. Sün: Fei shī er tsī 12 »They clamour and do not know wherein they are wrong» (Yang Liang: h u a n h u a n = 13 'shouting, clamouring'). Thus: »The old men (among you) are clamouring, (the young ones are arrogant)». Mao's 4 ('to pour out') is evidently a loan char. for this 10. This agrees best with the whole content of these stanzas, which again and again complain that the officers reproved 14 'babble' and 15 'make (the reproofs) a matter for laughter' and 16 'jest'. — B alone is confirmed by text par. — For Mao's *k ü e k ü e* 17 (**g'ïok / g'ïak / k ü e*) (Mao = 18) the Sin shu reads 18 (**kïog / kiäu / k i a o*) and the Lie nü chuan reads 19 (**kïog / kiäu / k i a o*). All have the meaning 'robust' and by extension of meaning 'proud, arrogant', see gl. 169. It is probable, however, that even the sense 'robust' is not the primary meaning of the word stem, but 'high, tall' > 'powerful, robust', see gl. 30.

928. To tsiang hu hu (h o h o, h i a o h i a o) 20.

A. Mao: hu hu 21 (**χok / χuok / h u* and **χāk / χāk / h o*, Ts'ie yün and Shīwen) = 22 'a great blaze', Shuowen = 23 'fire being hot', thus: »(You jest about the grievous things), and largely there will be a blaze» (a great calamity). 21 is unknown in pre-Han texts, but for one ex.: Yi: Kua 37, phr. 24, where one version (Liu) reads 25. Here Cheng Hūan (influenced by the Mao gloss above) says: 26 = 27 'the sense of bitterness and heat', thus: »When the house-people are treated with (heat =) fierce severity; but Ma Jung on the contrary says: 26 = 28 'pleased and satisfied': »When the house-people are happy», and this is balanced in the next line by: 29 »When the women and children make joyous exclamations». Hence Liu's 21 is loan char. for 26, which is id. w. 30, see B below, and properly means 'to shout', here 'to shout and be merry' (»When the house-people shout merrily»). Thus there is really no pre-Han support whatever for 21 = 'blaze, heat'. — B. Lu: Erya says 31 = 32 'to estimate slander and evil'. The combination of *n ü e n ü e* and this 30 clearly shows that Erya refers to our ode here. Ho Yi-hang has tried to maintain that Erya »means the same as Mao». But it certainly does not. It clearly takes *n ü e* 33 'to jest, to ridicule' and our 30 to be synonymous, and moreover explains that they both mean 'prone to slander and evil'. The 30 therefore has its proper and fundamental meaning 'to shout, bawl, clamour, vociferate', having 34 'talk' as radical (or 35 'mouth', see A above, the Yi ex. 24). It is read **χōg / χau / h i a o* (Shīwen on Chuang), cf. Chuang: Ts'i wu lun 36 »A shouting, a bawling, a crying out, a clamouring»; Kuan: Ch'i mi 37 »As if shouting (men) became quiet»; Chuang: Tsê yang 38 (**χōg / χau / h i a o*) »When you blow the flute, there is a (shout =) whistling sound». The 21 of the Mao version is then a loan char. for this 30 (26) (just as in the Liu version

瘡 13 四牡瘡瘡 14 罷 15 病 16 患 17 憂 18 艱 19 瘡 20 管管然以心自忖 21 無然 22 憂 23 無然
泄泄 24 憂 25 欣 26 軒 27 致右連左 28 連連令德 29 如軒 30 掀 31 憂 32 洩洩 33 洩 34 泄 35 制
法則 36 勿以為笑 37 無然 38 謔謔 39 民之洽矣 40 協矣 41 洽 42 輯 43 集 44 聽我囁囁 45 囁 46
警警 47 謔口囁囁 48 謔口警警 49 警 50 警 51 聽我教教 52 教 53 傲 54 自得不肯受言之免
55 囁囁然曰 56 老夫濯濯 57 濯 58 教教 59 小子蹢躅 60 懼懼 61 憂無告也 62 老夫唯唯 63
唯 64 唯 65 唯唯然不知其所非也 66 直囁之免 67 泄 68 以為笑 69 謔 70 蹢 71 蹢 72 蹢 73 蹢 74
將煇煇 75 煇 76 熾盛 77 火熱 78 家人嘒嘒 79 家人煇煇 80 嘒嘒 81 苦熱之意 82 悅樂自得
之免 83 婦子嘻嘻 84 謔 85 謔謔謔謔 86 崇謔 87 也 88 謔 89 言 90 口 91 謔者叱者叫者謔者

25 of Yi: Kua 37), and the ode line means: »(You jest about the grievous things), and you will make much clamour«. — B alone is confirmed by good text par., and moreover it tallies with the rest of these stanzas, where the bad officials are repeatedly reproved for their 'babbling', their 'laughter' and their 'jesting'. The consequence is that 21, 30 should not be read **χok* or **χāk* but **χog* / *χau* / *h i a o*. With Mao's reading the rimes of the st. would be: 39 **mog* : **ngiok* : **χok* (**χāk*) : **dïok*; with B they will alternate: **mog* : **ngiok* : **χög* : **dïok*, which is obviously better.

929. Wu wei k'ua p'i 40.

A. Mao: k'ua p'i = 41 'with one's (body =) person to be soft towards people' (after Erya: k'ua p'i = 42 'the body being soft'). Thus: »Do not be cringing«. Shiwen, quoting a »dictionary«, writes the binome 43, the rad. 44 'body' being a later addition based on the Erya-Mao gloss. Later comm. have developed this further: 'to stoop and lower one's own body in order to be insinuating to others'. No text par. whatever, nor have k'ua or p'i any meanings which could lead up to this curious sense. — B. Chu: k'ua 45 = 'to boast' and p'i 46 = 47 'attach oneself to', thus: »Do not be boastful or (adhesive:) fawning«. For k'ua 45 = 'boastful' see C next; but p'i 46 = 'to attach oneself to' is a meaning which seems to be invented by Chu and cannot be substantiated by any text par. whatever. — C. k'ua 45 'to be great, make oneself great, to brag, to boast' is very common (Lü: Pen sheng, Yi Chou shu: Shī fa, Sün: Chung-ni etc.). With the char. enlarged into 48 'to boast' we have it in Kuan: Po sin and even in modern Mandarin. As to **b'ïr* / *b'ji* / *p'i*, wr. 49 or 50, it means 'ample', hence also 'to enlarge, augment, strengthen, support, aid' (see gl. 517). K'ua p'i therefore is a binome of synonyms 'to make great and augment oneself', i. e. simply 'to boast'. This fits in very well with the context of our st.: »Do not be boastful«.

930. Sang luan mie tsi 51.

A. Mao: mie tsi 52 = 53, thus: »There is death and disorder and lack of resources«. 59 **miat* / *miet* / *mie* fundamentally means 'to destroy, annihilate', e. g. Kyü: Chou yü 60 »You will destroy and kill its people«. It is closely cognate to 61 **mïat* / *mïät* / *mie* 'to destroy, annihilate', cf. below. Secondly it means 'not have' (62) and even simply 'not' (Tso, *passim*). In our ode it is not a mere negation, as is proved by the par. in ode 257 below, but means 'to destroy': »There is death and disorder and destruction of resources«. Tsi 63 = 'property, provisions, resources' is common (e. g. Tso, *passim*). — B. Chu: mie 54 = 61, and tsi 63 (**tsïr* / *tsi* / *tsi*) is a loan char. for the homophonous 64, defined as = 65 'sound of sighing'. The expounder Fu Kuang understood Chu thus: »There is death and disorder, destruction and sighing« (so also Couvreur), but that was not Chu's idea, for in ode 257, where he repeats his gloss, it is clear that he meant tsi to be a final exclamation; thus here: »There is death and disorder and destruction, alas!« (64 = 'alas' is common, e. g. in ode 255, phr. 66 »Wen wang said: Alas!«). — B is a quite arbitrary and unnecessary loan speculation; moreover, there are a great many final particles in the Odes, but never a tsi 64 in that position. — We compare:

Ode 257. Kuo pu mie tsi 67. Mao has no gloss. A. Cheng, who in ode 254 above accepts Mao, here says: mie = 68, paraphrasing: 69 »The state in its government despises the people's resources«. Cheng renders 61 by 59, but here takes this to mean 'to treat lightly, to despise'. In fact 59 sometimes has this meaning, then being a short-form for 70 **miat* / *miet* / *mie*, cf. Shu: lost chapter ap. Shuowen 71 »they offend and despise each other«. Such an abbreviation of 70 into 59 we have e. g. in Kyü: Chou yü 73 »But the king despises it« (Wei Chao: mie = 74 'consider as small, despise'). — B. Chu: »The state will go to ruin, alas!«, cf. ode 254 above. — C. The expression kuo pu 75 must be translated »the country's course« on the analogy of

ode 229, phr. 76 »Heaven's course is calamitous», see gl. 739. As to mie tsī, it is obvious that it is quite analogous to the mie tsī in ode 254 above, which precludes interpr. A and B. The line means: »The country's course is a destruction of resources». 931. T'ien chī yu min 77.

A. Mao: yu 78 = 79 'to lead', thus: »Heaven's leading the people». This means that 78 is loan char. for the homophonous 80 (both *zīōg / i̯u / yu, rising tone). 80 'to lead on, to entice' is common. Later in the st. we have 81, and this is quoted 82 in Li: Yüe ki (Ts'i version). — B. Chu: yu 78 = 83 'to open up and enlighten', thus: »Heaven's enlightening the people». Yu 78 properly means 'window', and this would be an extension of meaning: to let up the windows of = to open up, to enlighten. In order to apply this sense Chu has to force the meaning of the following 84: »Like an occarina, like a flute» etc. in a most ridiculous way: »Heaven enlightens the people (as easily as) an occarina responds to a flute, as a chang jade makes up a kuei jade» (a chang being a half kuei). The repeated ju of course forbids this.

Min chī to pi pu tsī li pi, see gl. 567.

932. 1. Kie jen wei fan 85;
2. Ta shī wei yüan 86;
3. Ta pang wei p'ing 87;
4. Ta tsung wei han 88;
5. Tsung tsī wei ch'eng 89.

Kie:

A. Mao: kie 90 = 91, thus: »The good men». Erya has 92 = 91, and Lu (ap. Sün etc.) reads our ode 93, the 90 of the Mao text being only an enlarged form. For kie = good', no text par. — B. Cheng: kie 90 = 94 (likewise taking 90 = 92), thus: »The buff-coated men». — C. Chu: kie 90 (for 92) = 95: »The great men». Both B and C are common meanings of 92. But kie in st. 1 balances ta 95 'great' in the following lines, which confirms C.

Ta shī:

Mao has no gloss. A. Cheng reads t'ai-shī: »The Grand Master» (one of the 96 three highest dignitaries). — B. Chu reads ta shī: »The great multitude». — Both meanings are common in early texts.

Ta tsung:

A. Mao: Ta tsung »the great clan-chief» (or: »the great founder, the great leader»?) refers to the king. — B. Cheng: ta tsung = »the great clan» in the sense of 97 'the hereditary first-rank sons of the same clan as the king', i. e. the heirs apparent in the feudal houses of the clan-name Ki. — C. Chu: ta tsung = »The great clan» generally.

Tsung tsī:

若謫之靜 夫吹簫也猶有嘯 堇虺蜺蜺 無為夸毗 以體柔人 體柔 艸艸 身 夸 毗 附 謫 毗 毗 腹 喪亂 蕞資 蕞資 無財 蕞 蕞殺其民 滅 無 資 咨 嗟歎之聲 文王曰咨 國步滅資 輕 國家為政行此輕蕞 民之資用 儻 輕易以相陵 王而蕞之 小 國步 天步艱難 天之靡民 靡 道 謫 靡民孔易 謫民孔易 開明 如璫如璫 如璫如璫 价人維藩 大師維垣 大邦維屏 大宗維翰 宗子維城 价 善 价 介人 甲 大 三公

A. Cheng: «The king's heir apparent». — B. Chu: 98 «The men of the clan».

We must evidently take all the five terms as analogous, either each of them referring to one person or each referring to groups of persons, which Chu has correctly realized; the heterogeneous interpr. of the early comm. are not convincing. Now the 1st line must obviously be in the plural: «The great men». In the 3rd line *ta pang* must likewise be in the plural as shown by the context: «The great (feudal) states are a screen»; we cannot translate: «The great state (= the central kingdom) is a screen», it is on the contrary itself screened by the feudal dependencies. We thus obtain, with Chu: 85 The great men; 86 The great multitude; 87 The great (feudal) states; 88 The great (royal) clan; 89 The men of the (royal) clan. — In the concluding line 99, *tu 100* is the object placed before the verb and therefore resumed by the *si 1 = 2*: «May he (the king) not-solitariness-that-fear». For the construction cf. ode 154, phr. 3 «A pair of wine-vessels, them we offer in feast»; ode 220, phr. 4 «Bows and arrows, them he displayed» (etc., common).

Hao t'ien yüe tan, see gl. 186.

933. *Ki er ch'u wang, ki er yu yen 5*.

Wang 6 is a loan char. for *wang 7* 'to go' (both **giwang*).

A. Cheng: *ki 8 = 9* '(to be) together with': «(Great Heaven is called bright-seeing), together with you it goes out, together with you it sports and is extravagant», i. e. it is with you in all your goings, it is with you in your sporting and extravagances. Very strained. — B. Another interpr. *Ki 8* is the common transitive verb 'to reach to', and *er* means 'your' with the following words as nouns: «It (reaches to =) observes your goings, it (reaches to =) observes your sporting and extravagances». For *yen 10* 'to flow out, go to excess, to be extravagant' *Shiwen* has the variant *sien 11* 'surplus' = 'excess'.

Ode CCLV: Tang.

Tang tang Shang ti, see gl. 921; *Tsi wei Shang ti*, see gl. 562.

934. *K'i ming to pi 12*. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: *pi 13* means *p'i 14*, i. e. 15, thus: «His (God's) ordinances have many depravities». This is because Mao thinks that «God on High» refers to the king. Lu had the same idea, and therefore Shuo yüan quotes the line 16, filling out 13 into 14. — B. Waley: *pi 13 = 17*, as often, see gl. 567. Thus: «His charge has many rules». — To «God on High» 18 in lines 1 and 3 corresponds «Heaven» 19 in line 5: 20 «Heaven gives birth to the multitudinous people», again followed by 21. «Heaven» here cannot possibly allude to the king, so *k'i ming 22* «the charge» in line 6 must refer to the charge of God, Heaven. It would be strange indeed if the first *k'i ming 22* in line 4, phr. 12 should mean something quite different: «the ordinances» of the king. Parallelism amply corroborates B. — As to 21 (23 = 24), Cheng takes it as an oratorical question; he paraphrases: «Heaven gives birth to the multitudinous people; when it teaches and leads them, should one not with sincerity cause them to be loyal?» It is difficult to see how Cheng construes the line, and Chu is evidently right in interpreting: «Its charge is not to be relied upon», i. e. Heaven's grace can easily be lost.

935. *Tseng shi p'ou (pou) k'o 25*.

The char. 26 should not be read *ts'eng* (**dz'ang*) but *tseng* (**tsang*), being equal to 27 (**tsak*) in the sense of 28, simply an introductory particle, as in ode 61, phr. 29 «It does not have room for a canoe», etc. (common), see Wang Yin-chi in *King chuan shi ts'i*.

A. Mao: *p'ou 30* (*Shiwen* **b'ag / b'zu / p'ou*) = 31 'boasting with oneself', thus 25: «Those are boastful and (subduing =) oppressive». Ch'en Huan thinks that Mao took 30 (**b'ag*) to be a loan char. for 32 (**b'iwāt*), which is phonetically excluded. K'ung,

who had a version with 33 inst. of 30, takes 33 (*b'wəg / b'uəi / p'e i) 'double' to mean 'to consider oneself double', i. e. twice as good as others. This is comical, and moreover the reading 34 is well confirmed by many early texts, alluding to our ode, the earliest in Meng: Kao tsī, hia. Thus 33 should certainly be rejected. Chu Tsün-sheng, on the other hand, thinks that 30 is a loan char. for 35 (*p'ɿəg / p'jwi / p' e i), in Shuowen defined as = 36 'great' (here then: 'making oneself great'); this 35 is only known as a N. Pr., but it would then be quite as well to say that 30 is a loan char. for 37 (*p'ɿəg / p'jwi / p' e i) 'great', for 38 (properly 39) has really 40 as phonetic, see Grammata Serica p. 391. Yet a *b'əg as loan for a *p'ɿəg is not convincing. For Mao's meaning of 30 = 'boastful' no text par. whatever. — B. Lu Tê-ming (Shīwen) says 30 = 41 'to collect, amass', thus: 'Those are (amassing =) extortionate and (subduing =) oppressive'. In comm. on Han shu, Yen Shī-ku has the same expl. This means that 30 is a loan char. for p' o u 42 'to collect' (Erya = 43). Yi: Kua 15, phr. 44 is quoted 45 in the Yü p'ien. Shuowen defines 30 as = 46, adding: 'Now when the salt officers go down in the water and take the salt, it is called p' o u'. The meaning of 46 here is 'to scrape up, to scrape together'. In this sense: 'to rake something out of the water' we have it in Mo: Fei lo, shang. — C. Fang yen (w. Han coll.) has an entry p' o u 30 = 47, and Kuo P'o comments on this, saying that p' o u k' o 34 is = 47 'deeply able', which evidently refers to our ode. Since it should have a pejorative sense here, I suppose it should be expl. as 'deeply clever' (sly, unscrupulous?). No early text support. — D. Another interpr. The char. 30 is well known in the sense of 'to strike, to knock down, to crush'. It is then read *pəg / pəu / p o u (Ts'ie yün and Sū Miao ap. Shīwen). Cf. Chuang: Jen kien shī 48 'They get themselves (beaten =) knocked down by the world around them'; Chuang: K'ie k'ie 49 'They beat down, crush the sage men'. Thus our ode line: 'Those are (crushing and subduing =) oppressive'. — A and C are without support. B would be plausible — though it means a char. loan — but for the fact that the two members of the phr. are too heterogeneous. Like the k' i a n g y ü 50 ('violent and opposing' =) 'refractory' of the preceding line, they should be two closely analogous words, forming a binome. If, with D, we take 30 not as a loan char. but in its well-attested sense of 'to strike, to knock down,' it is practically synonymous with k' o 51 'to vanquish, subdue' and forms a natural binome.

936. Er ping yi lei 52.

For lei = 'good' see gl. 830.

A. Cheng: e r 53 = 56 'you'. Cheng thinks that yi lei means 'the righteous and good ones', sc. officials; but it is better to take the words in the abstract: 'You should hold on to what is right and good', for ping 54 'to grasp, to hold' is precisely used with such abstract notions in the Odes, e. g. ode 260, phr. 55 'The people hold on to the norms'. Er 53 = 56 'you' is very common (Tso, *passim*). 53 *nɿəg / nɿi / e r is not a loan char.

17 王之同姓之世適子 18 同姓 19 無獨斯畏 20 獨 / 斯 21 是 3 朋 22 斯 23 畏 24 弓矢斯張 25 及爾出王及爾游衍 26 王 27 往 28 及 29 與 30 衍 31 黃 32 其命多辟 33 辟 34 僻 35 邪僻 36 其命多僻 37 法 38 上帝 39 天 40 天生烝民 41 其命匪謬 42 其命 43 謬 44 誠 45 曾是掇克 46 曾 47 則 48 乃 49 曾不啓刀 50 掇 51 自伐 52 伐 53 倍 54 掇克 55 誓 56 大 57 丕不 58 誓 59 否 60 不 61 聚斂 62 哀 63 聚 64 哀 65 多 66 掇多 67 把深 68 深能 69 自掇擊於世俗者也 70 掇擊聖人 71 強禦 72 克 73 而東 74 類 75 而 76 東 77 民之東 78 爾 79 自 80 女 81 予豈不知而作 82 位 83

for 56 **nia* / *niz* / er, they are merely synonymous. — B. Ch'en Huan: er 53 = 57 'self': »(Alas, you Yin-Shang), you use yourselves as righteous and good», i. e. you presume to be good. But er 53 certainly has no such meaning. — A is confirmed by the next st., which begins correspondingly: ju 58 p'ao hiao »You...». — We compare:

Ode 257. Yü k'i pu ch'ier tso 59. A. Cheng »Do I not know your (bad) doings». — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: tso 60 is obviously the same as the tso in the last st., phr. 61 »I have composed this song about you», and therefore er 53 is merely the adverbial particle: »Do I compose in ignorance?». —

937. Hou tso hou chou 62.

A. Mao says: 63. This has been understood in different ways. *a.* K'ung punctuates: tso, chou tsu ye, i. e. tso 60 means 'to imprecate, to curse'. Ch'en Huan punctuates: tso chou, tsu ye, i. e. tso and chou mean 'to imprecate'. Both have this in common, that tso 60 would mean tsu 64 'to imprecate', and that has given rise to the idea that 60 (which never in itself has such a meaning) stands for 64. K'ung asserts that »tso 60 was the ancient char. for tsu 64», and Shiwen boldly says: »for tso 60 some originally read tsu 64». Ma Juei-ch'en even states that 60 and 64 »in ancient times had the same sound». Nothing could be more erroneous. 60 was **tsák* / *tsák* / tso and 64 was **tsio* / *tsiwo* / tsu, and 60 certainly could not serve for 64. *β.* Tuan Yü-ts'ai: Mao's gloss 63 should not be punctuated at all, it paraphrases the whole ode line: hou tso hou chou 62 means 63. »They make imprecations». This means that acc. to Tuan the second hou 65 is a pleonastic repetition, so that the line is equal to hou tso chou 66. — B. Since tso 60 cannot (with A *a*) mean 'to imprecate', and since it is a poor expedient simply to skip (with A *β*) the second hou, it is better to take tso 60 in its common meaning 'to rise, to start', thus: »They stand up and imprecate».

938. Ju p'ao hiao yü chung kuo 67.

A. Mao: p'ao hiao 68 (**b'ôg* - *χôg*) is equal to p'ang heng 69 (**b'âng* - *χâng*), a gloss based on the slight sound similarity of the two binomes. The binome p'ang heng occurs (except in Mao) earliest in Kan Pao's (4th c. A. D.) comm. on Yi: Ta yu, defined by him as = 70 'proud, conceited', the p'ang 71 of the Yi text commented upon defined as = 72 'vigorous' by Wang Su. Cheng in our ode expounds: p'ao hiao 68 = 73 'boastful and strong-spirited'. Thus: »You are overbearing in this central kingdom». The Mao definition, based on a very flimsy sound similarity, of course is valueless. P'ao 74, if it is equal to 75, means 'to burn, to bake', and we might possibly imagine an extension of meaning like 'burning' = 'fierce, tyrannical', but that would be an arbitrary guess. Hiao 76 is known from no other text. In short, interpr. A is quite unsubstantiated. — B. Another school (ap. comm. on Wsüan) reads 77. This p'ao hiao 78 is homophonous with Mao's 68: **b'ôg* - *χôg*. P'ao 79 means 'to roar', said of tigers, in Huai: Lan ming. And hiao 80 (**χôg*, even tone) is a variant of 81 (**χôg* / *χau* / hiao, even tone) 'to roar', said of tigers (ode 263). A cognate word is 82 (with the same phonetic in the graph as Mao's 76) **χîôg* / *χîau* / hiau 'to clamour' in Meng: T'eng Wen kung, hia. P'ao hiao 78 is thus a synonym-compound, both members of which are well confirmed. Thus: »You (roar =) shout and bawl in this central kingdom». — Mao's 68 is probably a mere loan char. for the homophonous 78. The reproach against the Yin-Shang that they »shout and bawl» recurs and is further developed in st. 5, where it is explained that they are feasting and clamouring night and day.

939. 1. Shī wu pei wu tsê 83.

2. Yi wu p'ei wu k'ing 84.

A. Mao: 83 »And so you have (no backing ones, no siding ones =) no men at your back, no men at your side»; 84 »And so you have no supporters, no ministers». Mao

thus takes *pei* 85 'back' as a verb = 'to be at one's back'. But *pei* as a verb always means 'to turn the back, to be rebellious, disloyal', never 'to be at the back of' in the sense of 'to support, to assist'. — B. Ts'i (ap. Han shu) reads 86 and 87, moreover inverting the order of the two lines, and then further expounds: 88 'unable to know (distinguish) the good and the bad'. Yen Shī-ku explains it: 83 «And so you (do not have =) do not distinguish the disloyal and perverse; 84 «And so you (do not have =) do not distinguish the supporters, the (true) ministers». Wu 89 (= wang 90) in this sense, in antithetical phrases, is very common: ode 136, phr. 91 «Not having winter, not having summer» = «Making no distinction between winter and summer»; ode 299, phr. 92 «(With no distinction between small and great =) both small and great follow the prince in the progress»; Li: Chung yung 93 «Not having noble and mean» = «Not distinguishing between noble and mean»; Kuliang: Hi 9, phr. 94 «Not to (have =) distinguish between *ch'a*o and *mu* is to have no ancestors»; Lun: Yao yüe 95 «(Not having =) not distinguishing between many and few, between small and great». The *tsê* 96 (A version) and 97 (B version), both **tsjak* / *tsjak* / *tsê*, are etym. one and the same word. Fundamentally **tsjak* means 'side, at the side', then always wr. 96, secondarily 'to turn to the side, to deflect' and also 'deflecting' awry, slanting, oblique', in this last sense usually wr. 97 but sometimes also 96, e. g. ode 220, phr. 98 'slanting cap'. For 96 = 'to deflect, to be perverse', cf. Shu: Hung fan 99 «without deflection, without perversity»; Chouli: K'uang jen 100 «Cause them not to dare to deflect» (from the proper path). This is the sense of our word, acc. to B. — A takes both lines as analogous, both referring to good assistants; B takes them as contrasting, the first referring to bad followers, the second to good ones. A is weak in regard to the meaning of *pei* 85 'to be at the back of', which B takes in its ordinary sense 'to turn the back'. And B is strongly confirmed by a par. in the next st., phr. 1 «You have no light, you have no darkness» = «You make no distinction between light and darkness». The negation *mi* 2 forms an exact par. to our negation *wu* 89 (wang 90) here. This decides in favour of B, which is also accepted by Ma Juei-ch'en.

940. T'ien pu mien er yi tsiu 3. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng paraphrases: 4 «Heaven does not make uniform your face-colour with wine», i. e. make you all who pocalute have the same flushed colour. Similarly, on Shu: Tsiu kao 5 Cheng says: 6 «in drinking wine, to have the same face-colour is called *mien*». This means that Cheng took *mien* 7 to be cognate to *mien* 8 'face', thus: «Heaven does not (face you with wine =) imprint your faces with wine», let the wine show in your faces. This is an arbitrary etymological speculation. Chu has freely altered this into: *mien* 7 = 9 'in drinking wine, to change the face-colour', thus: «Heaven does not change your face-colour by wine» (flush you with wine). — B. Shuowen, quoting the Shu phr. 5, says: *mien* 7 = 10 'to be submerged in wine, to be steeped in wine', thus: «Heaven does not steep you in wine». The simile of being «submerged, steeped in»

既作爾歌 2 侯作侯祝 3 作祝祖也 4 祖 5 侯 6 侯作祝 67 女魚然于中國 8 魚然 69 彭亨 70 驕滿兒 71 彭 72 壯 73 自矜氣健兒 74 魚 75 炮 76 然 77 女咆哮于中國 78 咆哮 79 咆 80 哮 81 虺 82 咻 83 時無背無側 84 以無陪無卿 85 背 86 以亡背亡仄 87 以亡陪亡卿 88 不能知善惡 89 無 90 亡 91 無冬無夏 92 無小無大從公于邁 93 無貴賤 94 無昭穆則是無祖也 95 無衆寡 96 無小大 97 側 98 仄 99 側并 99 無反無側 100 使無敢反側 1 靡明靡晦 2 靡 3 天不酒爾以酒 4 天不同女顏色以酒 5 罔敢酒于酒 6 飲酒齊色曰酒 7 酒 8 面 9 飲酒變

pleasure, in wine is very common, cf. odes 161, 205, 220 and particularly ode 256, phr. 11 »Excessively steeped in wine». The fundamental sense of *m i e n* 7 is really 'to flow' and transitively 'to flood, to submerge', cf. Li: Yüe ki 12 »One is overflowed and submerged (i. e. dissolute) and forgets the fundament». Here *m i e n* 7 forms a binome with its synonym *liu* 13 'to flow' (same binome in Sün: Fei shī er tsī). Combined with 14 'to be submerged, steeped in' we have it Kuan: Sī ch'eng 15. The word is etym. id. with 16 (both **mīan*, rising tone) 'richly flowing' (ex. in ode 183). — B is strongly substantiated.

941. Pu y i t s' u n g s h ī 17.

A. Cheng: y i 18 = 19, and s h ī 20 = 21 (common), thus: »It is not right that you follow and imitate» sc. men who drink. — B. Chu: s h ī 20 = 'to use' (common), thus: »The incorrect you follow and use». It would be quite good to take p u y i as an object placed before the verb, but then it is mostly the usage in the Shī to resume it by a demonstrative pronoun. If the phr. had run: 22, B would have been more convincing. — C. P u y i should be interpr. with Cheng, s h ī 20 with Chu. And t s' u n g 23 'to follow' means 'to pursue, to be bent on', just as in ode 192, phr. 24 »to pursue blessings» = »to be bent on blessings» (for text par. see gl. 531). Thus: »It is not right that you (pursue =) are bent on it and use it» (the wine).

K i k' i e n e r c h ī, see gl. 142.

942. J e n s h a n g h u y u h i n g 25.

A. Mao: s h a n g 26 is equal to 27, and y u 28 = 29, explaining: »The (superior =) chief of the people uses this way». It is true that 26 and 27 are etym. the same word and are interchangeable. But Mao simply skips the h u 30, and his y u 28 = 29 has been criticized in gl. 200. — B. Cheng paraphrases: 31 »The contemporaries are influenced to the highest degree and want to follow and practise it». I suppose we should then have to construe the line thus: »People are extreme in following and practising it». — C. Chu: s h a n g h u 32 is equal to a simple s h a n g 26 'still', thus: »People still (following it march =) pursue this course». Indeed h u 30 as an enclitic to adverbs and prepositions is well known: 33 equal to 34 is common, and so is 35 equal to 36. And in ode 79 we have an enclitic and pleonastic h u after the preposition s h a n g: 37 »They ramble on (the banks of) the River»; cf. further Li: Ta hūe 38 »Then possibly they will not err» (h u 30 here is not a preposition = 39 'near to', for cf. Lun: Sien tsin 40). It is therefore quite plausible that s h a n g h u 32 is equal to s h a n g 26 'still'. — D. Ma Juei-ch'en: Erya says s h a n g 26 = 41 'to assist'. This really means 'to push upwards, to promote, to encourage'. Thus: »The people encourage you in following this path». Ma adduces several Yi ex. where he thinks that s h a n g 26 has the meaning of 42 'to assist': Yi Kua 11, phr. 43 »He can be helped forward in the middle path»; but the meaning here is very uncertain, the line rather means: »He can (go upwards =) advance in the middle path». Yi: Kua 29, phr. 44 »His going is (helped:) promoted»; but here again it rather means: »His going has (rising =) advances», he is successful in his going. Thus there are no convincing text par. To Erya's s h a n g = 41, Ho Yi-hang and Ma Juei-ch'en further adduce ode 256, phr. 45 »Great Heaven does not encourage». But s h a n g here (with Cheng) really means 46 'to consider as high': »Great Heaven does not approve of you». If we try to apply this meaning in our ode: »People (consider high =) approve of (your) following that path», then again the h u 30 cannot be construed. Thus interpr. D cannot be logically followed. — E. Waley: s h a n g h u 32 means 'to long for', thus: »Men long to walk in the (right) path». Cf. ode 224, phr. 47 »Would I not wish to rest under it». — The choice really is between C and E, which are both possible. C, however, suits the context much better: »Small and great approach to ruin, but people still pursue this course».

943. Nei pi yü chung kuo 48.

A. Mao: pi 49 (**b'ji* / pi) = 50 'angry', adding: »angry without being drunk is called pi«. 49 is a short-form for 51, Shuowen = 52 'vigorous and great', e. g. Huai: Chuei hing 53 »Those (animals) who eat trees have much strength and are powerful«. The word is probably etym. id. w. 54 **b'jad* / *b'ji* / pi, coll. current in W. Han time (Fang yen) meaning 55 'ample, great'. Thus: »(Inside =) here you are (powerful =) overbearing in the central kingdom«. — B. Chu: »Here they are (angry =) indignant in the central kingdom«, thus referring pi to the people. This is solely based on Mao's definition (50), without heeding the fundamental sense of 'powerful' in the word, and is therefore wrong.

Fei shang ti pu shi, see gl. 553.

944. Tien pei chi kie 56.

Pei:

A. Mao: pei 57 (**puád* / *puái* / pei) = 58 'to pull out'. Thus means that he took 57 to be cognate to 58 **b'wát* / *b'uái* / pei 'to pull out' (one aspect of the stem 58 **b'wat* / *b'wat* / pa 'to pull out'), which we had in ode 237, see gl. 800. Thus tien pei »(A tree) fallen down and (pulled out =) uprooted«. — B. Ma Jung on the same tien pei occurring in Lun: Li jen says: tien pei = 59 'falling down', thus taking pei 57 as synon. w. tien 60 'to topple over, fall down'. Ma Juei-ch'en and Ch'en Huan therefore believe that 57 **puád* is loan char. for 61 **b'wát* / *b'uái* / po, and adduce Shuowen: po 61 = 62, where this tien po 62 would be equal to the tien pei of our ode. But this Shuowen gloss by no means proves that the two members of the phr. were synonymous, both (with Ma Jung) meaning 'to fall down'. For 61 really has no such sense: it means 'foot, base' and 'to trample, to trudge', but certainly not 'to fall'. — When a tree falls down, it is common and natural that the roots are pulled out of the soil, so Mao's interpr. is quite good; his **puád* cognate to **b'wát* is also plausible. The B theory: **puád* loan for **b'wát* is phonetically less good, and the alleged meaning of this **b'wát* ('to fall') is quite unattested.

Kie:

A. Mao: kie 63 (**k'iat* / *k'iat* / kie, Shīwen, or **g'iat* or **k'iat*, Shīwen and Ts'ie yün) = 64 'roots being visible'. This paraphrase simply means that Mao took kie in its ordinary sense of 'to lift' (common), sc. lifted up so that the roots are detached from the soil and plainly visible. Thus the ode line: »When (a tree) fallen down and uprooted is lifted«. — B. Cheng: kie 63 = 65 'to stumble, to fall', thus: »When (a tree) fallen down and uprooted (stumbles =) falls«. Cheng takes 63 **k'iat* to be loan char. for 65 **kiwát* / *k'iwat* / k'ü. A quite unnecessary loan speculation.

945. Pen shi sien po 66. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: po 67 (**b'wát* / *b'uát* / po, Shīwen) = 68 'to cut off, break off'. This

色也 10 流(湛)於酒 11 荒湛于酒 12 流酒以忘本 13 流 14 湛 15 湛酒于酒 16 酒 17 不義從式
 18 義 19 宜 20 式 21 法 22 不義是從 23 從 24 從祿 25 人尚乎由行 26 尚 27 上 28 由 29 用 30 乎
 31 時人化之甚尚欲從而行之 32 尚乎 33 於是乎 34 於是 35 庶幾乎 36 庶幾 37 河上乎逍
 遙 38 則庶乎其不差也 39 於 40 回也其庶乎 41 右 42 助 43 得尚乎中行 44 行有尚 45 肆吳
 天弗尚 46 高尚 47 不尚息焉 48 內愛于中國 49 愛 50 怒 51 覈 52 壯大 53 食木者多力而覈
 54 脾 55 益 56 顛沛之揭 57 沛 58 拔 59 偃仆 60 顛 61 蹶 62 蹶蹶 63 揭 64 見本免 65 蹶 66 本實

has been differently explained. *α*. K'ung takes p o 67, which properly means 'to arrange, to spread out' (then read **pwât* / *puât* / p o) in the sense 69 'to dispose of, to lay aside, do away with' which it has e. g. in Han shu: Si-ma Ts'ien chuan 70 'Ts'in disposed of, did away with the ancient texts' (**pwât* and **b'wât* two aspects of the same stem). This is very good in itself: 'The root then is first disposed of', but it is hardly likely to have been Cheng's idea. *β*. Ma Juei-ch'en thinks that Cheng took 67 **b'wât* to be a loan char. for 71 (**b'wad* and **pwad*), cf. C. below. *γ*. Chu Tsün-sheng believes that he took it to be a loan char. for 58 (**b'wâd*, **b'wat*) 'to pull out' (cf. gl. 800, 944). This is very unlikely. — B. Waley thinks that 67 is a loan char. for 72 (**piwâd* / *piwvi* / f e i), and he translates: 'It is the trunk that first decays'. — C. Lu (ap. Lie nü chuan) reads 73 (**b'wad* / *b'wai* / p a i and **pwad* / *pwai* / p a i), thus: 'The root then is first destroyed'. — The rimes of the st. are 74. With A β , B and C the system would be: **k'iat* : **g'âd* : **b'wad* (or **piwad*) : **š'iad*, which is asymmetrical. With A α we obtain: **k'iat* : **g'âd* : **b'wât* : **š'iad*, which is a regular system of alternating rimes. The reading 67 **b'wât* of the A version and in the *α* interpr., without any loan speculations and with Mao's char. as it stands in a well-attested sense, is certainly the best.

Ode CCLVI: Yi.

Yi yi wei yi, see gl. 895.

946. Wei tê chī yü 75.

A. Mao: y ü 76 (**ngiu* / *ngiu* / y ü) = 77 'angle'. Cheng in a long paraphrase explains that just as in a palace, if it is correctly built and straight in the interior, the outside correspondingly shows li en y ü 78 corners, angles, so the line would mean: 'A dignified demeanour) is the outside angles of virtue', i. e. the outward and visible signs of virtue. But, as Ch'en Huan points out, the simile intended by Mao is quite different, as revealed by Li: Ju hing 79 'the scholar) makes himself acquainted with fine accomplishments, he grinds and smooths the sharp angles (refines his demeanour). Thus our ode line 75: '(A dignified demeanour) is the (smoothed) angles of virtue', i. e. the refined appearance caused by virtue. In any case, though the latter metaphor is comparatively ancient, the interpr. is certainly very strained. — B. Another school (ap. a Han stone inscr. in the Li shī) reads 80. This 81 **ngu* / *ngzu* / o u was taken to be a loan char. for the 76 of A by the Ts'ing scholars, but it certainly is not. On the contrary Mao's y ü 76 is loan char. for o u 81 (or we should rather say: the orig. graph was probably a simple 82, wrongly filled out into 76 by Mao, rightly into 81 by the B school). Waley translates: '(Dignified manners) are the helpmates of power'. I do not think that this brings out the value of o u 81 correctly. It fundamentally means 'a double, a match, a *vis-à-vis*, a counterpart' (common: Tso, Li etc.), and the line means: '(A dignified demeanour) is the counterpart of the (inner) virtue', i. e. to the inner virtue correspond the outer good manners. — B is simple and logical and expresses a theme constantly met with in the classics.

947. Chê jen chī yü yi wei sī li 83.

A. Mao thinks that the y ü 84 'stupidity, folly' of the wise men is a feigned stupidity for keeping out of harm in a bad time. He says: li 85 = 86, thus: 'The (feigned) stupidity of the wise men is because of that (risk of) incrimination' — they are afraid of being charged with crime. So the Lu school (ap. Huai: Jen kien) and Han school (ap. Han Shī wai chuan 6) also understood the line. They all seem to base their interpr. on Lun: Kung-ye Ch'ang: 'Ning Wu-tsī, when the state had good principles, was 87 wise, when the state had no good principles, he was 84 stupid'; Tso: Wen 4: '(Ning Wu-tsī said:) How dare I accept such great honours 88 and bring on myself the charge of crime'. Here li 85 has precisely the meaning intended by the ancient schools. Yet

this interpr. does poor justice to the parallelism with the preceding: «The folly of the common people is simply a natural fault». In our line it should be explained why even wise men, who should know better, sometimes act foolishly. To explain it thus: the folly of the wise men is but a feigned stupidity, in contrast to the true and natural stupidity of the common people, is very far-fetched, in spite of the theme embroidered upon in Lun. For when previously a «common saying» is quoted: «There is no wise man who has no folly», this certainly has not that sophisticated meaning: «There is no wise man who has no (feigned) stupidity». — B. Chu therefore takes li 85 = 89 'to offend against', expounding it: 90 'to offend against one's proper norms', thus: «The folly of the wise men is a (deliberate) offence». — C. Ma Juei-ch'en reverts to the idea of the (feigned) stupidity, but quotes Kuang ya: li 85 = 91 'good', and interprets: «The (feigned) stupidity of the wise men is (really) goodness». Wang Nien-sun thinks that Kuang ya's gloss probably refers to Li: Ta hüe 92, where Cheng says that 85 (*liad / liei / li) is a loan char. for 93 (*liad / li / li): «When the one man seeks advantage» (what is «good»); but this is an arbitrary speculation of Cheng's, and the clause 92 simply means: «When the one man is avaricious and perverse». Interpr. C is certainly no improvement. — D. Waley: «(Ordinary people's follies are but sicknesses of their own), it is the wise man's follies that are a rampant pest». This overlooks the fact that the line should explain the «common saying» quoted above. — B is simple and logical.

948. Wu king wei jen 94.

A. Mao: wu king 95 = simply king 96: «Strong is the (real) man». I have often had occasion to emphasize that in cases like this wu 97 is not, with the Ts'ing scholars, an 'empty particle' but turns the phr. into an oratorical question: 98 «Is he not strong, the (real) man». Similarly, in ode 274, phr. 99: «Was it not strong, his ardour». — B. Cheng paraphrases: «When the ruler governs, there is nothing so strong as obtaining the wise men», thus 94: «There is nothing so strong as (finding) the (real) men». But the preposition should then be yü 100, not wei 1. Moreover, in the analogous phr. 99 (where Mao repeats his gloss 95 = 96) Cheng inconsistently but there correctly takes wu king as an oratorical question = 2 «Was it not strong». — In ode 257, on the contrary, phr. 3 means: «He holds a heart that is not (strong =) violent», as shown by the context.

Yu küe tê hing, see gl. 503; Huang tan yü tsiu, see gl. 287.

949. Ju suei tan lo ts'ung 4.

A. Cheng takes ts'ung as a separate verb, coordinated with the preceding: «Although you are steeped in pleasure and follow (each other)». — B. Chu refers ts'ung to the preceding: «Although you (follow, pursue =) are bent on being steeped in pleasure». This is grammatically faulty, for an object placed before the verb should be resumed by a shī 5 or chī 6. But, in fact, Chang Heng in his Si king fu has tan lo shī ts'ung 7, evidently imitating this ode, so probably a shī 5 has been erroneously dropped from the Mao text. — C. Ch'en Huan: suei 8 and wei 9 «anciently had the same sound», and suei here stands for wei. Phonetically this is wrong, but graphically the two char. are so similar that suei 8 might be a copyist's error for wei 9

先撥 67 撥 68 絕 69 撥去 70 棄撥去古文 71 敗 72 廢 73 本寔先敗 74 揭害撥世 75 維德之隅
76 隅 77 廢 78 廢隅 79 近文章砥厲廢隅 80 維德之隅 81 隅 82 隅 83 哲人之愚亦維斯度 84
愚 85 度 86 罪 87 知 88 以自取度 89 友 90 反度其常 91 善 92 一人貪度 93 利 94 無競維人 95
無競 96 競 97 無 98 豈不競 99 無競維烈 100 於 1. 維 2. 不彊乎 3. 秉心無競 4. 女雖湛樂從

(10), and Ma Juei-ch'en therefore, more correctly, says that *suei* serves for *wei*. Indeed *suei* 8 'although' makes no sense here. Ch'en and Ma moreover adduce a par. in Shu: Wu yi: wei tan lo chī ts'ung 11. This excellent par. on the one hand confirms that *suei* should be *wei* 9, on the other hand the original existence of the pronoun *shī* 5 of Chang Heng's, see B above. Probably, therefore, the line correctly should run: ju wei tan lo shī ts'ung 12: »You (pursue:) are bent on being steeped in pleasure«. The dropping of the *shī* 5 is possibly due to a wish to shorten the line into five syllables inst. of six; but lines with six syllables frequently occur in the Shī, e. g. odes 69, 81, 112, 155, 159, 171, 192 etc., so that this length of the line does not forbid the emendation.

Sī huang t'ien fu shang, see gl. 942; Wu lun sü yi wang, see gl. 564.

950. Yung t'i Man fang 13.

A. Mao: t'i 14 (**t'iek* / *t'iek* / *t'i*) = 15 'far away', here transitive: »In order to keep at a distance the (tribes of) the Man region«. Cf. Tso: Siang 14, phr. 16 »How dare I keep far away«. The word is id. w. 17 (**t'iek*), same sense, e. g. Shu: To fang 18 »From far away you are, people of the Western regions«. — B. Cheng: t'i 14 is a loan char. for 19 (**t'iek* / *t'iek* / *t'i*), and this means 20. Now this 20 has many meanings, but Cheng was evidently influenced by the Han school reading 21 in ode 299, see below, where the definition is = 22 'to eliminate, annihilate, destroy'; and since t'i 19 means 'to cut off' (as trees that are cleared away, e. g. in ode 241), and the homophonous 21 (**t'iek*) properly means 'to cut up, to dismember' (Yili: Shī sang li 23 »the four cut-up pieces of a male pig«), Cheng evidently meant 20 in the sense of 'to punish, to chastise, to vanquish' as an extension of meaning of 'to cut to pieces'. Thus 13: »And so (cut to pieces =) destroy the (tribes of) the Man regions«. — We compare:

Ode 299. T'i pi tung nan 24. A. Mao: 25 (here read **t'iek* / *t'iek* / *t'i*) = 15, thus a short-form for 17: »To keep at a distance those (tribes of) the South-east«. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 26, defining 21 (cf. above), as = 22 'to eliminate, destroy', thus: »To (cut to pieces =) destroy those (tribes of) the South-east«. —

It is evident that the two lines are quite analogous and must be translated in the same way; it will not do, as Waley has done, to translate the one: »To keep at a distance barbaric tribes« and the other: »They trimmed the tribes of the South-east«. It is certain that the ode poet wrote the verb **t'iek* in both cases; but it is undecidable whether by this he meant, with Mao (14 and 25 = 17) 'to keep at a distance' or, with Han and Cheng (14 and 21 = 19) 'to cut to pieces, to destroy'. Both meanings of **t'iek* are well attested, and both make good sense in these ode lines.

951. Chī er jen min 27.

A. Mao (after Erya): chī 28 = 29. What this really means has been debated. Since Erya also says 30 = 29, Cheng thinks that chī 28 means 30: »Tranquillize your people«. But chī certainly has no such meaning. Ho Yi-hang (comm. on Erya) rightly says that the ch'eng 29 of Erya is equal to 31 'sincerity, good faith' (see gl. 802), the fundamental meaning of chī 28 being 'real, solid, good faith', also 'a pledge of good faith, to give pledge of good faith' (common). Cf. B. next. — B. Ts'i (ap. Yen t'ie lun) reads 32, Han (ap. Wai-chuan) reads 33 and Lu (ap. Shuo yüan) reads 34, thus: »Make (announcements =) assurances to your people«. Ma Juei-ch'en surmises that the original graph of the Ts'i school was 35 (because 35 **k'iet* and Mao's 28 **t'iet* had the same final), that this was corrupted into 36, and that Han and Lu abbreviated this 36 into 37, a very arbitrary and useless speculation. — Mao's chī 28 should be judged in the light of kao 36, 37 of the other three ancient schools. Just as kao means 'to make announcement', so chī 28 means 'to give pledge of good faith', the meaning in both

cases being to give the people assurance of one's good faith. A's *ch i* and B's *ka o* are thus analogous words expressing the same idea: »**Make assurances (of good faith) to your people**«. Whether the orig. *Sh i* had *ch i* 28 or *ka o* 36, 37 is undecidable, but the meaning in any case is the same.

952. *Kin er hou tu* 38. Tso: Siang 25 quotes 39.

A. Cheng: »Be careful about your princely measures«. — B. Ch'en Huan: *hou 40* is = 41 (particle). That is quite excluded. To insert a particle between a possessive pronoun and its principal word is grammatically utterly impossible. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: The Hiao king shou shen k'i says: 42 »When the feudal princes give their instructions, it is called *tu* measures«. Thus: »**Observe carefully the measures of your feudal princes**«. — A would have been preferable if the line had run: 43. But *hou 40* regularly means 'feudal prince' (subordinate to the king, cf. gl. 857); moreover both the preceding line and this one speak of the king's attention to his subordinates: there the *jen min* 'people', here the *hou* 'feudal princes'. This speaks in favour of C.

Wu yi yu yen, see gl. 200.

953. *Wu yüe kou yi* 44.

A. Cheng paraphrases: 45 »It is so but for the time being«, or: »Let it be so for the time being«. Thus our ode line: »Do not say: for the time being« (Waley: »Do not say: let it pass«). This suits the context less well than D below. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en and Kuei Fu (comm. on Shuowen): Shuowen has a char. 46 (entering as part in the char. 47) different from *ko u* 48 and read **kjak / kjak / ki* in Ts'ie yün, which Tuan Yü-ts'ai identified with 49, meaning 50 'urgently careful of oneself'. This is not known from any text, unless with Ma and Kuei the phr. *ko u king 51* 'a perfunctory politeness' in Yili: Yen li should really be *ki king 52* 'an eager politeness'. Thus our ode line: 44: »Do not say that you are eagerly careful«. This is a very forced speculation. — C. Fu Kuang (Sung time): »Do not be careless« (sc. in uttering your words). Cf. Lun: Ts'i lu 53 »The noble man, in his words he has nothing which he is careless (frivolous) about«; Li: K'ü li 54 »In the presence of valuables, do not (carelessly, lightly obtain =) take improperly«; Tso: Sün 12, phr. 55 »I cannot shoot carelessly (at random)«; Chouli: Ta si t'u: »If by the sacrificial rites one teaches respect, 56 then the people will not be careless« (same phr. in Kuan: Siao k'uang). Indeed *ko u* = 'careless, frivolous, lightly, to be careless, not to care' is very common. Fu Kuang thinks that *yü e 57* does not mean 'to say' but is the common particle (as in ode 237, see gl. 803); and the final *yi 58* does not prevent the phr. from being an exhortation, cf. ode 189, phr. 59 »They should not plot against each other«. C is very tempting, for it would form a good par. to the Lun passage 53: »Do not (easily follow your words =) let your tongue run away with you, do not be careless« (in your speech). But it misses the par. in next st. 60, where

5.是 6.之 7.耽樂是從 8.雖 9.維 10.惟 11.惟耽樂之從 12.維湛樂是從 13.用過蠻方 14.遇
15.遠 16.豈敢離遇 17.遯 18.遯矣西土之人 19.別 20.治 21.鬻 22.除 23.特豚四鬻 24.狄彼東南
25.狄 26.鬻彼東南 27.賁爾人民 28.賁 29.成 30.平 31.誠 32.詒爾民人 33.告爾人民 34.告爾民
人 35.詒 36.詒 37.告 38.謹爾侯度 39.慎爾侯度 40.侯 41.維 42.詒侯行教曰度 43.謹爾侯度 44.
無曰苟矣 45.苟且如是 46.苟 47.敬 48.苟 49.至 50.自急敕也 51.苟敬 52.苟敬 53.君子於其言
無所苟而已 54.臨財毋苟得 55.不可苟射 56.則民不苟 57.曰 58.矣 59.無相猶矣 60.無曰不

wu yüe unambiguously means: »Do not say». Hence C is not admissible. — D. Another interpr. Kou 48, with C, certainly means 'to be careless, not to care'. Thus: »Do not say: I do not care» (*je m'en fiche*). I suppose that this is Legge's idea when he translates: »Do not say: That is of little importance».

954. Wu yen pu ch'ou 61.

A. Mao: ch'ou 62 (*dîôg / zîzu / ch'ou*, even tone) = 63, thus: »These are no words that are not used». No text par. — B. Cheng paraphrases ch'ou 62 by 64 (**dîôg / zîzu / shou*, rising tone) 'to sell', i. e. here 'paid for at the corresponding price', thus regarding the two words as cognate. In Li: Piao ki, where the ode line is quoted, he defines ch'ou 62 as = 65 'to answer, requite'. Ch'ou 62 in this sense is common, e. g. Tso: Hi 5, phr. 66 »If there is grief where there has been no death, (real) sorrow is sure to answer it, requite it» (come as a retribution, on which Tu Yü: ch'ou 62 = 67 'to answer'). Thus 61: »There are no words that are not answered». For ch'ou 62, Lu (ap. Lie nü chuan) reads 68 and Han (ap. Han Shī wai chuan) reads 69, both with the same sound and same meaning of 'to requite' (all etym. one and the same word).

Tsi sun sheng sheng, see gl. 20; Pu hia yu k'ien, see gl. 111.

955. Siang tsai er shī 70. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: siang 71 = 72 'to assist', thus: »When you assist (in the sacrifices) in your (temple) room». — B. Chu: siang 71 = 73, paraphrasing: 74. Legge and Couvreur have understood this thus: »Looked at when being in your house» (Couvreur: visus in tua domu). That can hardly be the meaning, for the idea of the line is just the opposite: when you are alone and at home you are not seen, and yet you should behave correctly. Siang 71 therefore means 'look at, scrutinize' (an imperative), as in odes 52, 165, 204. Thus: »(Look at =) observe carefully (your being in your house =) how you are in your house».

956. Shang pu kuei yü wu lou 75.

Mao (after Erya): the north-western corner (of the house) is called wu lou 76. This has been variously explained. A. Sun Yen (comm. on Erya): the place in the wu house where the sunlight 77 »drips in» (through the northern window). — B. Shī ming: wu lou = 'the dripping place of the house', i. e. where the rain drips in (the north-western corner having had its roof pulled down so as to be open to the sky; not, as Legge has understood it, the central open space in the atrium, which on the contrary was called chung liu). — C. Cheng: wu 78 = 79 'a small tent', i. e. a short-form for 80; and lou 77 means 81 'hidden' (thus loan char. for the homophonous 82): »The place secluded by a tent». — The idea that lou 77 has its ordinary sense of 'to drip' seems very forced, and Cheng is certainly right in thinking that it is loan for lou 82 in the sense of 'secluded'. 82 properly means 'narrow', as in Lun 83 'a narrow lane', and secondarily 'squeezed in, shut off', cf. Ts'ê: Ts'i ts'ê 84 »Ts'i is shut off and secluded», hence Erya lou 82 = 81 'secluded'. But the idea that 78 should be a short-form for 80 'a curtained space, a tent' is not convincing. Wu lou simply means 'the secluded part of the house', thus 75: »May you be free from shame even in the secluded (northwestern) corner of the house».

957. Wu yüe pu (p'ei) hien mo yü yün kou 85.

A. Cheng reads pu hien 86, thus: »Do not say: they are not visible» and refers the phr. to the spirits mentioned in the foll. lines; he paraphrases: »There are spirits who see the doings of men, 87 do not say: they (the spirits) are dark and invisible, there is nobody who sees me». This is based on Li: Chung yung, where the text first quotes the following ode line (»the arrival of the spirits cannot be calculated») and then continues: 88 »The (real) manifestation of the (apparently) invisible, the impossibility of hiding the real is like this», meaning that the apparently wei (minute =) invisible, i. e. pu hien 86 'not manifest, not visible' are in reality hien 'manifest, visible' (the spirits,

though invisible, are there present all the same, as if they were *hien* 'manifest'). — **B.** K'ung and Chu likewise read *pu hien* 86 but refer it to the secluded corner of the house: «Do not say: it is not (manifest =) open to the eyes». — **C.** The phr. 86 is always equal to *p'ei hien* 89 'greatly (amply) illustrious' in the Odes, see gl. 410. Waley rightly insists that it means the same here: «Do not say: of the greatly illustrious ones (the ancestors) there are none who see me.»

Pi er wei tê, see gl. 567; *Shu shen er chī*, see gl. 142.

958. *Pu tsien pu tsei* 90.

A. Mao: *tsien* 91 (**tsiam* / *tsiem* / *tsien*) = 92 'to deviate, to err'. The more precise meaning of this is revealed by st. 9 of our ode, where we have: 93, on which Cheng: *tsien* 91 = 94 'not true' (cf. gl. 601). From this it is clear that in this ode *tsien* does not mean 'to err, to be wrong' in the sense of 'mistaken' but 'saying wrong things, untruthful'. Phr. 93 «He says that I am untruthful». Thus here 90: «Do not be untruthful, do not be injurious». Cf. Tso: Chao 8: «The words of the noble man are *sin* 95 truthful and are confirmed by evidence, 96 the words of the mean men are untruthful and are not confirmed by evidences». Here the meaning is quite unambiguous. — **B.** Shiwen records the var. 97 (**tsiam* / *tsiam* / *chen*), and K'ung accepts this: «Do not be slanderous». But Shiwen reads 98 also in st. 9, phr. 93, and there 'slanderous' makes poor sense, so in Shiwen's version 98 is really loan char. for 91, and not Mao's 91 for 98. — **C.** The w. *tsien* 91 sometimes means 'to usurp', e. g. Li: Kiao t'ê sheng 99 «When the feudal princes usurp (the right of) the rites». Waley seizes upon this: «Do not usurp» (Legge similarly: «Do not go to excess»). But in st. 9, phr. 93 Waley translates: «On the contrary he says that I am wrong». It is very unlikely that the word should have different meanings in two consecutive stanzas. — The fundamental sense of *tsien* 91 is 'to infringe', in the one case 'to infringe upon truth' = 'to be untruthful', in the other 'to infringe upon the rights' (of others). The former alone, with A, satisfies both stanzas. Yet another application of the word is 'to infringe upon the proper rules' = 'to err', as in ode 208, phr. 100 «Handling the flutes without error». The w. 91 **tsiam* is probably cognate to (belonging to the same word stem as) 1 **ts'iam* / *ts'iam* / *ts'in* 'to encroach upon, to invade'. — We should compare:

Ode 305. *Pu tsien pu lan* 2. **A.** Mao paraphrases: 3. This is based on Tso: Siang 26, phr. 4 «The one who governs well his state does not (err =) go to excess in rewards, he does not go to excess in punishments». Thus the ode line: «There were no (errors =) excessive (rewards), there were no excessive (punishments)». This is very scholastic. — **B.** Waley: «There were no disorders, no excesses», 'disorder' then in the sense of 'infringements of the proper rules'. — B is obviously right.

Ode 264. *Chen shī king pei* 5. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: *chen* 98 = 94. This shows that he took *chen* 98 to be loan char.

顯 61 無言不讐 62 讐 63 用 64 售 65 荅 66 無喪而感 憂必讐焉 67 對 68 躊 69 洲 70 相在爾室
71 相 72 助 73 視 74 視爾獨居於室之時 75 尚不愧于屋漏 76 屋漏 77 漏 78 屋 79 小帳 80 愷
81 隱 82 陋 83 陋巷 84 齊僻陋隱居 85 無曰不顯 莫予云觀 86 不顯 87 無謂是幽昧不明無
見我者 88 夫微之顯 誠之不揜 如此夫 89 不顯 90 不僭不昧 91 僭 92 差 93 覆謂我僭 94 不
信 95 信 96 小人之言僭而不微 97 不謬 98 謬 99 諸侯之僭禮也 100 以僭不僭 1 侵 2 不僭
不濫 3 貴不僭刑不濫 4 善為國者貴不僭而刑不濫 5 謬始竟背 6 始於不信終於

for *tsien* 91 (cf. gl. 601), and Shīwen therefore says: «*chen* 98, originally also wr. 91». Cheng paraphrases: 6. K'ung and Chu believe that Cheng meant by *pei wei* 'to turn the back on' in the sense of 'to disavow', thus the ode line 5: «By untruthfulness they begin and end by disavowing (their own words)». *Pei* or *pei wei* 'to turn the back', however, often means 'to be disloyal, refractory', and Cheng may simply have meant: «By untruthfulness they begin and end by being (back-turning =) disloyal». — **B.** Ma Juei-ch'en rejects Cheng's loan theory and takes *chen* 98 of the Mao text in its ordinary sense. Ma explains: «First they slander (people) and in the end they turn the back on them». — **C.** Ch'en Huan like Ma takes *chen* 98 to mean 'to slander', but he does not accept the chiasma construction: «Slander begin — end turn the back», which undoubtedly is a great weakness, but takes *shī king* 7 together as = 8, thus: «They slander and from beginning to end are disloyal». This, however, spoils the rhythm: *chen* — *shī king pei*. — **D.** Another interpr. The line forms a perfect par. to and should be judged in the light of a line in ode 198, phr. 9 which, as demonstrated in gl. 601, means: «When the falsehoods are first (reduced =) refuted». The construction in our present ode is exactly the same and indicates on the one hand the meaning of *shī* 10 'first', on the other hand that *king* 11, corresponding to *ki* 12, is merely an adverb: 'to the end, entirely'. *Pei* means 'to turn the back on, to cold-shoulder'. Thus: «The calumnies are first entirely (cold-shouldered =) disregarded», which is quite analogous to ode 198, phr. 9.

Ode 257. P'eng yu yi *chen* 13. Here again Shīwen reads 98 *tsien*, registering the variant 91. But there is no valid reason for abandoning the traditional *chen* 98 'to slander'.

959. Kao chī hua yen 14.

A. Mao reads thus, expounding: 15 'ancient good words'. But the wording of the line implies simply: «When I tell him my (words and speeches =) lessons». — **B.** Shīwen says that «Shuowen read 16 **ko / kuo / ku* for *hua* 17. The present Shuowen has a quotation: «The ode says: *ku hūn* 18», which does not tally with our ode here. Yet most Ts'ing scholars believe that Mao's definition above reveals that his text really had *ku yen* 19, which has later been corrupted into *hua yen* 20. The w. *ku* 16 is known from no pre-Han text (except the heading *Shī ku* of an Erya chapter, which is not a text proper). — Lu (ap. Sin sū) reads 14 like Mao, and the phr. *hua yen* 20 is well known, e. g. Tso: Wen 6, phr. 21 «They set up for them (words and speeches =) lessons»; Tso: Wen 18, phr. 22 «He could not be taught, he did not understand lessons», etc. Hence there is no reason to doubt the A text reading.

960. Tsie yüe wei chī 23.

Mao: *tsie* 24 = 25. This *kia* has many meanings: 'to borrow, (borrowed:) false, if' etc. Chu takes it in this last sense of 26: «If you say that you have no knowledge». Legge translates: «Still perhaps you do not know»; Waley: «You may say to me: You don't know». But for *tsie* 24 Ts'i (ap. Han shu) reads 27, and *tsie*, whether wr. 24 or 27 then means 'to borrow' = 'to avail oneself of' in the sense of 'to make a pretext, to allege'. The comm. all take the *wei chī* as referring to the persons addressed: «that you do not know», but Waley rightly refers it to the speaker. In fact, in the next st. the line is followed by 28, which cannot possibly mean: «You are octogenarians», for the earlier *siao tsī* 29 clearly shows that it is inexperienced youngsters that are admonished. This amply confirms Waley's view. Thus: «You allege that I do not (know:) understand».

961. Min chī mi ying, shuei su chī er mu ch'eng 30.

A. Cheng: *ying* 31 = 32 'full' in the sense of 'satisfied', thus: «When the people are not satisfied, who knows it in the morning and deals with it in the evening» (who can be

allowed to be slack). Cf. Kyü: Ch'u yü 33 »To be satisfied without being insistent», on which Wei Chao: ying = 34; Tso: Wen 18, phr. 35 »He could not be satisfied». Ch'en Huan turns it somewhat differently: »When the people are not (full =) well-supplied, who etc». But the text par. adduced confirm Cheng. — B. Chu: »If the people are not (full =) self-satisfied (conceited), who would get to know in the morning and achieve in the evening», i. e. would they not be quick to learn. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: ying 31 (*diëng / iäng / ying) is a short-form for 36 (Kuang yüen *t'ien / t'ien / t'ing), Shuo-wen = 37 'slow, slack', thus: »The people not being slow (slack), who (of them) gets to know in the morning and achieves in the evening» (the people are quick to learn). Of this t'ing 36 there are no text par., but ying 31 'full' and ying 38 'full, surplus, profit' are etym. one and the same word and sometimes interchangeable (the name 39 in Tso: Süan 4 is wr. 40 in Lü: Ch'fen), both *diëng, even tone, and Ma thinks that this ying 38 sometimes serves for 36 *t'ien, see ode 258 below. — C has the advantage that the idea of 'slowness, slackness' expressed in the 2nd line would be correspondingly expressed also in the 1st. But 36 *t'ien is poorly attested, and moreover the context does not favour C. The whole st. is a reproof against incompetence and negligence, which supports A. — We must study here:

Ode 258. Ta fu kün tsī chao kia wu ying 41. Mao has no gloss on ying.

A. Cheng takes ta fu kün tsī as a vocative and refers the 2nd line to the preceding: »Look at the great Heaven, small are its stars; and he paraphrases: 42. Ma Juei-ch'en thinks that Cheng meant: »Heaven's brilliance ascends and advances unceasingly and it has no time when it slows down (slackens)», ying 38 being then equal to t'ing 36 'slow'. Thus our ode line 41: »Oh, you dignitaries and noblemen, (the stars) come brightly forward, without slowing down». As a par. one might adduce Sün: K'iang kuo, where 43 serves for 38: 44, which Yang Liang interprets: »If the people are restrained, they are made to fear, but if they are treated (slowly:) slackly, they are arrogant to their superiors» (Yang: 45); but Ho Yi-hang insists that ying 43 here is equal to 31, in the sense of 46: »If they are (made full =) allowed to be self-satisfied, they are arrogant» etc. Thus the par. in not safe. Cf. also D below. — B. Wang Su: ying 38 means 'to hoard, to lay up profit for oneself' (common meaning), thus: »The dignitaries and noblemen have brightly come forward without (selfish hoarding =) egotism». — C. Chu: »The dignitaries and noblemen have brightly come forward (without surplus =) to the best of their power» (they have done their utmost). — D. Ma Juei-ch'en, having first commented upon Cheng, mentioning that Cheng took ying 38 = t'ing 36 'slow' (see A above), himself prefers another interpr.: Kuang ya says ying 38 = 47, and he interprets the ode line 41: »The dignitaries and noblemen have brightly come forward without fault». But that is to misunderstand the Kuang ya; its kuo 47 means 'excess', as in Chouli: Kung jen 48 »One heats it on the fire but without excess» (not too much); Li: Yüe ling 49 »When heaven and earth begin to be severe, one must not go to

背達 2 始竟 3 始終 9 僭始既迄 10 始 11 竟 12 既 13 朋友以譖 14 告之話言 15 古之善言
 16 話 17 話 18 話訓 19 話言 20 話言 21 著之話言 22 不可教訓不知話言 23 僭曰未知 24 僭
 25 假 26 假令 27 藉 28 亦事既竟 29 小子 30 民之靡盬誰夙知而莫成 31 盬 32 滿 33 夫盬而
 不備 34 志滿 35 不可盬厭 36 經 37 緩 38 贏 39 伯盬 40 伯贏 41 大夫君子昭假無贏 42 天之
 光耀 43 行不休無自贏 44 緩之時 45 贏 46 百姓勅則致畏 47 贏則教上 48 稍 49 贏緩之 50 氣盬 51

excess» (here Cheng says ying 38 = 50 «one must not be slack, and he again takes 38 as = 37, cf. A above; but Kao Yu, on the same phr. in Huai: Shī tsē says ying 38 = 'ample', and in Lü the text reads 51). — E. Another interpr. Ta fu kūn tsī is a vocative (with Cheng), and the rest is an exhortation: «Oh, you dignitaries and noblemen, come brightly forward (without surplus = none remaining =) all of you». It would be tempting to translate: «Come brightly forward without tarrying», but after all ying 38 (for t'ing 36) in the sense of 'slow' is too weakly substantiated.

962. Huei er chun chun 52.

A. Mao reads thus: 52 (**liwən / tsiuən / chun*) = 'to inculcate' (Shuowen), thus: «I instruct you inculcatingly». Cf. Tso: Siang 31, phr. 54 «He repeats (his words)». Shīwen records the var. 55, which is a mere loan char. — B. Another school (ap. Cheng's comm. on Li: Chung yung) reads 56 (in comm. on Shang shu ta chuan, Cheng has the var. 57). From the Li passage it appears that Cheng himself considered 58 'earnest' as merely a var. of Mao's 52, but 58 (**d'wən / d'uən / t'u n*) properly means 'anxious' (ex. in Ch'u: Li sao), and if Cheng really had a Shī text which read 58, the line could very well mean: «I instruct you anxiously». — B is too unsafely attested.

963. T'ing wo mo mo 59.

A. Mao: mo mo 60 (**mōk / māk / m o*, Shīwen) = 61 'not making them enter' (sc. the instructions), refusing to accept them. This tells us nothing of the fundamental meaning of the word. There are several possibilities: α. Lu (ap. Kao Yu's comm. on Huai, in the Tao tsang version, the current version having been corrected after Mao) reads 62 (**mōk / māk / m o*), and Ma Juei-ch'en thinks Mao's 60 is a loan char. for 63 'distant': «You listen to me (distantly =) reservedly». — β. Erya has an entry: mo mo 63 = 64 'annoyed', and since an anc. comm. (Shē jen) ap. K'ung says that mo mo 60 is = 65 'distressed and annoyed', some anc. school took the Erya entry to refer to our ode here. Thus: «You listen to me with annoyance». No text par. — B. Cheng 60 means 66 'neglectfully, slighting'. Thus: «You listen to me with (slighting =) contempt». Chu follows this, but still reads the char. **mōk / māk / m o*. In this sense, however, the char. 60 should really be read **mīog / mīäu / m i a o* 'small, to consider small, to slight', cf. Meng: Tsin sin, hia 67 «Those who give counsel to the great should (consider them small, slight =) despise them», on which Chao K'i 67 a. This 60 is really id. w. 68 (**mīog / mīäu / m i a o*) 'small, insignificant' (common). Cf. also Tso: Hi 9, phr. 69 «The smallest (most insignificant) of the children». Ts'i (ap. Cheng's comm. on Shang shu ta chuan) reads 70. This 71 **mog / māu / m a o* meaning 'weak-sighted' makes no sense here and must be a loan char. But in any case it shows at least that the Ts'i school read the line with a word ending in -g, not one in -k. — B which takes the char. 60 in a well-attested sense: 'small, to slight' is certainly best. But we have then to alter the traditional reading (Shīwen) **mōk / māk / m o* into the **mīog / mīäu / m i a o* which tallies with the Meng and Tso examples. And this, in fact, is confirmed by the rime system of the st. The rimes are 72:

— — —	<i>liog</i> ,	— — —	<i>glāk</i>
— — —	,	— — —	<i>ts'og</i>
— — —	,	— — —	(<i>mōk : mīog</i> , 60)
— — —	<i>kōg</i> ,	— — —	<i>ngiok</i>
— — —	,	— — —	<i>mog</i> .

It is easily seen that whereas the lines with double rimes have the first (before the caesura) in -g, the second in -k, the lines with only one rime (end rime) have this in -g (lines 2 and 5). Now our line 3 is precisely such a line with only an end rime, and should therefore, on the analogy of lines 2 and 5, have its rime word in -g. This confirms 60 **mīog* as against Shīwen's **mōk*.

Ode CCLVII: Sang jou.

K'i hia hou sün, see gl. 222.

964. Lue ts'ai k'i liu 73.

A. Mao: liu 74 = 75, which is based on Erya: 76 = 77, and all comm. agree that it means 'stripped of its leaves, with foliage sparse and thin', thus: »If one plucks it, it will be sparse-leaved«. There has been much speculation as to how liu 74 could have this meaning. Ho Yi-hang thinks that Erya's 76 (*b'iar-liôg) is a sound variation of 78 (*pwat-liôg) 'not staying' (leaves falling and not remaining); but if so, the use of liu 74 alone, in our ode line, equal to liu 79, would make no sense. Ma Juei-ch'en believes that Erya's 76 (*b'iar-liôg) is a sound variation of the 80 (*b'iar-lia) = 'to separate' in ode 69, and if so, liu 74 (*liôg), equal to 81 (*lia) would mean 'leaves separated from each other', i. e. sparse, a thin foliage. All extremely unlikely. No text par. whatever. — B. Chu: liu 74 = 82 'to damage, destroy, kill'. Thus: »If one plucks (it), it will be destroyed«. Liu means 'to kill' in ode 285, in Shu: Kün Shī, in Yi Chou shu: Shī fou, etc. — B is best substantiated.

Ts'ang huang t'ien hi, see gl. 412; Cho pi hao t'ien, see gl. 678.

965. Mi kuo pu min 83.

A. Mao: min 84 = 85, thus: »There is no state which is not (extinguished:) destroyed«. This is based on Erya, which defines both 84 and 85 as = 86. Cf. Tso: Sün 12, phr. 87 »You do not extinguish our altars« (etc., common). — B. Wang Yin-chī: min 84 = 88, thus: »There is no state which is not in disorder«. Cf. Shu: K'ang kao 89 »The laws will be brought into disorder«; Shu: Lü hing 90 »confused and disorderly«; Lü: Shen ta 91 »All the crowd became confused«. — B suits the context better: the min 84 corresponds to the luan 88 'disorder' of the preceding line.

Min mi yu li, see gl. 430.

966. Kuo pu si p'in 92.

A. Mao: p'in 93 (*b'ien/b'ien/p'in) = 94 'urgent, pressing': »The country's course is (pressing =) critical«. Cf. Meng: T'eng Wen kung, hia 95 'to press together the brows'. Shuowen quotes the ode line 96, and this 97 (*b'ien) is another way of writing the same word 'to compress', e. g. Chuang: Chī lo 98 »He compressed the brows«. — B. Cheng: p'in 93 = 99, sc. in the sense of 'several together' (100), thus: »The country (sc. the government) (walks =) practices this (one time after another =) again and again« (sc. the bad actions). Cf. Lie: Huang ti 1 »Why do you repeatedly go and come«. — B takes pu 2 as a verb, but par. phrases like ode 229, phr. 3 »Heaven's course is calamitous« shows pu to be a noun (see gl. 739). The A interpr. of our line forms a good par. to the 3 of ode 229, which confirms A.

Kuo pu mie tsī, see gl. 930; T'ien pu wo tsiang, see gl. 403.

過 熟於火無贏 天地始肅不可以贏 解 無盈 誇爾諄諄 諄諄焉 託 諄
爾怵怵 怵 怵 聽我藐藐 藐 不入也 聽我邈邈 邈 悶 晏悶 忽略 說
大人則藐之 當輕藐之 眇 藐諸孤 聽我眇眇 眇 眇 昭 樂 慄 藐 教 虐 老 持
采其劉 劉 燥 燥而希 眇 劉 暴 樂 不留 留 化 離 離 殘 靡國不泯
泯 滅 盡 不泯其社稷 亂 舞 泯 泯 衆庶泯泯 國步斯頻 頻
急 頻 國步斯曠 曠 曠 曠 曠 曠 比 數 1. 女行去來之頻 2. 步 3. 天步艱難

967. Mi so chī yi 4.

Mao: yi 5 = 6 'to settle', thus: »There is nowhere to settle». The phr. is quite analogous to ode 194, phr. 7, where Mao likewise says li 8 = 6 'to settle' (one of the meanings of li 8 being 9 'to come to, arrive at'; thus properly: »There is nowhere to stop and arrive at»). But how yi 5 can mean this 6 'to settle' has been differently explained. A. Shīwen reads 5 here *ngjək / ngjək / y i, thus taking it to be id. w. the w. in the phr. 10 'to stand straight and firm', common in Yili, see gl. 870. Thus our ode line properly means: »There is nowhere to stop and stand firm». — B. K'ung takes 5 (ordinarily read *ngjəŋ) to be a short-form for 11 *ngjəŋ / ngjəŋ / nŋŋ 'to freeze, coagulate, become solid'. By extension of meaning this 'to be solid' would be equal to 'to be still, quiet' (K'ung = 12). Thus: »There is nowhere to stop and be (solid =) still». Cf. Chuang: Siao yao yu 13 »His spirit was (coagulated, concentrated, collected =) still» (comm. = 14). 5 serving as short-form for 11 is common, e. g. Yi: Kua 2, phr. 15 (some versions correctly have 16). — Sün has two passages where he has used the Shī phrase with the syllables inverted: Sün: Wang chī: »(If he wants to treat the people amiably) 17 but does not (settle them =) fix them in their proper place» (keep them at a proper distance); Sün: Kie pi: »(If you search for the methods of understanding the things), 18 but do not settle them» (give them their proper place, do not get them clear). (The 11 in the first ex. is a corruption for 5, due to the frequent confusion of the two char., acc. to Ho Yi-hang). In both cases it would seem that Sün took 5 (*ngjəŋ / ngji / y i) to serve for 19 (*ngjəŋ / ngji / y i) 'to estimate, to calculate' (= 'to place rightly'). — D. Ch'en Huan thinks that yi 5 is a short-form for 20 (*ngəŋ / ngəi / a i) 'to obstruct', thus: »There is nowhere to stop and (become obstructed =) be arrested (remain still)». — A, which takes yi 5 as an attitude of the body: 'to stand firm', agrees best with the preceding chī 21 'to stand, to stop', thus forming a natural binome. It is well supported by the Yili text par. in gl. 870. And that chī 21 here really has the primary sense of 'to stand, to stop' is proved by the par. chī li 22 'to stop and arrive at' in phr. 7 (ode 194), where it is clearly seen that these are phrases expressing motion and position.

968. Kūn tsī shī wei, ping sin wu king 23.

The anc. comm. say nothing of the peculiar construction of the first line, ending in shī wei.

A. Ho K'ie (24, 14th c.) foll. by Legge: wei 25 = 26 'to bind', thus: »The noble-men are the bonds (of the state)». Wei 'to bind' in the sense of 'to bind together, to unite' we have in ode 191, phr. 27 »The four regions, them you should unite», but that is not analogous to our present phr. in which kūn tsī must be the subject. — B. Fu Kuang (28, 13th c.): shī wei 29 has the same meaning as in a series of other odes, and wei is merely the copula, cf. ode 45, phr. 30 »He is my proper one» (other ex. in odes 190, 217, 293, 300). But whereas this shī wei normally begins a line, here it stands at the end. This does not mean that we have to take the two lines as a unit, so that wei directs the following ping sin wu king; a verse line certainly cannot end in the copula wei. But the inversion kūn tsī shī wei places kūn tsī in an emphatic position before the copula: kūn tsī shī wei is equal to 31 »The one who is a noble man». — C. Ch'en Huan: shī wei 29 is equal to 32 and the line means: »What the noble men do, is to hold a heart» etc. Now wei 25 is certainly equal sometimes to 33, but then always 33 in the sense of 'to be', never in that of 'to do'. — A is not impossible in itself, but it takes shī wei 29 in a quite different sense from what it regularly has in the Shī. Hence B is preferable.

969. Shuei sheng li kie 34. Mao does not explain the construction.

A. Cheng paraphrases: 35 »Who is it that has produced this evil», thus simply skipping the inconvenient kie 'steps'. — B. Chu paraphrases 36: »Who is really the

(steps =) promoter of this evil». But *sheng* 37 'to bear' cannot mean 'to be'. — C. Legge therefore tries to take *kie* as the object of *sheng*: »Who reared the steps of dissatisfaction». *Sheng* 'to bear, to produce' can certainly not have as object an inanimate thing like 'steps'. — D. It is correct, with Chu, that *kie* 'steps' is a metaphor for 'promoter', as shown by two par.: ode 198, phr. 38 »They are simply the (steps =) promoters of disorder»; ode 264, phr. 39 »(The long tongue of a woman) is the (steps =) promoter of evil». But to the 33 or 25 'to be' in those ex. here corresponds *sheng* 37 'to bear, to be born', and this certainly has its particular force: it is a vigorous indictment against the wicked king: »Who has been born a (steps =) promoter of evil (and caused distress unto this day)».

Wo sheng pu ch'en, see gl. 596; *Feng t'ien tan nu*, see gl. 423.

970. *K'ung ki wo yü* 40.

For *ki* 41 = 'to harass', see gl. 354.

A. Mao: *yü* 42 (**ngio* / *ngiwo* / *yü*) = 43 'border land', thus: **They greatly harass our borders**. Cf. ode 265, phr. 44 »Our settlements and border lands are all waste». *Yü* 42 fundamentally means 'enclosure' and hence by extension of meaning 'borders' (common in this sense, Tso etc.). — B. Cheng: *yü* 42 is loan char. for 45 (**ngio* / *ngiwo* / *yü*), thus: »Very urgent is our withstanding (the foes)». — No reason whatever for the loan speculation of B.

971. *Wei mou wei pi, luan huang si süe* 46.

A. Cheng: »You make (military) plans, you take precautions (for war actions); but the disorder increases, and you become (cut =) retrenched». — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: *huang* 47 has not its common meaning of 'to increase' but 'to be like', and *luan huang* 48 is equal to 49 'the (likeness =) condition of disorder', thus: »If you plan, if you are cautious, the condition of disorder will be (cut =) retrenched». Very far-fetched. — C. *Huang* 47 certainly means 'to increase', with Cheng (cf. gl. 412), but the subject of the verb *wei* is not »you», but »I», as shown by the sequel: 50 »I admonish you», etc. Thus: »I plan for you, I caution you: if the disorder increases, it will (cut, dismember =) destroy you».

972. *Shuei neng chi jê, shi pu yi cho* 51.

Mao has no gloss on *shi*.

A. Cheng: *shi* 52 = 53, but that makes no sense here. Indeed, as pointed out in gl. 76, Mao's text must be corrupted. B next has the correct reading. — B. Another school (ap. Mo: Shang hien, chung) reads 54, thus: »Who can grasp anything hot? There are few who do not (first) (use washing =) moisten the hand». — B is simple and clear.

973. *P'eng yün pu tai* 55.

P'eng 56 (**p'ëng* / *p'eng* / *p'eng*) var. 57, in Erya defined as = 58, is an alt. way of writing 59 (same sound) 'to cause, to make', which occurs in Shu: Lo kao and Shu: To fang.

4.靡所止疑 5.疑 6.定 7.靡所止戾 8.戾 9.至 10.疑立 11.凝 12.安靜 13.其神凝 14.靜 15.陰
始疑 16.始凝 17.無所凝止之 18.無所疑止之 19.凝 20.凝 21.止 22.止戾 23.君子實維,秉心無
競 24.何楷 25.維 26.繫維 27.四方是維 28.輔廣 29.實維 30.實維我儀 31.凡為君子 32.是為 33.
為 34.維生厲階 35.誰生此禍者 36.誰責為 此禍階 37.生 38.職為亂階 39.維厲之階 40.孔棘
我圍 41.棘 42.圍 43.垂 44.我居國辛荒 45.禦 46.為謀為茲亂 47.斯削 48.沉 49.亂沉 50.亂狀 51.
兮 52.誰能執熱 53.逝不以濯 54.逝 55.去 56.孰能執熱 57.鮮不用濯 58.并云不逮 59.并 60.拼送

A. Mao and Cheng have no gloss on *y ü n* 60, but from Cheng's paraphrase it follows that he took it simply as an empty, filling-out particle, something like the Greek *de*: **«You cause them not to come forward»**. In fact, a *y ü n* as such a filling-out particle, no more than a euphonic supplement, occurs frequently and apparently irrespective of the position in the clause, e. g. ode 33, phr. 61, ode 192, phr. 62, ode 207, phr. 63, ode 256, phr. 64, etc. Since Kuang ya has an entry: 60 = 65 'to have', Wang Nien-sun tries to prove that it has that meaning here, our line being equal to 66, but his supporting cases are much too unsafe, all admitting equally well of an interpr. of *y ü n* as an empty particle. — B. Chu takes *y ü n* as = 'to say': **«One causes them to say: we cannot attain (to our aims)»**, i. e. one causes them to be despondent and refrain from coming forward into service. — A is confirmed by a par. in st. 15 of our ode, where *y ü n* is likewise a particle: 67.

974. Hao shī kia sê, li min tai shī 68.

A. Mao says simply: 69 'in the place of the meritless ones to (eat =) enjoy the emoluments', and K'ung (after Wang Su) expounds this further so as to interpret: **«You should love those who toil with husbandry and benefit the people, (and let them) instead of (the bad ones) eat (the emoluments)»**. A violent forcing of the text. — B. Cheng reads 70, and interpr.: **«You love those who in their living are niggardly and who burden the people, and (you let them) instead of (the good men) eat (the emoluments)»**. Even worse than A. Moreover we have 71 in the next st., unmistakably meaning 'husbandry', and it must mean the same here. — C. Chu refers the lines to the good men frustrated, telling how they refrain from taking office: **«They love that husbandry, and work (together with) the people, as a substitution for the eating (of official emoluments)»**. — D. Another interpr. As long as we take (with Mao) the *tai shī* to mean 'to eat (emoluments) instead of (somebody)', the whole passage will be hopelessly strained, and Chu's twisting it into 'as a substitution for eating (emoluments)' is even more impossible. It is better to take *tai* 72 in its common sense of 'successively, from generation to generation'. The whole st. is an exhortation to the leaders to encourage husbandry: **«They love that husbandry; the doughty people from generation to generation live from it.»**

975. Mie wo li wang 73.

A. Cheng curiously expounds: 74 **«It exhausts that on which our king relies for his position»**, i. e. the resources (grain) of the country. This is not reconcilable with the wording of the text. — B. Chu: **«It destroys our appointed king»**. — C. Ch'en Huan interpr. **«The one who destroys us is the appointed king»**, adding that the meaning of *li wang* is doubtful, and that possibly *li* 75 is a short-form for 76. — D. Ma Juei-ch'en: *li* 75 is a short-form for 77, and *wang* 78 means 79, thus: **«It destroys the principal ones of our grains»**; an eccentric idea. — B is simple and plausible.

976. Kü chuei tsu huang 80.

Mao says: *chuei* 81 (**iüwad / tsiüwäi / chuei*) = 82 'to attach, connect', a common meaning of the word, which is closely cognate to 83 (**tiüwad / iüwäi / chuei*), same meaning. This, however, has been understood in various ways. A. Cheng: **«All are attached (to war service), and (their homes are) utterly empty»**. — B. Chu: *chuei* = 82 'connected with' in the sense of 84 'in risk of': **«All are (connected with =) on the brink of utter ruin»**. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: Kuang ya says *chuei* 81 = 85 'to collect, bring together', an extension of meaning ('to connect' > 'to unite, bring together'), and this is the meaning here: **«All things together are utterly (waste =) ruined»**. Cf. Hanfei: Ts'un Han 86 **«He wished to bring together all the soldiers of the world»**. — *Kü* means here 87 'all', and with C the *kü chuei* forms a good and natural binome.

Yi mien k'iuang ts'ang, see gl. 372; *Ping sin süan yu*, see gl. 765;

K'ao shen k'i siang, see gl. 807; Shen shen k'i lu, see gl. 17; P'eng yu yi chen, see gl. 958.

977. Tsin t'uei wei ku 88.

A. Mao: ku 89 = 90 'exhausted, without resources', thus: »To go forward or backward is (alike) (exhausted =) impracticable«. This means that Mao took 89 (*kuk / kuk / ku) to be loan char. for 91 (*kiók / kiúk / k ü). — B. Yüan Yüan: ku 89 *kuk is a loan char. for the homophonous 92 (*kuk) in its sense of 'good', thus: »(Advancing and retreating =) In ups and downs alike, be good!«. Yüan adduces two passages in Han Shī wai chuan (6 and 10) and one in Yen tsī ch'un ts'iu: Wen hia, where the ode is quoted: in all these cases the meaning B seems to him to have been intended. Hu Ch'eng-kung, however, insists that even in those cases interpr. A makes good sense. — The loan theory of A: *kuk for *kiók is phonetically much inferior to B: *kuk for *kuk. The reason for the latter loan would be that the preceding line ended in 92, and the scribes wanted to avoid a character riming with itself. In any case, with interpr. B the word *kuk 'good' has to rime with itself, but such »self-rimes« are far from rare in the Shī.

978. Chan yen po li 93.

A. Cheng takes chan and yen as coordinated verbs: »He looks out and speaks over a (distance of) a hundred li«. Yet yen 'to speak' comes very illogically in the context. — B. Another interpr. Yen 94 is the particle (see gl. 10), thus: »He surveys a hundred li« (he is circumspect).

Hu si wei ki, see gl. 835.

979. Fu k'iu fu ti 95. Cf. gl. 163.

A. Cheng: »(Now this good man), one does not seek him, one does not promote him«. — B. Ch'en Huan: »(Now this good man), he does not seek (office), he does not (advance =) push himself forward«. — On the analogy of the preceding st.: »Now this wise man, he surveys a hundred li«, the phr. »now this good man« should be the subject, not the object in the foll. line. This confirms B.

980. Ning wei t'u tu 96.

A. Cheng: ning 97 = 98, explaining: »(The people, being greedy and disorderly), (find peace in =) are content to do bitter and poisonous (actions)«. — B. Ch'en Huan: ning 97 is the interrogative adverb, quite analogous to hu 99, as often (see gl. 77). Thus: »Why are they a bitter poison«. Cf. ode 192, phr. 100 »Why are they lizards.« This text par. is decisive.

981. Ta feng yu suei, yu k'ung ta ku 1.

A. Mao: suei 2 = 3, thus: »The great wind has its path: the deep great valleys«. For k'ung = 'deep' see gl. 372. Yu 4 cannot be translated, it forms part of the attribute: yu k'ung = 'deep', as frequently in the Shī (e. g. ode 189, phr. 5 »straight are its pillars«, etc. cf. gl. 885). Suei 2 = 'path, road' is common (Tso, Kyü etc.). Our ode line is quoted with short-forms: 6 in Ts'ien fu lun, 7 in Han Shī wai chuan. —

58 使 59 什 60 云 61 道之云 62 遠 63 伊誰云 64 惜 65 曷云 66 其遠 67 莫予云 68 觀 69 有 70 拜 71 肯 72 不遠 73 如
云不克 74 好是稼穡 75 力民代食 76 代無功者 77 食祿 78 好是歌謠 79 稼穡 80 代 81 滅我立王
82 窮盡我王所恃而立者 83 立 84 位 85 粒 86 王 87 長 88 具 89 贊 90 幸荒 91 贊 92 屬 93 綴 94 危 95
聚 96 欲贊天下之兵 97 具 98 俱 99 進退維谷 100 谷 101 窮 102 鞠 103 敷 104 瞻 105 言 106 百 107 里 108 言 109 弗求
弗迪 110 率 111 為 112 荼 113 毒 114 率 115 安 116 胡 117 胡 118 為 119 虺 120 虺 121 大風有隧 122 有空大谷 123 隧 124 道 125 有 126

B. Wang Yin-chī: *suei* 2 (**dz̥iwəd* / *zwi* / *suei*) is loan char. for 8 (**g̊iwəd* / *jwi* / *y i*), and 9 in Lü: Pen mei is defined by Kao Yu as = 'rapid wind'. Thus here: »The great wind is rapid«. A poorly substantiated and unlikely speculation.

Tso wei shī ku, see gl. 491; Cheng yi chung kou, see gl. 130; T'a n jen pai lei, see gl. 830.

982. T'ing yen tsê tuei, sung yen ju tsuei 10.

A. Cheng: t'ing yen is equal to 11 'words heard on the road' (as in Lun: Yang huo 12 »to speak on the way of what was heard on the road«). And sung 13 means 'to recite', sc. the Odes and the Documents (Shī, Shu). Thus: »When there is (heard words =) gossip, then they respond, when there are recitals, then they are (sleepy) as if drunk«. — B. Chu refers the line to the poet himself: »If one would hear my words, I would answer; but I (can do nothing but) croon my words, as if I were drunk«. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: t'ing = 'to listen' means 'to obey, to be obsequious', and sung 13, properly meaning 'to recite', sometimes means 'to sermonize, to admonish', as in Kyū: Ch'u yü 14. Thus: »If there are obsequious words, they respond, but if there are admonishing words, they are (sleepy) as if drunk«. — D. Another interpr. In ode 194 we have: 15, which (see gl. 568) means: »When there are (hearable words =) words deserving to be heard, then respond, when there are slanderous words, then keep aloof«. Our t'ing yen tsê tuei here is quite analogous and must be interpreted in the same way. The line therefore is an exhortation: »When there are (hearable words =) words deserving to be heard, you should respond; but when there are admonishing words, you are (sleepy) as if drunk«. This tallies well with the following: »You do not use the good« (sc. words).

983. Fu pei wo pei 16.

A. Cheng: »On the contrary you cause us to be (disorderly =) refractory«. — B. Another interpr. The pei 17 'to cause, to make' is here obviously the same as in st 8, phr. 18 »He (makes =) considers himself alone good, he (makes =) considers the people utterly foolish«. Pei 19 often means 'disorderly' in the sense of 'confused in the mind, silly', e. g. Sün: K'iang kuo 20 »So great is his confusion of mind and error«; Ts'ê: Ch'u ts'ê 21 »Are you, master, so old as to become confused in mind (silly)?«. The ode line connects logically with the preceding: »When there are admonishing words, you are (sleepy) as if drunk; you do not use the good (words), on the contrary you (make =) consider me (confused =) silly«.

984. Ki chī yin ju, fan yü lai ho 22.

Mao says simply: ho 23 (**χăk* / *χvk* / *h o*) = 24. The latter means 'to burn, to roast, to broil', and Ch'en Huan thinks that Mao meant by this 25 'to destroy'. But there is no support for this. Ho 23 primarily means 'fiery, hot, red', and this is what Mao expresses by his 24: 'to be fiery against' = 'to overawe'. Cheng reads 23 as 26 **χăg* / *χa* / *h i a* 'to scold, rebuke', but there is no reason for abandoning Mao, since 23 = 'awe-inspiring, majestic' is common in the Shī.

A. Cheng: chī 27 = 28 'to go', and yin 29 (= 30) = 31 'to shade' = 'to shelter', thus: »I have gone to shelter you, but you on the contrary come and overawe me«. Cf. Shu: Hung fan 32 »Heaven shelters (protects) and raises the lower people«; Kyū: Ch'u yü 33 »The (sacrificial) jades are sufficient to (shelter:) protect the good crops«. Our yin 29 'to shade, to shelter' alludes to the metaphor in st. 1: the mulberry tree which gives an even shade and protection to all. Yü 34 is placed before its verb, an emphatic construction: »You overawe me«. Normally the object should then be resumed by a demonstrative pronoun: 35, but the line has been abbreviated for rhythmical reasons. — B. Wang Su paraphrases the first line: 36. Thus he simply skips the inconvenient chī 27. It would seem that he took yin 29 to mean 'secret': »I secret you« = »I (secretly =) intimately know your actions«. Cf., however, D below. — C. Chu follows

Cheng, but mentions a «master Chang» who interprets: «I have gone and (told secrets to =) secretly warned you, but you on the contrary (say that) I come and scare (you)» — D. Ma Juei-ch'en: *chī* 27 is = 37. And *yīn* 29 (**·iəm / ·iəm / yīn*) is loan char. for 38 (*·əm / ·ām / a n*) = 'to know perfectly', the line thus meaning: 39 «I know you». But first *chī* 27 cannot have that sense in this position, and secondly *a n* 38 is known from no pre-Han text. — E. Ch'en Huan: *chī* 27 = 40, and *fān* 41 is a verb: «I (want to) shelter you (people), but they (the rulers) go against me and destroy me» (for the last word, see the introductory lines above). Here again, 27 = 40 cannot be construed in this clause, and *fān* 41 obviously forms a par. to the *fū* 31 'on the contrary' in the preceding st. — A construes the lines faultlessly, and it agrees with the theme of the ode: just like the preceding st. it complains that the men admonished do not take the poet's remonstrances to heart. The Shu par. (32) supports it strongly.

Min chī wāng kī, see gl. 182.

985. *Chī liang shān pei* 42.

For *chī* 43 = 'only, simply' see gl. 286.

A. Mao: *liang* 44 = 45 (Shuowen has copied this gloss). This has been variously explained. α. K'ung adduces Tso: Chuang 32, phr. 46, where Tu Yü (after Mao and Shuowen) says: *liang* 44 = 45, thus: «Kuo largely has a thin (slight, defective) virtues». Cf. also Tso: Chao 4, phr. 47 «The noble man makes laws with slight requirements (Tu Yü 44 = 45). Thus here: «Of slight (virtue) and (good at turning the back =) disloyal». β. Ma Juei-ch'en: 44 in the sense of 45 is a loan char. for *liang* 48, Shuowen = 49 'an affair not being good', i. e. 'bad', thus: «Bad and disloyal». But of this 48 there are no text ex. γ. Ch'en Huan: the w. *pō* 45 in the Shī is always an «empty particle», and Mao means that *liang* 44 also is a particle. No support whatever. — B. Cheng: *liang* 44 is a loan char. for *liang* 50 = 51 'sincere, to trust'. Cheng takes *liang* as a verb with *shān pei* as object: «Trusting the disloyal ones». This is obviously impossible because of the analogous later lines 52 and 53. Chu therefore twists the meaning differently: «(Professedly) sincere but (really) disloyal». — C. Another interpr. The three phases 42, 52 and 53 are evidently parallel and our *chī liang* 54 should therefore be analogous to *chī king* 55 «You are only fierce» and *chī tāo* 56 «You only plunder» (in gl. 286 I referred these words to the people: «they only plunder», but the context shows that they refer to the bad rulers denounced by the poet). Hence the 44 (**gliang*) is obviously a loan char. for 57 (**gliang*) 'to take by force' (common), and the line means: «(While the people go to excess), you are only rapacious and disloyal».

Ode CCLVIII: Yün Han.

986. *Cho pi Yün Han* 58.

有覽其極 6. 遂 7. 隊 8. 遺 9. 遺風 10. 聽言則對 誦言如碎 11. 道聽之言 12. 道聽而塗說 13. 誦 14. 使工誦諫於朝 15. 聽言則答 謠言則退 16. 覆俾我悼 17. 俾 18. 自獨俾威俾民 卒狂 19. 悼 20. 若是其悼 緇也 21. 先生老悼乎 22. 既之陰女 反于來赫 23. 赫 24. 夷 25. 侵削 26. 嚇 27. 之 28. 往 29. 陰 30. 陰 31. 覆 32. 惟天陰隲下民 33. 玉足以庇蔭嘉穀 34. 于 35. 反于是來赫 36. 我陰知女行矣 37. 其 38. 諂 39. 既其知女 40. 是 41. 反 42. 職諫善背 43. 職 44. 涼 45. 薄 46. 號多涼德 47. 君子作法於涼 48. 愁 49. 事有不善 50. 諫 51. 信 52. 職競用力 53. 職益為寇 54. 職涼 55. 職競 56.

A. For *cho 59* = 'great' see gl. 678. — B. Comm. on *Wsüan* quotes Han as reading *60*. The Ts'ing scholars agree that this *61* is a scribe's error for *62*, see gl. 678, which is certainly true.

987. *Ki kin tsien chen 63*.

Ts'i (ap. *Ch'un ts'iu fan lu*) has *64* for *65*, both meaning 'repeatedly'.

A. Mao (after *Erya*): *chen 66* = *67* 'to come' (common in the *Shi*: odes 39, 194, 224), thus: «Famine comes repeatedly». The phr. is thus analogous to *Tso*: *Siang 22*, phr. *68* «Unforeseen things come repeatedly». — B. *Ma Juei-ch'en*: *Erya* says *65* = *66*, and this shows that *chen 66* here does not mean 'to come' but 'repeatedly', synon. w. *65*, the *tsien chen* of the ode line being a binome: «Famine is repeated». He even proposes that *chen 66* (**tsien*) is then a loan char. for *69* (**tsang*) (!). But in fact the *Erya* gloss has quite another purport. *Tsien 65*, besides meaning 'repeatedly', can also mean *70* 'to bring forward, to present', and that is what *Erya* expresses by *66*, 'to (cause to) arrive'.

988. *Yün lung ch'ung ch'ung 71*.

A. Mao expounds: *72*, the *yün yün* describing the heat, *lung lung* the thunder and *ch'ung ch'ung* again the heat, thus: «It is sultry and thundering and exceedingly hot.» *Yün 73* (**üwän*, *Shiwen* var. *74*; Han ap. *Shiwen* reads *75* **üwät*), really means 'blocked up, accumulated', hence 'oppressive, sultry', see gl. 799. *Lung 76* is not an onomatopoe for the sound of thunder, but an extension of meaning from the fundamental sense 'ample', as shown by a passage in *Huai*: *T'ien wen 77* «In the last period of spring, the 3rd month, the (ampleness =) thunder appears». Here *lung* is combined with its synonym *feng* 'ample' into a binome denoting the thunder. In the light of this a passage of *Ch'u*: *Li sao* has to be understood: *78* «I make *Feng-lung* mount the clouds», on which *Wang Yi*: *79* «*Feng-lung* is the Master of the clouds, acc. to some the Master of the thunder». Thus *feng lung* is well attested to mean 'thunder', here personified into the god of thunder. *Ch'ung 80* is read in its ordinary way (**d'ïóng* / *d'ïung* / *ch'ung*) by *Lu Tê-ming* (*Shiwen*) but **d'ông* / *d'uông* / *t'ung* by *Sü Miao*. *Erya* has a *81* (no text ex.) = 'smoke, hot vapour', again read **d'ïóng* by *Lu Tê-ming* but **d'ông* by *Kuo P'o*. Han (ap. *Shiwen*) reads our line *82*, this latter again read **d'ông* / *d'uông* / *t'ung*. This char. likewise occurs in no text, but there is a *83* **d'ông* / *d'uông* / *t'ung*, *Shuowen* = *84* 'fiery red', which occurs in *Kuan*: *Ti yün*. Our *Shi* word is thus poorly attested in texts, but (whether read **d'ïóng* or **d'ông*) is certainly closely cognate to *85* **d'ïông* / *ïung* / *jung* = 'hot air, steam, heat'. — B. *Chu* takes *yün lung* as attributes to the following *ch'ung ch'ung* as subject: «Accumulated and (ample:) intense is the heat». But the reduplication: *ch'ung ch'ung* clearly indicates that this is no noun. — Since we have it well attested that *lung* could mean 'thunder', there is no reason for abandoning the earliest interpr. (A).

989. *Pu t'ien yin si 86*. For *yin si* see gl. 690.

A. *Cheng*: *pu t'ien 87* = *88*, thus: «We have not ceased offering the (yin and si) sacrifices». We have *pu t'ien* in this sense in odes 250 and 257. — B. *Ch'en Huan*: *Erya* (*Shi yen*) says *89* = *90* 'to bring forward', cf. *Li*: *K'ü li 91* «One (brings forward =) makes announcement to the spirits». Our *92* is loan char. for this *89*, and *pu 93* is an «empty particle». Thus: «We have brought forward the (yin and si) sacrifices». — B is an arbitrary and unconvincing loan speculation.

990. *Tsi kiao ts'u kung 94*.

A. *Cheng*: «From the suburban altars we have gone to the ancestral temple». — B. *Liu T'ai-kung* foll. by *Ma Juei-ch'en*: since it is a question of sacrifice for rain, the *kung* cannot be the ancestral temple, but must be a *kung* in the suburb, the one mentioned in *Chouli*: *Chang shê*: *95* «He makes the altar and the *wei kung*», this

latter described by the comm. as a »hall» made of low earthen walls. Ma points out, in confirmation, that later in the st. it is spoken of Hou Tsi, who was joined to Shang-ti at the sacrifices in the suburb, but certainly not in the ancestral temple. Thus: »From the (suburb =) suburban altar to the Eastern Hall». — C. Ch'en Huan: in Li: Li k'i it is said: »When the people of Lu sacrificed to Shang ti, they always first sacrificed in the P'an kung 96», i. e. the »study hall» in the suburb, and Cheng there states that one version inst. of P'an kung 96 read 97 »the suburban hall», these two phr. meaning the same hall. In our ode line the ts'u 98 is merely »a particle», and the line is equal to 99 »From the suburban hall». This is quite unreasonable, for the contrast ts'i — ts'u = 'from — to' is well attested, e. g. in ode 247, phr. 100 »From west he went east», ode 292, phr. 1 »From the hall they go to the gate-house base» (see gl. 320). — The objection of the Ts'ing scholars to A is justified by the context, but their guesses about the nature of the kung 'hall' are very arbitrary. Since kung here evidently does not mean 'palace' but 'temple hall', we had better leave the question open and simply translate: »From the suburban altar we have gone to the temple hall».

991. Mi shen pu tsung 2.

A. Cheng: tsung 3 = 4, thus: »There are no Spirits that we have not honoured». — B. Another school (ap. Hou Han shu: Shun ti ki) reads 5. This 6 (*giwəng / jiwəng / yung) means precisely to sacrifice to the powers of nature (heavenly bodies, mountains and rivers) to avert calamities (flood and drought etc.), as fully described in Tso: Chao 1, which would suit the context very well here. But the rimes of the st. (7 *kiōng : *kiōng) demand 3 *tsōng, with A, and forbid the 6 *giwəng of B. Thus 6 is merely a corruption of the graphically similar 3.

992. Hou Tsi pu k'o 8. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: k'o 9 (*k'ək) ought to be 10 (*k'ək), and this means 11, thus: »Hou Tsi does not take cognizance» (of our sufferings). K'o 10 means 'to cut, to incise', and K'ung expounds Cheng: 'to incise' means 'to cut notches, to record, to register', hence 'to keep in the memory'. Exceedingly far-fetched. — B. Wang Su: pu k'o 12 has its ordinary meaning: »Hou Tsi (cannot =) is powerless» (sc. to help us). — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: pu k'o 12 = 13 has the sense of 14: »Hou Tsi is not favourable». — B is simple and plausible.

993. Hao tu hia t'u 15.

Hao:

Hao 16 is quoted 17 in Yü p'ien. Mao and Cheng have no gloss. Hao 16 or 17 regularly means 18 (Ts'ang Hie p'ien), 19 (Kuang ya) 'to reduce, to waste' (common). Han (ap. Shī wen) defines it as = 20 'to hate', for which there is no text support.

Tu (Mao has no gloss):

職盜 52 抹 53 俾彼雲漢 57 俾 60 對彼雲漢 64 對 68 荊 69 欲饒薦臻 64 荐 65 薦 66 臻 67 至 68. 不虞荐至 65 增 70 進 71 極隆蟲蟲 72 極極而暑隆隆而雷蟲蟲而熱 73 隆 74 溫 75 鬱 76 隆 77 季春三月豐隆乃出 78 吾令豐隆乘雲兮 79 豐隆雲師 80 雷師 81 蟲 82 鬱 隆炯炯 83 融 84 赤色 85 融 86 不殄極祀 87 不殄 88 不絕 89 吟 90 致 91 吟于鬼神 92 殄 93 不 94 自郊徂宮 95 為壇墠宮 96 賴宮 97 郊宮 98 徂 99 自郊宮 100 自西徂東 1. 自堂徂基 2. 靡神不宗 3. 宗 4. 尊 5. 靡神不祭 6. 祭 7. 宮躬 8. 后稷不克 9. 克 10. 刻 11. 識 12. 不克 13. 不能 14. 不善 15. 耗 數下土 16. 耗 17. 耗 18. 消 19. 減 20. 惡 21. 數 22. 敗 23. 殄 24. 殄 25. 殄 26. 耗

A. Cheng: *tu* 21 = 22 'to ruin, to destroy', and Shīwen and Ts'ie yün therefore read it **tāg* / *tuo* / *tu*. Thus: »He wastes and destroys the earth below«. In this sense it is sometimes wr. 23 (same sound). Cf. Shu: Hung fan 24 (in Shuowen quoted 25) »Whereby the proper relations are ruined« (Shīwen: **tāg* / *tuo* / *tu*). — B. Ts'i (ap. Ch'un ts'iu fan lu) reads 26. This 27 **dīāk* / *īāk* / *yī* is interchangeable with 21 in the sense of 'satiated with, tired of, to dislike' (common, see gl. 9). In this sense the char. 21 has two readings in Ts'ie yün: **dīāk* / *īāk* / *yī* and **d'āg* / **d'uo* / *tu*, in Shīwen only the former. Evidently Ts'i read **dīāk* in our ode here, as shown by its var. 27. Now the Han school defined the 16 as = 20 'to hate' (see above), and probably the Ts'i school held the same opinion, since it takes 21 to mean 'to dislike'. Thus: »He hates and dislikes the earth below«. — Both A and B make good sense. But since there is no text support for *h a o* 16, 17 meaning 'to hate', A is better substantiated, having good text par. for both words.

994. Ning ting'wo kung 28.

A. Mao (after Erya): *ting* 29 = 30. This has been expounded by Cheng: »Why does it attain, befall our persons« (accepted by all later comm.). But that is to abuse the Erya gloss, for it has *tan g* 30 in quite another sense; it says: 31, thus combining *ting* 29 with *ti* 'to withstand', *k'iang* 'strong, violent', *ying* 'to withstand', and its *tan g* 30 means 'to withstand, be a match for'. It explains *ting* 29 in the sense of 32 'strong, robust' (Lie: Shuo fu); cf. also Yi Chou shu: Shī fa 33 »Those who are strong and perverse and insubordinate are called *ting*«. If the Erya gloss were to be applied in our ode, the meaning would be: »Why does he (God) withstand, be violent against our persons«. This, however, is unsatisfactory, for a word like *ting* would express the notion of 'refractory', as an inferior towards a superior, which could not be said of God. — B. Another interpr. *ting* 29 (**tieng* / *tieng* / *ting*), is a short-form for 34 (**tieng* / *tieng* / *ting*) 'to strike'. Ts'ang Hie p'ien, 3rd c. B. C. (ap. Chung king yin yi 2) says: 35 »to hammer is called *ting*«. We have this 34 abbreviated, just as in our ode, into 29 in the w. 36 'a bell' (which is struck) in Tso: Sūan 4 and again abbreviated into 29 in ode 7, there read **tēng* / *lēng* / *chēng* (another aspect of the same word stem): 37 »We knock them *tēng-lēng*«; here it is an onomatopoe, but it is chosen precisely because it depicts the striking blows on the pegs. It is closely cognate to 38 (29 phonetic in 39) **d'ēng* / *d'eng* / *ch'eng* 'a beater, drumstick', e. g. Kuan: Ti ho 40 »As the drum has its (beater:) drumstick«. The word stem belongs to a large and rich word family, see BMFEA vol. 5, p. 67. Thus: »Why does he strike (our bodies, persons =) us«.

Chou yü li min, see gl. 430.

995. Mi yu kie yi 41.

Mao and Cheng do not define *kie* 42. We had the char. in ode 53, phr. 43 »Slenderly-rising is the pole with the oxtail-flag«. *Kie* 42 is a kind of lance in Tso: Chuang 4, and in 43 it means 'lance-like' i. e. like the tall and slender shaft of a lance. In our ode here it must mean something quite different.

A. K'ung: *kie* 42 = 44 'the appearance of being single and alone' (similarly Yen Shī-ku on Han shu 16: 45 'standing alone'), thus: »There is not a single one left«. No text par. — B. In Shuowen *kie* 42 is defined as = 46 'lacking the right arm', a definition based on the form of the seal char. 47, and Chu has seized upon this: »There is not a half man left«. No text support whatever. — C. Fang yen (W. Han coll.) says 42 = 48 'left over, remains', and Ch'en Huan and Ma Juei-ch'en conclude that *kie yi* is a synonym-binome: »There are none left«. No text support. — D. Another interpr. Kyū: Chou yü, in a passage discussing whether the animals presented at a feast should be cut or served whole (in the manner of the Jung and Ti barbarians), says: 49 »How should there be a (serving) *kie-jan* whole-body-fashion, imitating the Jung and Ti barbari-

ans», on which Wei Chao: *kie-jan* = 50 'entire-body-fashion'. 42 **kiat* / *kiät* / *kie* here unambiguously, as shown by the context, means 'entire, integer' and is probably cognate to 51 **kiat* / *kiet* / *kie* 'pure, immaculate', in the sense of 'untouched, not tampered with'. This suits our ode very well: »There is not an (integer:) undamaged body left». — D alone has the support of a good pre-Han text.

996. Tsê pu wo yi 52.

A. K'ung: »(Great Heaven, God on High) does not (leave us over =) let us survive». — B. Ch'en Huan and Ma Juei-ch'en: In ode 82, phr. 53 »With mixed girdle-ornaments I will (make inquiries about =) attend upon you», Mao says: *wen* 54 ('ask about') = 55 'to give, make presents', a free interpr. suiting this context (Mao's gloss has then been incorporated in the Kuang ya). Ch'en and Ma conclude that *yi* 55 can mean 'to ask about', and interpret in our ode: »(Great Heaven, God on High) does not (ask about us =) care about us». A school example of bad philological method, which violates the most elementary rules governing the use of the ancient sources.

Sien tsu yü ts'uei, see gl. 113.

997. Ti ti shan ch'u'an 56.

A. Mao: *ti* 57 (**d'ïök* / *d'iek* / *ti*) = 58 'breath of drought', i. e. 'scorched, dried up'. Ch'en Huan thinks that this is cognate to the *siu siu* (**siög* / *siäü* / *siu*) 'parched, dried up' in ode 691 (see gl. 203), which is not convincing. Ma Juei-ch'en believes that it is loan char. for 59 in B next. But this is not necessary. 57 **d'ïök* is well attested as meaning 'to wash' (Li), 'to cleanse' (ode 154), and here we have an extension of meaning: 'swept clean' = 'denuded', the drought having swept away all the verdure on the hills and exhausted the water in the streams. Thus: »(Cleansed =) denuded and emptied are the hills and the streams». This extension is confirmed by a par. in Meng: Kao tsī, shang: the Niu mountain had fine trees and grass, but the trees have been cut down and the cattle have browsed there, 60 »therefore it is (washed, cleansed =) denuded like that». Cho 61 (**d'ök* / *d'äk* / *ch o*) regularly means 'to wash' but here denotes 'denuded', said of a mountain. 57 **d'ïök* and 61 **d'ök* are cognate words. — B. Another school (ap. Shuowen) reads 62, this 59 (**d'ïök* / *d'iek* / *ti*) defined as = 63 'the herbs annihilated by drought', a meaning invented by Hū for this ode. No text par. whatever, and, besides, the definition suits *shan* 'hill' but not *ch'u'an* 'stream'. — A is better substantiated.

998. Wo sin tan (to) shu 64.

A. Mao: *to* 65 (Shīwen **tār* / *tā* / *to*) = 66 'to toil', thus: »My heart is toiled by the heat». He thus takes it as equal to 67 (**tān* / *tān* / *tān* and **tār* / *tā* / *to*) 'suffering, distressed, exhausted', see gl. 402 (Po K'ung liu t'ie quotes 68, correcting the text after Mao's gloss). We had it unambiguously in that sense in ode 203, phr. 69 »Alas for our exhausted people» (Shīwen **tār* / *tā* / *to*). Han (ap. Shīwen) says 65 = 70 'to suffer', which shows that it agrees with Mao. — B. Cheng: *tān* 65 (**d'ān* / *d'ān* / *tān*) = 71 'to fear', as in ode 230, phr. 72 »How dare we fear marching», thus: »My heart fears the heat». — With »heart» as subject, B certainly makes better sense.

射下土 28 射 28 率 丁 我 躬 29 丁 30 當 31 敵 彊 焦 丁 當 也 32 丁 壯 33 丁 迷 而 不 悌 者 曰 丁 34
打 35 推 打 也 36 丁 寧 37 杯 之 丁 丁 38 持 39 亭 40 考 鼓 之 有 持 41 靡 有 子 遺 42 子 子 干
旄 44 孤 獨 之 兒 45 獨 立 兒 46 無 右 臂 47 9 48 餘 49 胡 有 子 然 其 效 戎 狄 也 50 全 體 兒 51 澳
52 則 不 我 遺 53 雜 佩 以 問 之 54 問 55 遺 56 滌 滌 山 川 57 滌 58 旱 氣 59 薇 60 是以 苦 是 濯 濯
也 61 濯 62 薇 薇 山 川 63 草 旱 盡 64 我 心 憚 暑 65 憚 66 勞 67 瘁 68 瘁 暑 69 哀 我 憚 人 70 苦 71

Tsê wo pu wen, see transl. of ode 71, note.

999. Ning pei wo tun 73.

A. Cheng: ning 74 = 75: »He has caused me to skulk» (for shame). This meaning of ning has been refuted in gl. 77. — B. Chu: »Would that he would let us escape». — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: ning 74 = 76 (likewise refuted in gl. 77), and tun 77 (*d'wan / d'uən / t u n) is equal to 78 (*tiwən / i iuēn / c h u n) in the sense of 79 'difficulty', thus: »He has caused us to have difficulties». An unlikely guess. — D. Ch'en Huan: ning 74 = 80 'why', thus: »Why does he cause us to skulk» (for fear). All through this ode ning means 'why' (st. 1 and 4).

1000. Min mien wei k'ü 81.

For min mien = 'to exert oneself, to strive', with variants, see gl. 95.

A. Cheng: »We exert ourselves (in prayers) that the wei fearful thing (sc. the drought demon) may go away». This forces the text unnaturally. — B. Chu: »We exert ourselves and fear to go away» (there being nowhere to go). This is somewhat incoherent. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: k'ü is a transitive verb, coordinated with wei, which means 'to fear' in the sense of 82 'to hate, to loathe', thus: »(The drought is excessive), with all our forces we loathe and (try to) eliminate it».

Hu ning tien wo yi han, see gl. 588.

1001. Tsê pu wo yü 83. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: yü 84 = 85 'to measure, to calculate', in the sense of 86 'to measure and know our hearts', thus: »(God on High) does not understand us». It is true that yü means 'to calculate', but then always referring to the thinking before action: 'to calculate beforehand, foresee, deliberate, premeditate' (common), and it never means 'to scrutinize' = 'to understand'. Legge's formulation: »(God) does not consider me» brings out the meaning better: »(God on High) does not (calculate about, think about =) consider us». — B. Wang Nien-sun: Kuang ya says: yü 84 = 86 a, and this 'to possess' is in the sense of 87 'to have under its protection'; it also says: yü 84 = 88 'to help', this being a kindred meaning. Thus: »Heaven does not protect us». No text par. whatever. — A alone is substantiated by par. texts.

1002. King kung ming shen 89.

A. Mao reads thus acc. to the Shī san king chu su version: »We have been reverent to the bright Spirits», and from Cheng's paraphrase we can see that Cheng had such a version. — B. Another Mao version (ap. Shīwen) reads 90: »We have reverently attended to the bright sacrifices», and so it is already quoted in a Han time inscr. in the Li Shī. — It is uncertain whether the orig. Mao version had shen or sī.

1003. San wu yu ki 91.

A. Cheng takes yu 92 'friend' to refer to the officers of the king: »There is dispersion, and no regulations of friends» (no well-ordered system of officers of various grades). — B. Chu mentions a theory that yu 92 stands for its homophone yu 86 a, and Ma Juei-ch'en adduces examples of their being interchangeable. But he still paraphrases: 93 »The officers are dispersed and there are no regulations». Yet if we take 92 to stand for 86 a, there is nothing left that means k'ü n ch'en 'officers'. We have to translate word for word: »The dispersion (has no rules =) is uncontrolled».

1004. Mi jen pu chou, wu pu neng chi 94.

Mao defines chou 95 by 96 'to succour', and Cheng points out that in this sense the char. is often enlarged into 97.

A. Mao explains the 2nd line by a transposition: 98. This is obscure, and Wang Su and K'ung expound it further: »There is nobody who does not succour (the people), wu there is nobody who pu neng because he is unable ch i ceases» (the succouring work). Pu neng would then be an adverbial phrase. That is very strained. — B.

Cheng, realizing the impossibility of that construction, refers the line to the king and punctuates after *wu 99*: »There is nobody whom I do not succour, but *wu* when there is nothing left, *pu neng chi* (the suffering) cannot be (stopped:) prevented». This is even more forced. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en adduces a Mo-tsi passage (Ts'i huan) where it is described how the officers in times of famine have their allowances reduced, and takes *wu 99* as the subject of *pu neng chi*: »There is nobody (among the officers) who has not been succoured, but their *wu* deficiency (shortage of supplies) cannot be (stopped =) helped». — D. Another interpr. It seems evident that the lines are logically connected with the first line of the st.: »The dispersion is uncontrolled». The king complains that his officers run away in all directions, abandoning their duties, and he appeals to them not to leave their posts: (»Reduced to extremities are the heads of the departments» etc.); »Yet there is no man who is not succoured, there is nobody who cannot stay». The char. *chi 100* 'to stay' is then a logical counterpart to the *san 1* 'to disperse', and there is a strict parallelism between *mi jen pu chou* and *wu pu neng chi*. This exhortation is then repeated in the next st.: »Oh you dignitaries and noblemen, come brightly forward (without surplus =) all of you . . . do not abandon your (achievements:) duties».

Yün ju ho li, see gl. 90.

1005. *Yu huei k'i sing 2*.

For this, see gl. 53.

Shuowen has a *Shi* quotation 3, which Ch'en K'iao-tsung and Wang Sien-k'ien believe is a variant reading in this ode. But surely it is a variant of 4 in ode 301.

Chao kia wu ying, see gl. 961.

Ode CCLIX: Sung kao.

1006. *Si fang yü süan (yüan) 5*.

A. Mao writes thus, and Cheng expounds: »In the (states of) the four quarters they went to diffuse» (sc. the 6 grace). — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: the preceding line is 7, and the last word here should be analogous to *fan 8* 'fence' there; hence 9 is a loan char. for the graphically similar *yüan 10* 'wall'. He adduces as par. ode 254, phr. 11 »The great men are a fence, the great multitude is a wall». This par. indeed is quite conclusive. But when Ma goes on to say that *yü 12* is = 13 »To (the states of) the four quarters they were a fence», this is quite unwarranted; *yü 12* certainly has no such sense. Wang Yin-chi (King chuan shi ts'i) adduces one single ex. where he thinks that *yü 12* is = 13: Meng: Wan Chang, shang 14 »Do you undertake the government for me», but here *yü 12* is equal to 15 (*auprès de*): »You shall govern with me (*auprès de moi*)». (*Yü 12* is not equal to 15 in Mencius' language, but here he quotes an older text in the language

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of which the two were synonymous). When Ma adds that 12 (**giwo*) and 13 (**gwia*) «anciently had the same sound», he is quite wrong. The ode lines therefore mean: «The states in the four directions they went to (fence =) protect, the (states of the) four quarters they went to (wall, be a wall to =) defend».

1007. Wang tsuan chi shi 16.

A. Mao reads thus (17 **tsuan*): «The king continued him in service», i. e. let him succeed to his ancestors in the service. Cf. ode 260, phr. 18 «Continue (the series of) your ancestors». — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) reads 19, defining 20 (**dz'ian*) as = 21 'to charge': «The king charged him with service». This is a free rendering. Tsi en 20 really means 'to tread, step on', as in 22 «to stand in (official) position», thus properly: «The king let him stand in service». — C. Lu (ap. Ts'ien fu lun), reads 23. This 24 (**tsien* / *tsien* / *tsien*) means 'to set forth, bring forward', thus: «The king promoted him to service». — Undecidable whether the orig. Shī had **tsuan*, **dz'ian* or **tsien*.

1008. Yü yi yü Sie 25.

A. Cheng: «He went and took his residence in Sie». — B. Chu seems to take both *y i* and *sie* as nouns: «in the City, in Sie». — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: *y ü* 26 = 27: «He made his city in Sie». This was refuted in gl. 1006. — D. Lu (ap. Ts'ien fu lun) inst. of Sie 28 (**dz'üq* / *zia* / *sie*) reads 29 (**dzio* / *ziwo* / *sü*).

1009. Teng shi nan pang 30.

A. Mao (after Erya): *teng* 31 = 32: «He achieved that southern state». But the Erya gloss refers to a special technical term. When grain grows up and reaches the full ripening stage, it is called *teng* (properly 'to ascend, rise high'), and this *teng* is then regularly glossed by the word *ch'eng* 32 'to complete, achieve, be achieved', e. g. Li: K'ü li 33 «When the harvest does not (ascend =) attain its ripening» (comm. = 32); by analogy applied to phrases like Li: Yü ling 34 «When the business of sericulture is achieved» etc. To apply the *w. teng* here as a transitive verb, with Mao, is unsatisfactory. — B. Waley: *teng* 31 (**tang*) stands for 35 (**d'iang* / *ziang* / *ch'eng*): «Let him receive that southern state». — C. Another interpr. *Teng* has its ordinary meaning of 'to ascend, go up': «He went up to that southern state» (Sie evidently being higher situated than the plain of Chou). Cf. ode 241, phr. 36 «And so he first ascended a high bank» (see gl. 833).

1010. Yi tso er yung 37.

A. Mao: *yung* 38 = 39, thus taking it to be a short-form for 40 'city wall', ex. of which in Tso: Siang 9 (Shīwen there records the var. short-form 38, as in our ode). Thus: «(Avail yourself of those men of Sie) to make your walls». Cf. Li: Kiao t'ê sheng, where *shuei yung* 41 'canal' really means 'water walls', i. e. water between dykes. — B. Cheng: *yung* 38 = 42, thus: «To achieve your merit». Cf. Tso: Ch'eng 17, phr. 43 «You will have (merit =) success» (Tu Yü: 38 = 42). — C. Waley: «Make there your appanage». *Yung* 38 is often = 44. — All three interpr. are admissible, but since the next line describes the laying out of the territory, the concrete sense of A is certainly best.

Ch'ê Shen po t'u t'ien, see gl. 905 a.

1011. Wang ming fu yü ts'ien k'i si jen 45.

A. Mao says nothing of *fu* 46, and defines *yü* 47 as = 48 'officials managing the service', thus a very general term. *Yü* simply means 'to direct, to manage', as in the phr. 49 «director of affairs» in Shu: Mu shī. *Fu* 46 sometimes has a meaning similar to 50 'to assist', as in Tso: Hi 38, phr. 51 «The prince of Cheng assisted the king», and *fu yü* in our ode is evidently a vague term 'assistants and managers', briefly 'stewards'. *Si jen* 52 is well known from Li: Yü tsao etc. as meaning a 53 'henchman' of a dignitary. Thus: «The king charged the stewards to send over his (the prince's) henchmen».

— B. Cheng: fu yü = 54 'the premier minister'. There is no text support whatever for the premier's having ever been styled fu yü.

Yu ch'ü k'ich'eng, see gl. 886.

1012. Ki ch'eng mo mo 55.

A. Mao (after Erya): mo mo 56 (*mōk / māk / m o) = 57, thus: »It was achieved and was very beautiful». No pre-Han text par. Shuowen has a 58 = 59, but of this there are no text ex. — B. Chu: mo mo 56 = 60 'deep'. This means that he took 56 to be loan char. for 61 'distant', i. e. far-reaching, thus: »It was achieved and was very extensive». Cf. Chuang: Siao yao yü 62 »Far away on the Ku-shī mountain»; here 56 is likewise loan char. for 61. The latter (*mōk / māk / m o) is a well-attested word (Ch'u: Li sao). — The B meaning is well substantiated, the A meaning not at all. — We compare:

Ode 264. Mo mo hao t'ien 63. A. Mao: mo mo = 64 'great'. — B. Cheng: mo mo = 59 'beautiful'. — C. Another interpr.: mo mo = 'distant', as above: »The distant great Heaven».

Sī mu küe küe, see gl. 169; Kou ying cho cho, see gl. 851.

1013. Wang kin (ki) wang kiu 65.

The graph kin is erroneous, introduced in T'ang time by K'ung. As shown by Mao's and Cheng's glosses, the correct Mao text was 65 a, in which 66 (*k'äg / k'ji / k i) is a particle analogous to 67 in other contexts.

1014. Shen po sin mai 68. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng takes sin 69 as = 'truly, really': »The prince of Shen then really went», and Cheng surmises that the king had exhorted him to leave several times, that he had been loth to leave the king but that he finally was reassured and »really» went (!). Chu, on the contrary, imagines that the king had detained him several times, but that he then »really» went (!). There is no need to force the words thus. It simply means, with Waley: »The prince of Shen indeed went». — B. Ch'en Huan: sin 69, as often, means 70 'to stay two nights' (at a place), thus: »The prince of Shen (after two nights =) on the third day went». — B would be acceptable but for the fact that sin mai 71 is balanced by ch'eng kuei 72 in the next line, which shows that sin means ch'eng 73.

1015. Sie yü ch'eng kuei 74.

The preposition yü 75 always stands before its principal word, whereas the synonymous h u 76 sometimes stands after (e. g. ode 79, phr. 77). Hence the text is probably corrupted, either by an inversion (the correct reading being 78) or a h u 76 having been altered into the graphically similar yü 75.

1016. Yi ch'ī k'ichang 79.

Shiwen has the var. 80, same sound as 81 (*d'äg / d'i / ch i). The same w. is wr. 82 in ode 273 and 83 in Kyü: Chou yü. They are all etym. identical, and the w. means 'to

考 19 王踐之事 20 踐 21 任 22 踐位 23 王薦之事 24 薦 25 于邑于謝 26 于 27 為 28 謝 29 序 30.
登是南邦 31 登 32 成 33 年穀不登 34 露事既登 35 承 36 誕先登于岸 37 以作爾席 38 席 39.
城 40 墉 41 水庸 42 功 43 有庸 44 用 45 王命傅御遷其私人 46 傅 47 御 48 治事之官 49 御事
50 輔 51 鄭伯傅王 52 私人 53 家臣 54 家宰 55 既成藐藐 56 藐 57 美兒 58 慤 59 美 60 深 61 遷
62 藐射姑之山 63 藐藐昊天 64 大 65 往近王舅 66 往近王舅 67 近 68 其己忌 69 忌 70 申伯信
71 邁 72 信 73 再宿 74 信邁 75 誠歸 76 誠 77 謝于誠歸 78 于 79 乎 80 河上乎逍遙 81 于謝誠歸

accumulate, to store, to provide'. A. Cheng and later comm. take the line in connection with the next: 84, thus: »And so he (the king) laid up his (the prince's) provisions of grain, (to hurry on his march)». — B. Another interpr. The line on the contrary belongs together with the preceding 85, thus: »(The king charged the prince of Shao) to tax the soil and territory of the prince of Shen, in order to furnish his provisions of grain; (and so he hurried on his march)». In other words, in the new fief a certain tax on the fields was determined for regular delivery to the new prince, for his sustenance. That this is the true meaning is proved by a par. in ode 250 (see gl. 905 a), phr. 86 »He taxed the fields for provisions of grain», which expresses exactly the same idea.

1017. T'u yü t'an t'an 87.

A. Mao: t'an t'an 88 = 89, thus: »The footmen and charioteers were joyful». No text par. Possibly, however, Mao intends an extension of meaning from the sense of 'slow, leisurely', see B next: »The footmen and charioteers were (leisurely =) comfortable (feeling well, pleased)» (?). — B. Cheng: t'an t'an 88 = 90 'peaceful and slow', i. e. 'leisurely', thus: »The footmen and charioteers were (marching) slowly, leisurely». Cf. Li: Yü ki 91 »The sound is slow (easy) and trailing». — C. Chu: t'an t'an 88 = 92, thus: »The footmen and charioteers were numerous». Cf. ode 178, phr. 93 »The war chariots were numerous» (Mao: t'an t'an = 94, here foll. by Cheng); ode 263, phr. 95 »The king's troops were numerous» (Mao: t'an ta'n = 96; here Cheng says: 97 'leisurely and having a surplus of strength'). — While B does not lack support, C is decidedly preferable, since it carries through the same meaning in all the three odes.

Jou ts'i wan pang, see gl. 917; K'i feng si hao, see gl. 757.

Ode CCLX: Cheng min.

1018. T'ien kien yu Chou, chao kia yü hia 98.

A. Cheng takes yu Chou as = 'the possessor of Chou', i. e. the king, chao as subject and hia as referring to the lower people: »Heaven inspected the lord of Chou, his brilliance reached to the lower people». — B. Another interpr. Yu Chou may equally well mean 'the domain of Chou' (see gl. 621). Chao kia 99 we have in ode 258, and there chao is an adverbial phrase: »Come brightly forward». Similarly in ode 277, phr. 100 »Brightly he came and drew near». It is very unlikely that it means something quite different here, another construction (»the brightness reaches»). Finally hia 1 does not refer to the people but to earth as opp. to heaven, thus: »Heaven looked down upon the domain of Chou, and brightly approached the world below». That this is so is proved by a par. in ode 236, phr. 2 »Heaven looked down upon the world below». Our present passage expresses just the same, but more fully, in two lines. — We compare:

Ode 299. Chao kia, lie tsu, mi yu pu hiao 3. A. Cheng takes hiao 4 as equal to 5, and interprets: »His brightness reaches to the illustrious ancestors (he equals them in virtue), and there is nobody (among the people) who does not imitate him». Ma Juei-ch'en modifies this into: »And there is nobody (among the ancestors) whom he does not imitate». Cheng's interpr. is based on Shuowen, which says: 6 = 5, and Cheng thinks that 4 is a corruption of 6, an arbitrary speculation. — B. Another interpr. The whole st. describes how the prince of Lu faultlessly attends to all his duties, and particularly how he serves the ancestors and prays for their blessing. Now kia 7 (*kâ / ka / kia) and ko 8 (*klāk / kŋk / ko) are quite synonymous (not identical words, as has often been stated) in the early classics (Shu: Yao tien 8 a is quoted 9 in Shuowen, etc.), and both form a technical term meaning 'to go to' (the temple of somebody) for worship. Shu: Yao Tien (Shun tien) 9 a »He went to (the temple of) the ancestors»; Li: Wang chi 10 »On his return, he went to (the temple of) the ancestors». It is quite

obvious from the context that *kia* 7 has this meaning here, and *chao* is an adverbial phr., as in the ex. 98, 100 treated above, thus 3: »Brightly he goes to the illustrious ancestors, there are none (of them) whom he does not revere», (10 *a* for himself he prays for their blessing).»

Ode 304. *Chao kia ch'ī ch'ī* 11. A. Cheng: *kia* 7 (**kā*) is loan char. for *hia* 11 *a* (**g'ā*): »His brightness (gave leisure to =) comforted (the people) (slowly =) tranquilly». Complete nonsense. — B. Chu: »His brightness reached (Heaven) (slowly:) enduringly». Just as bad. — C. On the analogy of the preceding cases the line means: »Brightly he (came forward =) advanced (slowly =) steadily».

Siao sin yi yi, see gl. 433.

1019. *Sī fang yüan fa* 12.

A. Cheng paraphrases: »Of the princes there is nobody who does not 12 *a* (start =) stir in response». — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: in ode 304 (cf. below) Cheng says *fa* 13 = 13 *a* 'to practise, set in function', and that is the meaning here: »In the (states of) the four quarters it will then be (started =) set in function». — The line connects directly with the preceding: »Promulgate the government abroad», which confirms B. — We compare:

Ode 304. *Suei shī ki fa* 14. Mao has no gloss. A. Cheng: *suei* 14 *a* = 15 'everywhere', and *fa* 13 = 13 *a*, thus: »Everywhere he (looked:) inspected and (his orders) were (started:) set in function». Cheng's *suei* = 'everywhere' seems to be meant as an extension of meaning from *suei* = 'to achieve, completely', which, however, is very far-fetched here. — B. Chu takes *suei* in its ordinary sense of 'then' and *fa* = 12 *a*, as above: »Then he inspected (the people) and it had (started, been stirred =) responded». — C. Waley takes *shī* 16 as equal to 17: »He obeyed the showings (of Heaven) and carried them out». — D. Another interpr. The line connects with the preceding: 18, and *suei* and *shī* have their ordinary meanings: »(He himself followed the rules of conduct without transgressing), and then he saw that they were set in function».

1020. *Su su wang ming* 19.

A. Mao reads thus: »Solemn is the king's charge». — B. Ts'i (ap. Hou Han shu) reads 20 »Majestic is the king's charge». — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. *Shī*.

1021. *Pang kuo jo fou, Chung-shan-fu ming chī* 21.

Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: *jo* 22 = 23 'obedient', and *jo fou* 24 is equal to the phr. *tsang fou* 25 »good or not» in ode 236, i. e. equal to 26 'good or bad'. The par. adduced by Cheng shows that he read 27 **pjǔg / pjǔ / fou*. Thus: »Whether the states are (concordant =) obedient or not, Chung-shan-fu brightly discerns it» (followed by: »He is [bright =] enlightened, he is wise»). — B. Lu Tê-ming (Shiwen) reads 27 like 28 (**pjǔg / pjwi / p i*), defining it as = 29 'bad'. This means that he has accepted Cheng's general idea,

79 以時其糧 80 時 81 峙 82 序 83 侍 84 式過其行 85 徹申伯土疆 86 徹田為糧 87 徒御嘽嘽
88 嘽 89 喜樂 90 安舒 91 其聲嘽嘽以緩 92 衆盛 93 戎車嘽嘽 94 衆 95 王旅嘽嘽 96 盛 97 間
暇有餘力 98 天監有周昭假于下 99 昭假 100 既昭假爾 1. 下 2. 天監在下 3. 昭假烈祖靡
有不孝 4. 孝 5. 傲 6. 孝 7. 假 8. 格 9. 格于上下 9. 假于上下 9. 格于藝祖 10. 歸假于祖廟
10. 自求伊姑 11. 昭假遲遲 11. 暇 12. 四方爰發 12. 發應 13. 發 13. 行 14. 遂視既發 14. 遂 15. 徧 16.
視 17. 示 18. 率履不越 19. 肅肅王命 20. 赫赫王命 21. 邦國若否仲山甫明之 22. 若 23. 順 24. 若

but he does not take 24 as = 'obedient or not', but as 'obedient or bad', regarding 27 (which was Arch. **pjũg* in one sense, **b'jag* in another, see Grammata Serica p. 390) as loan char. for 28 **pjag* 'vulgar, inferior, bad'. Cf. Yi: Kua 50, phr. 30 »It is advantageous to get rid of what is bad« (Shiwen: 27 **pjag* / *pjwi* / *pi*). Indeed, even in ode 236, phr. 25 Lu reads **pjag* = 'bad'; but here he is inconsistent, for in Tso: Süan 12, it is first said: 31 »If they (the rulers) are not good, there will be bad buck«, and then continues: 32 »When the commanders are concordant, it is *tsang* good, if they are oppositional, it is *fou* not,« and here the same Lu Tê-ming reads 27 **pjũg* / *pjau* / *fou*! It is thus quite clear that in the phr. 25 we should read *tsang fou* (**pjũg*), not *tsang pi* (**pjag*). And since, with Cheng, our 24 is obviously analogous to *tsang fou*, it is much better to read it *jo fou* (**pjũg*), with Cheng, and not *jo pi* (**pjag*), with Lu. — C. Waley takes *jo* 22 = 'if', and 27 (**pjũg*, **b'jag*) as loan char. for 33 **b'ag* / *b'au* / *pu* 'to screen' (ex. of this w. in Yi), 27 being phonetic in 34 and this again in 33. 'To screen' then = 'to cover, to darken': »If in the land anything was darkened, Chung-shan-fu shed light on it«. But in the first place *ming* 35 reverts in the next line meaning 'enlightened' and should have an analogous sense here: 'brightly discerning' (as A above), not 'to shed light'. In the second place *jo* 22 never means 'if' in the Shī; for 'if' the Odes regularly have *ju* 36 (9 ex. in odes 131, 191, 198, 223). — *Jo* 22 regularly means 'to agree with, accord with, concordant, obedient', e. g. Shu: Yao tien 37 »reverently to conform to the great Heaven«. Similarly in st. 2 of our ode 260 here we have 38 »The Son of Heaven, him he obeys«. It would be tempting to interpret this line: »The Son of Heaven approves of him«, on the analogy of ode 212, phr. 39 »The descendant approves of it« (see gl. 684), but the context shows clearly that Chung-shan-fu is the subject of all the four last clauses of the stanza.

1022. Wo yi t'u chī 40.

A. Mac: *yi* 41 = 42. Shiwen says that Mao really had 43, not 41. His gloss, however, shows that he read 43 not **ngia* / *ngjiē* / *yi* in falling tone (as Shiwen states) but **ngia* / *ngjiē* / *yi* in even tone, homophonous with 41 and etym. id. w. 42 (**ngia*, even tone). This latter means 'to judge what is right'. This is a variation of the word stem: 43 **ngia*, falling tone, 'right' (noun): **ngia*, even tone, 'to determine the right, to judge what is right' (verb). In the latter sense it occurs wr. in all the three ways: 41, 42, 43. The line does not mean, with K'ung: »We find it (sc. the proverb) right, and then we consider«, nor, with Chu: »When we judge and consider (when we think the matter over), we find that only Chung-shan-fu can lift it«. On the contrary it refers to the *tê* 44 'virtue' which, acc. to the proverb is light as a hair, but which nonetheless few are able to lift: »We (only) estimate and consider it, but Chung-shan-fu alone can lift it«. This interpr. alone brings out the contrast between the passive and incapable speaker and the active and capable Chung-shan-fu. — B. Cheng (after Erya): *yi* 41 = 45 'mate, comrade', as in ode 45, phr. 46 »He is my (proper one =) mate«. Thus: »I and my comrades consider it« (and find that etc.). Very far-fetched.

Ai mo chu chī, see gl. 115.

1023. Kun chī yu k'üe 47.

A. Cheng takes *chī* 48 in its ordinary sense of 'office, task': »When the office of the embroidered robe has any defect, (only Chung-shan-fu can supply it)«. The »office of the embroidered robe« then refers to the king: when the king fails in his duties, only C. can better it. But this does no justice to the simile: *pu* 49 fundamentally means 'to mend', as a torn stuff, and since we have *kun* 'the embroidered robe', it is evident that *pu* has its primary sense. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en therefore thinks that 48 **ijak* / *tsjak* / *chī* is a loan char. for 50 **ijag* / *tsi* / *chī* 'emblem': »When the embroidered emblem of the (royal) robe has any hole, only Chung-shan-fu can mend it.« This is

certainly better. — C. Another interpr. 48 **iək* is loan char. for the homophonous 51 **iək* / *tsək* / *chī* 'to weave, a fabric, a stuff', thus: «When the embroidered fabric (of the royal robe) has any hole, only Chang-shan-fu can mend it» — a simile for a short-coming in the king. Cf. Li: Yü tsao 52; *chī* is here defined by Cheng as = 'fabric of coloured silk': «The ordinary nobleman does not wear a fabric of coloured silk». However true this definition may be, *chī* certainly means here 'fabric', as a noun, just as in our ode. Waley probably has the same opinion, for he translates: «When the robe of state was in holes». — C. is preferable to B because it requires no change of sound (**iək*).

Mei huai miki, see gl. 405; Si mu pang pang, see gl. 218; pa luan kie kie, see gl. 7; Chung shan fu ts'u Ts'i, see gl. 583; Mu ju ts'ing feng, see gl. 757.

Ode CCLXI: Han yi.

Yi yi Liang shan, see gl. 466; Wei Yü tien chī, see gl. 675; Yu cho k'i tao, see gl. 678.

1024. K'ien kung er wei 53.

A. Mao (after Erya): k'ien 54 (**g'ian* / *g'än* / k'ien) = 55, and (likewise after Erya): kung 56 = 57 'to grasp, to hold' (then a short-form for 58), thus: «Steadily hold on to (the duties of) your positions». For alleged par. see below. Possibly Erya and Mao thought that **g'ian* was cognate to 59 (**kien*) 'solid' and to 60 (**k'ien* and **k'än*) 'solid, firm'? — B. Cheng: kung 56 is a short-form for 61 (common), and Chu adds that k'ien 54 is = 62, thus: «Be respectful in your official position». The line is then analogous to ode 207, phr. 63 «Quietly (thoughtful) be respectful in your official positions» (see gl. 653, here likewise 56 = 61). Cf. the famous Mao kung Ting inscr. 64 «Be respectful morning and evening»; Tso: Chuang 24, phr. 65 «To tell their respect»; Tso: Ch'eng 16, phr. 66 «It means reverently to divine before the deceased princes»; Kyü: Lu yü 67 «To revere the laws of Heaven»; Yi Chou shu: Chai kung 68 «I, the young child, am very respectful in my position». These examples are quite conclusive in favour of B. — We compare:

Ode 304. Yu k'ien ping yüe 69. A. Mao: k'ien 54 = 55, and Cheng adds: yu 70 = 71, thus: «And also he firmly grasped the axe». No text par. except the alleged one refuted above. — B. Yang Liang on Sün: Yi ping, where this ode is quoted: k'ien 54 = 62: «Respectfully he grasped the axe» (foll. by Chu). — C. Another interpr. K'ien 54 also means 'to kill', e. g. Tso: Ch'eng 13, phr. 72 «You killed (the people of) our borders» (Tu Yü: k'ien = 73), and it was still coll. current in that sense in W. Han time (Fang yen). Since it is a question here of a battle-axe, k'ien must reasonably have that meaning here. Yu 70 does not = 71, for yu k'ien is equal to a simple k'ien, as often in the odes (see gl. 885, 981). Thus: «Killingly he grasped the axe».

Ode 305. Fang cho shī k'ien 74. A. Mao: k'ien 54 = 62, thus: «They

否₂₅臧否₂₆善惡₂₇否₂₈鄙₂₉惡₃₀利出否₃₁否臧凶₃₂執事順成為臧逆為否₃₃鄙₃₄
 鄙₃₅明₃₆如₃₇欽若昊天₃₈天子是若₃₉曾孫是若₄₀我儀圖之₄₁儀₄₂宜₄₃義₄₄德₄₅
 已₄₆實維我儀₄₇變職有闕₄₈職₄₉補₅₀識₅₁織₅₂士不衣織₅₃度共爾位₅₄度₅₅固₅₆
 共₅₇執₅₈拱₅₉堅₆₀擊₆₁恭₆₂敬₆₃靖共爾位₆₄度夙夜₆₅以告度也₆₆度卜於先君₆₇
 糾度天刑₆₈予小子度度在位₆₉有度秉鉞₇₀有₇₁又₇₂度劉我邊陲₇₃殺₇₄方斲是度

square-hewed them and treated them respectfully»; K'ung expounds: they were respectfully attentive in working them(!). — B. Cheng: k'ien 54 = 75 'hewing-block' (this after Erya: 76 = 75): »For square-hewing them they laid them on the block«. No text ex. of either 76 or 54 in this sense. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: k'ien means 'to kill', the fundamental sense being 77 'to cut, to hew' (he further says that fang 78 is but a particle; but that is unlikely, for then we should have fang...fang, not fang 78...shi 79). »They hewed them square, they cut them (into shape)«. — The Tso par. 72 above supports C.

1025. Chen ming pu yi 80.

A. Cheng: yi 81 = 82, thus: The charge I give you is (unchangeable =) for ever». — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: yi 81 = 'easy': »The charge I give you is not easy«. In ode 235 we have: 83 »The great appointment is not easy (to keep)»; this meaning is here unambiguous, as following upon: »You ought to mirror yourself in (the fate of) Yin« (see gl. 763). Obviously our present phr. is quite analogous, which confirms B. (Waley turns the phr. in another way: yi = 'to treat easily': »My orders cannot be slighted«, which, however, is not applicable in ode 235, phr. 83, and hence unacceptable).

1026. Kan pu t'ing fang 84.

Kan 85 were the props (stays, supports) holding the boards of the building frames into which the earth was pounded. By extension of the sense it therefore means 'to support, to keep straight, to correct' (Han on our ode: kan 85 = 86). »The verb does not mean 'to be a support against' the insubordinate princes, as Legge has it, but 'to prop up' = 'to keep in order', to make the insubordinate princes keep straight. The phr. pu t'ing fang is common (it occurs e. g. in the famous Mao kung Ting inscr., there wr. 87), but has been differently explained: A. Mao (after Erya): t'ing 88 (*d'ienɡ / d'ienɡ / t'ing) = 89 'straight', thus: »The states that are not straight (correct)»; cf. ode 212, phr. 90 »They (the straws) are straight and large«. The w. is etym. id. with 91 (*d'ienɡ) 'a stalk, a stem' (Chuang), 92 (*d'ienɡ) 'a metal rod' (Chouli), 93 (*d'ienɡ) 'a staff' (Meng), and is cognate to 94 (*t'ienɡ) 'straight' (Tso), to 95 (*t'ienɡ) 'straight', to 96 (*d'ienɡ / ienɡ / ying) 'pillar' (Chouli). Hence the meaning 'straight' is well attested. — B. Chu paraphrases: 97, taking t'ing as a verb: »Keep in order the states that do not come to court« (that do not submit to the king). It is a frequently recurring theme that submissive states have to ch'a o 98 or t'ing 88 'come to court' to pay their homage. Cf. ode 263, phr. 99 »The state of Sü came to court«. This par. is quite conclusive.

Sī mu yi yi, see gl. 466.

1027. Shu k'ijuei chang 100.

A. Mao: juei 1 = 2. This refers to Li: Wang chī, phr. 3 »Then the great pennon is lowered«. The char. 1 is properly read *snjwər / swi / suei and means 'strap on carriage for help in mounting' (Lun, Tso, Li etc.), but here in 3 it is loan char. for the graphically similar 4 *ñjwər / ñjwi / juei 'pennon' (same loan in Li: K'ü li and Ming t'ang wei). This char. 4 *ñjwər occurs in ode 101 meaning 'cap pendants', the idea being the same: a narrow streamer, pennon, pendant. The two words *snjwər and *ñjwər are cognate, the fundamental sense of the stem being simply 'cord'. Thus: »A fine banner and pennon ornament«. — B. Cheng reads 1 *snjwər / swi / suei in its primary sense: »A fine banner and (strap ornament =) ornate mounting-strap (for a carriage). — C. Wang Yin-chī: In Sün: Ju hiao we find: 5 »Ornate, he is refined« (Yang Liang: suei suei = 6 'calm and grand', a free paraphrase; Wang points out that suei suei is simply equivalent to the following wen chang). Our suei 1 of the ode would have this general sense of 'ornate' and suei chang 7 is a binome of synonyms: »A fine banner that is ornate«. — Since the juei chang is coordinated with 'a fine

banner', it is but natural to take it to be some analogous object, and Mao's interpr., supported by good text par., is therefore the most convincing.

Tien fu ts'o heng, see gl. 152.

1028. T'iao lê kin ngo 8.

For t'iao lê see gl. 450.

A. Mao: ngo 9 (the char. is also wr. 10 and 11) = 12. In Erya: Shī ch'ung there is an insect called 13 = 14, and it would seem that Mao has this in mind (Shīwen and K'ung therefore correct the traditional 15 into 16). But the insect on mulberry leaves there described cannot explain our kin ngo here, and Ch'en Huan (basing himself on the Shī ming) insists that Mao meant: 'raven's beak' as a simile for the object in question. — B. Cheng: ngo 9 = 17 'a small ring' through which the reins passed. — C. Ho Yen in comm. on Lun: Wei Ling kung defines heng 18 'yoke' by 11, and Tuan Yü-ts'ai therefore thinks that the heng and ngo were synonymous, ngo simply meaning 'yoke'. It would indeed seem as if heng - ngo were a binome of synonyms in Chuang: Ma t'i 19. — D. The same Cheng who defines ngo as 'small ring' above (B) in his gloss on Chouli: Chou jen speaks of ngo as the two curved halves of the yoke. — Space forbids a full reference to all the various speculations about the ngo. It is better to regard the oldest extant form of the char. ngo : 20 (Lu po Tung Kuei, bronze inscr. from the earliest Chou time, see Grammata p. 347), which obviates all the difficulties. It shows us the central piece of a yoke, with two curved shanks, gripping the neck of the horse like a 'raven's beak' (with Mao), and on top of it a fitting having a loop for the reins ('small ring' with Cheng). That the word for this central and most important part of the yoke could then sometimes serve simply in the sense of 'yoke' is but a natural *pars pro toto*. We might render this looped central yoke-piece by 'yoke-bow', since it is evidently the bend (over the horse's 'neck') that is most conspicuous. Our line consequently means: »Metal-ornamented reins and metal yoke-bows«. It may seem surprising that the ngo was asymmetrical, the loop sitting on one side of the rising stem; possibly the right-hand horses had yoke-pieces with the loop to the right, and the horses to the left similar ones with the loop turned left?

Pien tou yu tsü, see gl. 360.

1029. Fen wang chi sheng 21.

A. Mao: fen 22 (*b'iwan / b'iuwan / fen) = 23, thus: »Niece of the great king«. Evidently Mao took 22 to be loan char. for 24 (*b'iwan) 'big', see gl. 715. — B. Cheng: fen 22 was the river Fen in Shansi, where king Li resided after having been driven away from his capital, thus: »The niece of the king of Fen«. — B takes the text as it stands and refers to a well-known historical fact.

K'i k'i ju yün, see gl. 39.

1030. K'ing ki ling kü 25.

A. Cheng: k'ing 26 = 27, and ling 28 = 29: »He found it good and caused her to live here«. K'ing really means 'happy' (see gl. 673), here transitive: 'to find happy,

75. 榘 76. 榘 77. 伐 78. 方 79. 是 80. 朕命不易 81. 易 82. 改 83. 駿命不易 84. 榘不庭方 85. 榘 86. 正 87. 不庭方 88. 庭 89. 直 90. 既庭且碩 91. 庭 92. 鋌 93. 挺 94. 挺 95. 正 96. 榘 97. 不來庭之國 98. 朝 99. 條 方來庭 100. 淑所綏章 1. 綏 2. 大綏 3. 則下大綏 4. 綏 5. 綏綏 6. 其有文章 6. 安泰之兒 7. 綏章 8. 條革金厄 9. 厄 10. 危 11. 軌 12. 烏喙 13. 蛇 14. 烏蠅 15. 蠅 16. 蠅 17. 小環 18. 衡 19. 加之 20. 衡 21. 斧 22. 汾王之錫 23. 汾 24. 貴墳頌 25. 慶既命居 26. 慶 27. 善 28. 令 29. 使 30. 大國之

to find good, approve of', cf. Tso: Chao 30, phr. 30 »In the kindness of your great state, you (find good =) approve of its being ample». — B. Chu: k'ing 26 = 31, and 28 = 27: »He rejoiced at the good abode». Chu simply disregards the ki 32 and thus misunderstands the construction.

Han Ki yen yü, see gl. 449.

1031. Yen shi so wan 33.

A. Cheng: yen = 34, thus: »In time of peace, the multitude had built them». We should then have expected another word sequence: shi yen so wan. — B. Wang Su: »They were built by the hosts of Yen». — Further on in the st. it is said that the prince of Han received »this northern state», which confirms B.

1032. Yin shi po Man 35.

A. Mao: yin 36 = 37 'ruler, to be ruler over', thus: »To rule over those many Man tribes». No text par.; but probably Mao meant this as a free paraphrase of E below. — B. K'ung takes yin 36 as the ordinary adverb 'then, thereupon' and shi 38 as a verb = 39 'to time and regulate', i. e. fix the times for their presenting tribute: »They (timed =) regulated the times (of tribute) for those many Man tribes». A desperate attempt. — C. Couvreur: »They adapted themselves to (the customs of) those many Man tribes». Very far-fetched. — D. Waley: »He sheltered all the tribes of Muan». I fail to see how yin 36 could have that sense. Moreover, in the next line Waley translates the same yin by »he ruled». — E. Yin 36 fundamentally means 'to rest on, to lean on, to rely on', here expressing that a prince »bases himself on» his subjects. Thus: »To lean on those many Man tribes (as subjects)». There is really no reason for not giving yin its true sense, which makes an excellent metaphor.

1033. Shi yung shi ho 40.

A. Cheng: shi 41 = 42, which is certainly right, but he curiously takes it as an attribute to yung as a noun: »those walls» (i. e. the old ones that already existed!), and then has to construe the line as a violent ellipsis: »He (repaired) those walls, he (deepened) those moats», etc. This is because Mao has freely commented: 43 »He made the walls high, made the moats deep». But Cheng's construction is of course impossible. — B. The shi 41 refers to the pei kuo 'northern states': »Those he walled, those he moated», etc.

1034. Hien k'i p'i p'i 44.

A. Mao: p'i 45 = 'a wild animal', which tells us nothing. — B. Erya: p'i = 'a white fox'. — C. Shuowen: p'i = 'a kind of leopard'. — In Shu: Mu shi we have: 46 »Be like tigers, be like p'i» (said to the soldiers). Here p'i is combined with 'tiger', and since the soldiers cannot very well be exhorted to be »like white foxes», C is much more plausible than B. — Mao thinks the line means that the tribes of Chuei and Mo presented these skins to the prince, but Chu, much more convincingly, refers it to the gifts presented by the prince to the royal court: »He presented (to the king) skins of leopards».

Ode CCLXII: Kiang Han.

1035. Kiang Han fou fou, wu fu t'ao t'ao 47.

A. Mao: fou fou 48 = 49 'numerous and strong'; t'ao t'ao 50 = 51 'wide and great'. This makes sheer nonsense: »The Kiang and Han rivers were numerous and strong, the warriors were wide and great» (though K'ung heroically tries to make sense of it: »the waters were many and strong, the warriors were many and large and great»). Therefore Wang Yin-chi and Ch'en Huan conclude that the text has been corrupted and that Mao had a text: Kiang Han t'ao t'ao, wu fu fou fou 52 and that he meant: »The Kiang and Han rivers were wide and great, the warriors were numerous and strong». In support they adduce first that ode 204 has t'ao t'ao Kiang Han

53, and secondly that Lu (ap. Feng su t'ung yi) quotes our ode 54, which Ch'en considers as a variant of 52 (55 *d'ôg for 50 *t'ôg; Ch'en K'iao-tsung tries to vindicate that 55 could mean 'ample', but has no pre-Han text ex.). It seems evident that Wang and Ch'en are right and that Mao's gloss reveals that his text had 52. In ode 204, phr. 53 Mao defines 50 as = 56 'the appearance of a great water (river)', but in ode 105, phr. 57 he says t'a o t'a o 50 = 58 'flowing'. Since we have the same t'a o 50 as a verb in Shu: Yao tien 59, we must formulate more adequately: **«The Kiang and Han were amply-flowing»**. As to fou 48 'to flow' it means 49 'numerous and strong' (said of warriors) by a bold metaphor: **«The warriors form a mighty flow»** (unless, with Ch'en Huan, 48 *b'îôg is a loan char. for the stem *piôg 'ample', see gl. 170, which is unconvincing). — B. It is not quite sure, however, that the emendated Mao text 52 was really that of the orig. Shī, for we know that Han (ap. K'ung) read the second line 60, just as the traditional Mao text. It seems possible that the corruption (inversion) in the Mao text has been made precisely because the scribes knew the Han text to be 47. This text version has been interpr. in several ways (besides K'ung in A above): α. Cheng (who has this reading 47, the inversion in Mao's text having taken place before his time): **«The Kiang and Han flowed on, the warriors flowed along (them)»** (followed the rivers towards the east, to the Huai Yi region). β. Han (ap. K'ung): t'a o t'a o 50 = 61 'the crowd being extremely great', thus: **«The warriors were numerous»**. No text par. γ. Waley **«The Kiang and Han sweep by, the warriors march on and on»**. For t'a o 50 in this sense see gl. 288. — Under B, both α and γ are quite admissible. But the B text (47) was championed only by the Han school, whereas both (the orig.) Mao school and the Lu school had the A text 52: that Lu's 55 (with Ch'en) was merely a graphic variant for 50 is proved by several var. (ode 114, Mao 62, Han 63; ode 224, Mao 64, Han 65). And this A text is amply confirmed by ode 204, phr. 53 and is decidedly preferable. The simile is striking and good: **«The Kiang and Han were amply-flowing: the warriors formed a mighty flow»** (both flowing eastward, to the Huai Yi region). This is further confirmed by a par. in st. 2, phr. 66, see gl. 1038.

1036. Huai Yi lai k'iu 67.

A. Cheng interprets simply: **«They went to seek the Huai tribes»** (tribes of the Huai river region). Lai 68 fundamentally means 'to come', but it is often generalized into being a more vague verb of motion 'to proceed', even 'to go', as in Ts'è: Ts'i ts'è 4, phr. 69 «shall we go home». Throughout the present ode it has the sense of 'to go', as shown by the context. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en (after Wang Yin-chī): lai 68 = 70. This speculation of Wang's (very poorly substantiated, see his King chuan shī ts'ī) is due to the fact that normally, when an object is placed before its verb, it is resumed by a 70 or 71, e. g. ode 29, phr. 72 etc. But in a few cases the poet dispenses with this, and then it is because the first word is placed in an emphatic position: **«It was the Huai tribes that they went to seek»**. Ma further says: k'iu 73 (*g'îôg / g'îqu / k'iu) has not its ordinary sense of 'to seek' but is a loan char. for 74 (*k'îôg / k'îqu / k'iu) 'to unite, bring into har-

惠亦慶其加 31 舊 32 既 33 燕師所完 34 安 35 因時百變 36 因 37 長 38 時 39 時節 40 賓席實
 堂 41 實 42 更 43 高其席深其墊 44 獻其鰓皮 45 貌 46 如虎如貌 47 江漢浮浮武夫滔滔 48
 浮 49 衆彊兒 50 滔 51 廣大兒 52 江漢滔滔武夫浮浮 53 滔滔江漢 54 江漢陶陶 55 陶 56 大
 水兒 57 汶水滔滔 58 流兒 59 浩浩滔天 60 武夫滔滔 61 衆至大也 62 日月其恆 63 日月其
 陶 64 上帝甚蹈 65 上帝甚陶 66 武夫洸洸 67 濯焉來求 68 來 69 歸來乎 70 是 71 實 72 下土

mony and obedience', as in Tso: Hi 26, phr. 75 »Prince Huan therefore united the princes«. The reason for this would be that in Tso: Ch'eng 2 we find 76 »Now you strive to unite the princes«, where Ma very lightly concludes that k' i u 73 must be a loan char. for the 74 of the preceding passage 75. Our ode line would then mean: »They (united =) brought into obedience the Huai tribes«. A very arbitrary and useless speculation — C. Waley: »The tribes of Huai are mustering«, thus taking H u a i Y i as the subject. In itself this is quite admissible (though I fail to see how k' i u 73 could mean 'to muster'), but l a i 'to come, to go' is used throughout this ode about the actions of the men of the king in their undertakings on his order: thus st. 3, phr. 77 »Go all through the king's state« (here likewise the first two words of the line are the object, not the subject of the clause); st. 4 phr. 78 »Go everywhere, go and diffuse my orders«. This confirms that l a i refers to the warriors who went to seek the Huai tribes. Moreover we have a par. in ode 178, phr. 79 »The King people of the Man tribes he came and overawed« (and there Waley translates: »Who made the tribes of King afraid«). — A is simple and natural, taking the text as it stands, with all words in their ordinary sense.

1037. H u a i Y i l a i p' u 80.

A. Mao: p' u 81 (*p'wo / p'uo / p' u) = 82, here transitive and causative = 'to cause to suffer', thus: »They went to harass the Huai tribes«. Mao thus takes 81 as a loan char. for the homophonous 83; the same loan in ode 194, phr. 84 »They are all together made to suffer«, see gl. 564. — B. Chu: p' u 81 = 85 'to array' (cf. ode 263 below), thus: »They came to draw up in array against the Huai tribes«. Cf. ode 295, phr. 86 which is quoted 87 in Tso: Süan 12. P' u 81 means 'to spread, lay out' as a mat etc., in Li *passim*. — C. Wang Nien-sun and Tai Chen (foll. by Ma Juei-ch'en): Fang yen and Kuang ya both say p' u 81 = 88 'to stop', and the line means: »Because of the Huai tribes they went and stayed«. No text par. — D. Waley: »The tribes of the Huai are attacking«. No text support. — No reason to abandon A, which has a good Shi text par. — We compare:

Ode 263. P' u t u n H u a i f e n 89. For the t u n 90 'to make thick, concentrate' see gl. 112. A. Cheng: p' u 81 = 85: »He arrayed and heaped (the troops) on the Huai river bank«. — B. Han (ap. Shiwen) reads 91. This has been expl. in several ways: *α*. The Han school (ap. Shiwen) says 92 (*p' iwo / p' iu / f u) = 93, thus: »Grandly he . . . etc. Cf. ode 256, phr. 94 »You do not widely (seek:) study the former kings«; ode 296, phr. 95 »Under the vast heaven«, corresp. to ode 205, phr. 96, Han, Ts'i and Lu 97, see gl. 641. *β*. Li Hien (T'ang time) in comm. on Hou Han shu: Feng Kun chuan: 92 = 85: »He (spread out =) arrayed . . . etc. Cf. ode 195, phr. 98 »It spreads out over the earth below«; ode 304, phr. 99 »He spread his government tranquilly«. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: p' u 81 = 88 (as in ode 262 above, see C there): »He stationed and concentrated (his troops) . . . etc. No text par. — D. Waley: »Everywhere he garrisoned the banks of the Huai« ('spreading out' = 'everywhere'). Cheng took p' u 81 to mean 100 'everywhere' in ode 194, but unsatisfactorily, see gl. 564. — E. Shuowen quotes 1. This goes against the testimony of the oldest schools (Mao, Han) and cannot be accepted. — The word 81 is read (in Ts'ie yün and Shiwen) both *p'wo / p'uo / p' u (even tone) and *p' iwo / p' iu / f u (even tone), in the latter case homophonous with 92 (*p' iwo, even tone); *p'wo and *p' iwo are thus two variations of the same stem, the w. 2 (*p'wo / p'uo / p' u, rising tone) belonging to the same stem. The word-stem fundamentally means 'wide'. It is undecidable whether the orig. Shi in our line read *p'wo or *p' iwo, but in any case the meaning was the same. The question is whether *p'wo, p' iwo here has the primary sense: »(Widely =) extensively he (made thick, heaped =) massed (his troops) on the Huai river bank«, or the extended sense of a verb: 'to make wide, to spread out', which would here mean 'to marshal, to array': »He arrayed and massed . . . etc. Now we

know 81 in the sense of 'to spread out' (as a net), and 92 in the sense of 'to spread out, to diffuse', but for neither are there any ex. of the meaning 'to spread out in orderly rows, to arrange, to marshal'. 'Widely, extensively', a well-attested meaning of 92, therefore seems preferable. It comes very near both to Han's 'grandly' (B a) and to Waley's 'everywhere' (D).

1038. Wu fu kuang kuang 3.

A. Mao (after Erya): kuang kuang 4 (*kwāng / kwāng / kuang) = 5, thus: »The warriors were martial». One Erya version reads 6, and Yü p'ien reads 7. The char. 4 primarily means 'surging and rushing water' (Sün = Yu tso), and by extension of meaning 'violent, impetuous, fierce', as in ode 35, phr. 8 »You are violent and turbulent» (see gl. 101). The variants 6 and 7 are known from no pre-Han texts. — B. Another interpr. Parallelism with st. 1 shows that the w. kuang is not used here with the same extension of meaning as in ode 35. In st. 1 we had correspondingly 9 »The warriors formed a mighty flow» (see gl. 1035). The metaphor is similar here: »The warriors formed a rushing flood», which balances the preceding line: »The Kiang and Han are (voluminous =) large-flowing». — C. Ts'i (ap. Ts'ien fu lun) reads 10. This 11 (*g'wāng / wāng / huang) means 'vast' (like a great flood of water) in Sün: Fu kuo, it is closely cognate to 4 and gives the same simile here.

1039. Shī p'ī sī fang 12.

Both Cheng and Han (ap. comm. on Wsüan) take shī 13 as = 14: »with the law»; but evidently shī is merely the common particle, see gl. 103, 519, 654.

A. Cheng: p'ī 15 = 16 'to open up' (equal to 17) and explains: »(Open up =) widen (my boundaries) in the four quarters.» — B. Han (ap. Chung king yin yi): p'ī 15 = 18. One would imagine that this means 'to clear out' in the sense of C next; but Sie Han, as quoted in comm. on Wsüan, expounds it: »Clear away (the rebellious and bad ones) in the four quarters». — C. P'ī 15 certainly means 'to open up', but in the sense of 'to clear', to cut the woods and make cultivated fields. We have it in that sense in ode 241, phr. 19 »They opened them up, they cleared them (the tamarisks, the kü trees)». Thus: »Open up (clear for cultivation) the regions of the four quarters». This is logically followed by: »Tax my territories and soil» (tax on the fields), which confirms C. 1040. Wang kuo lai ki 20. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng refers this to the people, saying: ki 21 = 22 'the middle way, the norm', cf. gl. 182, and he paraphrases: »Cause them to come to the royal state and receive the norms of government and instruction». Thus literally: »(so that) the royal state they come and make their norm». Very scholastic. — B. Another interpr. The clause is an exhortation like the preceding ones; the lai, being in the imperative (just as in the foll. lai sün, lai süan), refers to Hu of Shao. Wang kuo is the object placed at the beginning, just as Huai Yi lai k'iu in st. 1. Ki 21 regularly means 'the

是冒 73 求 74 糾 75 桓公是以糾合諸侯 76 今吾子求合諸侯 77 王國來極 78 來自來宣 79
鑿荆來威 80 淮夷來鋪 81 鋪 82 病 83 痛 84 淪胥以鋪 85 陳 86 敷時繹思 87 鋪時 88 止 89 鋪
敷淮濱 90 敷 91 敷敷淮濱 92 敷 93 大 94 罔敷求先王 95 敷天之下 96 溥天之下 97 普天之下
下 98 敷于下土 99 敷政優優 100 偏 1 敷彼淮濱 2 普 3 武夫洸洸 4 洸 5 武兒 6 僕僕武
7 趨趨武兒 8 有洸有潰 9 武夫浮浮 10 武夫潢潢 11 潢 12 式辟四方 13 式 14 法 15 辟 16
開 17 闢 18 除 19 啓之辟之 20 王國來極 21 極 22 中 23 來自來宣 24 自 25 偏 26 來 27 勤 28 自

extreme point, go to the farthest point, to exhaust'. Thus: »(Go and exhaust =) go all through the royal state« (foll. by: »go and draw boundaries, go and make divisions«). The same idea is further underlined in the next st.

1041. Lai sün, lai süan 23.

A. Mao: sün 24 = 25 'everywhere', thus: »Go everywhere and diffuse my orders«. For the confirmation of this see gl. 222 (there I translated our ode line in the past tense, after Legge, but the context shows that the imperative is preferable). — B. Cheng: lai 26 = 27, and sün 28 »ought to be« 29; thus: »Be diligent in disposing (the four quarters), be diligent in everywhere (laying out boundaries)«. An appalling construction. Erya has an entry 26 = 27, but then lai 26 really means 'to cause to come, to attract, to encourage, to stimulate', which the Erya author expresses by 27 (see gl. 858; Shuowen has the enlarged char. 30 in this sense, but there are no text ex. of that char.; the word 31 'to remunerate' may be etym. the same word, with an extension of meaning). Lai 26 certainly does not mean 27 in the sense of 'to be diligent'. This is a constantly recurring error of method of the ancient scholasts: lai 26 means the same as the char. k'in 27 in the sense of 'to encourage, stimulate'; and since this char. k'in 27 also has another sense: 'to be diligent', lai 26 ought to have this sense as well! Nothing could be more erroneous. Further: as to sün 28 = 29, Cheng seems to have been influenced by Shī ki: T'ien kuan shu phr. 32, which had the variant reading 33. But that, of course, cannot warrant Cheng's altering our sün 28 into ying 29. — A is simple and well confirmed. — We compare:

Ode 244. Yü chuei lai hiao 34. A. Cheng: lai 26 = 27: »Pursuing (Wang Ki's) diligent piety«. — B. »(Going backwards =) mindful of his predecessors he came and was filial«. Chuei 35 in this sense of 'to think of the past' is very common.

Shao kung shī sī, see gl. 497.

1042. Chao min (mou?) jung kung 36.

Mao (after Erya): jung 37 = 'great', but Cheng = 'you, your', also a well-attested meaning. The latter suits the context better, since it balances the er 'you' in 38 in the next line. Kung 39 stands for 40 (Mao = 41), and so the line is quoted in Hou Han shu: Sung Hung chuan.

A. Mao (after Erya): chao 42 = 43. K'ung believes that this means, in the ordinary way, 'to plan, to consider': »I have considered that you have been active in your work«. But chao 42 certainly can have no such meaning, and the Erya gloss (Shī ku) has quite a different purport. As pointed out by Ho Yi-hang and Ma Juei-ch'en, Erya (Shī yen) also says: chao 42 = 44. Now this char. 44 'diligent, active' is read min (Anc. Chin. *mǐwǎn*, Ts'ie yün), but in Arch. Chinese it must have been read **mæg* or **mwæg* (see gl. 866), and 43 was **mǐüg* / *mǐzu* / mou; evidently the Erya glossist meant that 43 **mǐüg* and 44 **mæg* or **mwæg* were cognate words, both meaning 'diligent, active' (cf. Li: Chung yung 45, one version ap. Cheng 46), and he defines our chao 42 in Shī ku by 43 'active', in Shī yen by 44 'active'. In our ode then chao min (chao mou) 47 is a synonym-binome = 'active', thus: »You have been active in your work«. Cf. Shu: Tsiu kao 48 »If you diligently lead your carts and oxen«; Shu: Wen hou chī ming 49 »You should diligently imitate Wen and Wu«. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) says chao 42 = 50 (ch'ang or chang?). This is very obscure and lacks text support. — C. Chu: chao 42 = 51 'to open up'. Chu has this definition also in ode 303 (see gl. 875), there in a sense ('to widen, to extend') which is quite unsupported. But here he evidently takes it in the sense of 'to commence', which is a well-known meaning of 42. Thus: »Commence and be active in your work«. — A is well supported, and the fact that 47 forms a binome of synonyms confirms it strongly.

Tso Shao kung k'ao, see gl. 806.

1043. Shī k'ī wen tē, hia ts'ī sī kuo 52.

A. Mao reads thus and says (after Erya): shī 53 = 54 (Sung edition, var. 55, the current editions). 54 *inter alia* means 'to extend' (ex. in Li), and 55 'to spread out'. Thus: »He spreads his fine virtue«. Ma Juei-ch'en asserts that 53 (*śīar / śi / sh ī) and 54, 55 (*śia / śig / sh ī) »had the same sound« and therefore were interchangeable, which is quite wrong. But shī 53 is also defined in Erya as = 56 'to spread out, to set forth, to arrange, to display', which is well attested (see gl. 783). The word is also wr. 57 (*śīar / śi / sh ī), see gl. 43. The meaning of the line practically comes to the same thing, but the Erya-Mao gloss is not based on sound identity but on the knowledge of the Ts'ī reading, see B next. — B. Ts'ī (ap. Li: K'ung tsī hien kū) reads 57 a. Meaning the same as A, though the sounds are different. 58 (*g'ep / γǎp / hia) 'to unite' and 59 (*g'iap / γiep / hie) 'to unite' are cognate words.

Ode CCLXIII: Ch'ang wu.

1044. Wang ming k'ing shī Nan chung t'ai tsu t'ai shī Huang fu 60.

The ancient comm. all agree that the king was king Sūan.

A. Mao thinks that Nan-chung was a contemporary of king Sūan and takes t'ai tsu as equal to yü t'ai tsu 61, thus: »The king charged the minister Nan-chung in (the temple of) the great ancestors; Huang-fu was Grand Master (of the army).« The absence of the preposition yü 62 is no obstacle, see gl. 764. From passages in Po hu t'ung: Tsüe p'ien and Li: Tsi t'ung, describing how important charges were given by the king yü t'ai tsu »(auprès des grands ancêtres =) in (the temple of) the great ancestors« it appears that the Lu and Ts'ī schools held the same opinion as Mao. — B. Cheng: the lines refer to one single dignitary, and Nan-chung was his ancestor, thus: »The king charged the minister (to whom) Nan-chung (was) great ancestor, the Grand Master Huang-fu«. Thus Huang-fu was properly k'ing shī minister, but now received the special charge of t'ai shī Grand Master of the army that was sent on an expedition. Grammatically this is very strained, with Nan chung t'ai tsu »Nan-chung being the great ancestor« as an attribute to the preceding k'ing shī. Ma Juei-ch'en combats this view further by insisting that the Yin shī 63 »Master Yin« mentioned in the 2nd st. was identical with Huang-fu, because Chu shu ki nien says: »King Yu in his first year gave charge to 64 the Grand Master Yin Huang-fu« (King Yu was the successor of king Sūan); consequently Huang-fu was of the family Yin and could not be a descendant of a Nan-chung. Unfortunately this Chu shu passage is not among those that can be attested as having belonged to the original authentic Chu shu ki nien (see Wang Kuo-wei, Ku pen Chu shu ki nien tsi hiao) and lacks all documentary value. — C. Waley takes 65 as the personal name of Nan-chung: »The king charged his minister Nan-chung Ta-tsu and his Great Leader Huang-fu«. It is very unlikely that 65 »the great ancestor« should be a personal name. — A, the interpr. of the three ancient schools (Mao, Lu, Ts'ī) seems to satisfy the wording of the text best, yet with the modification that t'ai shī Huang fu is not an independent clause but

21 營 32 勅 33 賁 34 旬始 35 營始 36 逋追來半 37 追 38 肇敏戎公 39 戎 40 用錫爾祉 41 公 42 功 43 事 44 肇 45 謀 46 敏 47 人道敏政 48 人道謀政 49 肇敏 50 肇率車牛 51 汝肇刑文武 52 長 53 開 54 矢其文德 55 洽 56 此四國 57 矢 58 弛 59 施 60 陳 61 尸 62 弛其文德 63 協此四國 64 洽 65 協 66 王命卿士 67 南仲大祖 68 大師 69 皇父 70 于大祖 71 于 72 尸氏 73 大師 74 尸氏 75 皇父 76 大祖 77 協

coordinated with the analogous k'ing shī Nan chung, thus: «The king charged the minister Nan-chung in (the temple of) the great ancestors, and the Grand Master Huang-fu». 1045. Sing ts'ī Sū t'u 66.

A. Cheng: «Inspect this land of Sū». Sing 67 = 'to inspect' is common. — B. Waley: sing 67 is a short-form for 68, thus: «Destroy this land of Sū». Shuowen says 68 = 69 'to diminish, to reduce', but of this word there are no text ex. — It is a constantly recurring idea in the classics that punitive war expeditions were tours of «inspection».

1046. Pu liu pu ch'u 70.

B. Cheng thinks that the commanders were told to make a proclamation to the people of Sū: «We shall not loiter, we shall not stay». There is nothing in the text to indicate this. — B. Ch'en Huan: because Mao says: «kill its prince and pity its people» (meaning simply: go and kill the insubordinate prince, but quickly, and then return, do not stay with your army and be a burden to the people), Ch'en thinks that liu 71 is a loan char. for 72 'to kill' and ch'u 73 is transitive = 'to put to rest', the pu 74 being an empty particle. Thus the line 70 would be equal to 75 «Kill and put to rest». A typical example of the curious speculations of some Ts'ing scholars, who force even the simplest lines into the most extraordinary constructions. — C. Another interpr. The line is a confirmation of the king's order to the commanders, the words liu and ch'u having their ordinary meanings (as in A): «Do not loiter, do not stay».

1047. San shī tsiu sū 76.

A. Mao: san shī 77 = 78 'the three officers having service (office, business)'. Cf. ode 193, phr. 79 «He selected three (functionaries:) ministers». Mao does not explain sū 80, so we cannot know how he understood the line. — B. Cheng thinks that the commanders are told to make a proclamation to the vanquished Sū people (cf. gl. 1046): «(We shall not loiter, not stay), your three (kinds of) work (of agriculture) shall come to be performed». He says that sū 80 is = 81; it is defined as = 81 by Mao in ode 300, phr. 82 «He continued the work of Yü» (Erya says 80 = 83). Here it may be discussed whether sū 80 'work' is an extension of meaning from the fundamental sense 'to continue': «He continued the (succession, task handed down =) work of Yü», or is equal to 84 (both 80 and 84 *dzio, rising tone) 'to arrange, put in order', thus: «He continued the (arrangements, dispositions =) work of Yü». The Erya scholast believes the latter, for he defines ye 81 'work' first by 84 and then by 80 in two consecutive lines. Whatever its etymology, sū 80 means 'work'. — San shī 77, with Mao, means 'the three functionaries' and clearly refers to the three men mentioned in st. 1 and 2: Nan-chung, Huang-fu and Po Hiu-fu. Thus: «(Do not loiter, do not stay), you three (functionaries:) ministers, go to your work».

1048. Fei shao fei yu 85.

A. Mao: shao 86 = 87 'to continue, to follow up', paraphrasing: 88 «He dared not follow up by (rambling =) loitering». 'To continue' is the ordinary meaning of shao 86; but Mao's construction is impossible, since it takes no account of the second fei. Ch'en Huan hopelessly tries to save the expl. by saying that the second fei does not mean 'not' but is an «auxiliary». — B. Cheng: 86 = 89, thus: «(The king acted slowly and safely), but he did not (relax =) tarry, he did not (ramble =) loiter». This means that Cheng took 86 (*dzio / zjäu / shao) to be loan char. for 90 (*t'io / ts'jäu / ch'ao) 'unbent bow, to relax'. — C. Chu: shao 86 = 91 'to bind tight, to press together', with the extension of meaning 'pressing, urgent'; he expounds the line: 92 «Being neither (pressing =) urgent nor slow» (Legge tries a more concrete application of this idea: «Not with his troops in masses, not in broken lines»). Chu bases himself on Shuowen: 93, but of this there are no text ex. Chu thinks he has a text par. for

shao = 'to bind' in ode 143, but erroneously, see gl. 347. — B seems to be the only possible solution.

Sü fang yi sao, see gl. 467.

1049. Ju chen ju nu 94.

Cheng takes ju 95 as equal to er 96 (common, see gl. 471, 536, 729), and Shīwen says, in consequence: »one version had er 96». Thus: »He thundered, he was angry». This is very tempting, but it is forbidden by the parallels in the ode: st. 3, phr. 97, st. 5, phr. 98. We must therefore abide by the original ju: »As if (shocked:) roused, as if angry».

1050. Hien ju hiao hu 99.

Hiao 100 is the same as I 'to roar', see gl. 938. Feng su t'ung yi quotes the line 2.

Hien 3 (**χām* / *χām* / hien, Ts'ie yün, Shīwen) is not directly defined by Mao and Cheng, who simply say that it indicates the »anger» of the tiger. Comm. on Wsüan quotes Mao as having 4, and Shuo wen hi chuan quotes 5. The char. 6 is read **d'âm* / *d'âm* / *tān* in Kuang yün, defined as = 'to eat' (Waley therefore translates: »Fierce as ravening tigers»), and Ch'en Huan believes that we should read like this 6 **d'âm* (Shīwen of 3 says: »one pronunciation is 6»), and that this stands for 7 (**tām* / *tām* / *tān*), referring to Yi, phr. 8, which is phonetically very unlikely. Obviously the variants 4 and 5 simply indicate that the word is an onomatopoe, depicting the cry of the tiger (Ts'ie yün: 3 = 9). So we have hien 3 in Chuang: T'ien tao 10 »Your mouth shouts» (on which Kuo Siang: 11; Shīwen here again reads 3 **χām* / *χām* / hien). This Chuang passage, the only pre-Han text par. existing, is quite decisive. Thus 99: »They shouted like roaring tigers».

P' u tun Huai fen, see gl. 1037.

1051. Jeng chī ch'ou lu 12.

Shīwen records the var. 13 (same sound).

A. Mao: jeng 14 = 15. This has been differently interpreted. a. K'ung: Erya says 14 = 16, and this is also the meaning of Mao's 15; Ch'en Huan expounds this further: »Availing himself of (their fright), he took a crowd of prisoners». For jeng in this sense there are no text par. β. Chu: jeng 14 = 15 as in Lao, phr. 17 (var. 18), where it has been defined both as = 'to pull' and 'to push'. Chu apparently accepts the latter, and interprets tsiu 15 'to advance' as = 'to push forward': »Pushing forward (Couvreur: *aggreiciens*) he took a crowd of prisoners». γ. Legge: Mao's tsiu 15 is = 'forthwith': »And forthwith seized a crowd of captives». But tsiu has this sense only in the later language, not in classical Chinese, and jeng 14 never. — B. Waley: jeng 14 = 'again and again'. This is the fundamental sense of jeng, which means 'to reiterate', hence also 'accumulated, numerous' 19, id. with 20 (same sound), as in ode 237, see gl. 793, with text examples. This is expressed in Erya by an entry

省此餘土 67 省 68 消 69 少減 20 不留不處 71 留 72 劉 73 處 74 不 75 劉 處 76 三事就緒 77 三
事 78 三有事之臣 79 擇三有事 80 緒 81 業 82 續禹之緒 83 事 84 敘 85 匪紹匪遊 86 紹 87 繼
88 不敢繼以教遊 89 緩 90 紹 91 糾緊 92 不疾不徐 93 一曰緊糾也 94 如震如怒 95 如 96 而
97 如雷如霆 98 如飛如翰 99 闕如鳩虎 100 咆 1 哮 2 闕如哮虎 3 闕 4 嘍如 5 讞如 6 嘍
7 眈 8 虎視眈眈 9 虎聲 10 而口闕然 11 鳩詒之兒 12 仍執醜虜 13 仍 14 仍 15 就 16 因 17
攘臂而仍之 18 仍之 19 衆 20 陲 21 厚 22 載彼淮浦王師之所 23 載 24 治 25 斷 26 制 27 制 28

jeng 14 = 21 'to make thick, to accumulate'. Thus: «Repeatedly, accumulatively =) in ever greater numbers he took crowds of prisoners». — B alone is supported by good text par., and particularly the conclusive par. in ode 237.

1052. Tsie pi Huai p'u, wang shī chī so 22.

A. Mao: tsie 23 = 24 'to regulate'. Tsie meaning fundamentally 'to cut off' (Shuowen = 25), Cheng expounds this so that he (cut off =) chastised the «criminals» in those regions. But the line, with Mao, simply means: «(He cut, trimmed =) brought into order those (regions of) the Huai banks, the place for the royal hosts». The extension of meaning: 'to cut, to trim' = 'to regulate, bring into order' is common in Chinese. A perfect par. is the word chī 26, which in the same way means 'to cut' (as clothes) and then 'to trim' and 'to regulate, bring into order'. Similarly tu a n 27 means first 'to cut' (ex. in Ts'ê) and then 'to regulate, bring into order' (ex. likewise in Ts'ê). Again ts'ai 28 means 'to cut' (clothes, ex. in Li) and secondarily '(to trim:) to moderate, to regulate' (ex. in Lun and Kyü). For our tsie 23, cf. ode 304, phr. 29 (on which Cheng: tsie = 30 'to regulate') «Beyond the seas there was (trimming =) order»; ode 304, phr. 31 «The nine possessions were brought into order»; ode 305, phr. 32 «(Trimmed =) brought into order was their (place:) region». — B. Chu paraphrases our tsie 23 by 33 'tsie-fashion unassailable', thus: «Unassailable was that (region of) the Huai banks». What Chu meant more precisely by his tsie-jan is not clear. Chu Kung-ts'ien thinks that it refers to the king's 34 'military force'; I suppose that he means: «(cutting =) destructive was (the army) in those (regions of the) Huai banks» (?). Legge and Couvreur understood Chu thus: «(Cut off = isolated =) well defended was that region» etc. In ode 304 and 305 (phr. 29, 31, 32) Chu follows A. — C. Waley: phr. 22 «He cleared the banks of the Huai»; phr. 29 «Beyond the seas he ruled»; phr. 31 «All the regions were subdued»; phr. 32 «Divided and ruled their places». — It is quite obvious that tsie 23 means the same in all these ode lines: in all of them it is a question of the king's spreading his sway over far-off regions. It will not do, with B and C, to interpret differently in the different odes. A is consistent and well in keeping with the laws for the extension of meaning, as confirmed by the analogous cases 26, 27, 28.

Wang lü t'an t'an, see gl. 1017; Ju shan chī pao, see gl. 365; Mien mien yi yi, see gl. 433, 741.

1053. Pu ts'ê pu k'o 35.

A. Cheng: «Inscrutable, invincible». — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: ts'ê 36 is a loan char. for 37 in the sense of 38, and k'o 39 with Shuowen = 40, thus: «They did not lie in ambush, they did not press on». Very far-fetched. — B. Ch'en Huan: pu 41 is a «particle». Ts'ê 36 means 'deep'. Thus: «Deep and victorious». Even more unreasonable. — C. Waley: pu ts'ê = 'immeasurable', thus: «Immeasurable, invincible». — C is obviously right.

Cho cheng Sü fang, see gl. 851; Wang yu yün sê, see gl. 73.

1054. Wang yüe süan kuei 42.

A. K'ung: «The king said: let us return home». — B. Another interpr. Yüe 43 is a particle (see gl. 791, 803), thus: «The king returned home». Cf. ode 101, phr. 44, ode 156, phr. 45, ode 167, phr. 46. It is then synon. with yü 47, as in ode 209, phr. 48.

Ode CCLXIV: Chan yang.

Mi yu yi kie, see gl. 521; Tsuei ku pu shou, see gl. 651.

1055. Yi küe ch'ê fu 49. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: yi 50 is an exclamation of pain: «Alas, his clever woman!» (referring to the king's consort, Pao Si). Ma Juei-ch'en tries to support this by Kyü: Ch'u yü 51,

which Wei Chao explains as = »Thereupon they made the Yi kie Lamenting Warning»; yet this is very unsafe, for it might equally well mean »the Beautiful Warning», cf. B below. Further he adduces Shu: Kin t'eng 52 »It is true, alas», where Ma Jung's version inst. of 53 (·iag / ·i / yi) reads 54 (*·iëd / ·i / yi) (K'ung and Ma Juei-ch'en wrongly assert that 50 and 53 »had the same sound»). The latter (54), a mere variant, the value of which is further reduced by the fact that Shī ki renders the Shu phr. by 55 »It is like that» (the second word being no interjection at all), is really the only text support for yi 50 as an interjection. — B. Chu: yi 50 = 56, thus: »Beautiful is his clever woman». This is the ordinary meaning, ex. in odes 54, 260, 273, Tso: Wen 8 etc. (see gl. 368). — B is better supported.

1056. Fei kiao fei huei shī wei fu sī 57.

A. Cheng takes this in connection with the preceding: disorder is created by women: »Those who give fei kiao wrong teachings, fei huei wrong instructions (to the king, instigating him to disorder) are women and eunuchs». This is very scholastic. Chu twists it somewhat differently: »Those who do not give (good) teachings, (good) instructions are women and eunuchs», which is hardly better. — B. Ch'en Huan quotes Lun: Yang huo 58 »It is women and servants that are most difficult to bring up (educate)». Obviously this is the sense here, and kiao and huei are in the passive, thus: »Those who cannot be taught or instructed are women and eunuchs». For sī = 'eunuch' see gl. 1063.

1057. Kū jen chī t'ê 59.

A. Mao: chī 60 = 61 'to hurt' and t'ê 62 = 63 'to change, changeable, deceitful', Cheng adding that kū 64 is = 65 'to exhaust' and K'ung expounding this by 66 'to exhaust and turn down', i. e. to pick to pieces. 60 *i'ig / t'ig / chī 'hurtful, malignant' we have in ode 33, and the word is common (Chuang: Ts'i wu lun, Ta sheng, T'ien hia; Sün: Jung ju; Lü: Shen hing, etc.). T'ê 62 properly means 'to err', here then 'to wander from the truth'. Thus: »When they (exhaust people, make an end of people =) pick people to pieces and are malignant and deceitful». — B. Shuowen quotes 67. Kū 68 is defined as = 'to exhaust' in the sense of 'to examine (a culprit) thoroughly' (in that sense both 64 and 68 are common in Han texts), but evidently 68 is but a variant for the etym. identical 64 'to exhaust', which is common (see gl. 100, 253). All from the Ts'ie yün (see Shī yün huei pien) the 69 has been considered as a mere variant for Mao's 60 and Ts'ie yün therefore reads it *i'ig / t'ig / chī = 'to hurt'. But this a mistake. Shuowen defines 69 as = 70, in the sense of 71 'to band together', and in this sense it should be read *g'ig / g'ig / k'i (Kuang yün). Thus: »When they (exhaust people =) pick people to pieces and band together and are deceitful». For 69 in this sense, no text par. — A is better supported.

Chen shī king pei, see gl. 958.

1058. K'i yüe pu ki, yi hu wei t'ê 72.

A. Cheng: ki 73 = 74 (cf. gl. 182, 671), the pu ki being equal to 75 'not attaining

裁²²海外有截²⁰繫齊²¹大有有截²⁸有截其所²³截然不可犯之免²⁴兵勢²⁵不測不
克²⁶測²⁷側²⁸隱伏²⁹克⁴⁰急⁴¹不⁴²王曰還歸⁴³曰⁴⁴既曰歸止⁴⁵我東曰歸⁴⁶曰歸
曰歸⁴⁷事⁴⁸神保事⁴⁹歸⁴⁹既⁵⁰厥哲婦⁵⁰歸⁵¹於是乎作懿⁵²成⁵²信⁵³噫⁵³噫⁵⁴信⁵⁵信有
美⁵²匪⁵²教匪⁵²詩時維婦⁵²寺⁵²唯女子與小人為難養⁵²鞠人使武⁶⁰伎⁶¹害⁶²武⁶³變⁶⁴
鞠⁶⁵窮⁶⁶窮⁶⁷鞠人使武⁶⁸鞠⁶⁹伎⁷⁰與⁷¹黨⁷²與⁷²豈曰不極伊胡為慝⁷³極⁷⁴中

to the proper mean' = 'not being correct', thus: »How do they (say =) admit that they are not correct? (On the contrary they say:) those (words of ours), how are they evil?» Extremely forced. Still more so is Cheng's construction of the following lines 76 (Legge: »As if in the three times cent. per cent. traffic, a superior man should have any knowledge of it; so a woman who has nothing to do with public affairs, leaves her silkworms and weaving». This makes sheer nonsense). — **B.** Another interpr. *Ki* 73 means 'to come to, to arrive, to attain', see gl. 148. The line has to be understood in connection with both the preceding and the following, which forms a logical sequence: the slanderer women are first disregarded, but their power of mischief should not be underrated, thus: »How can you say: they (do not arrive =) can come nowhere, what evil can those do; (they are like those who sell at a triple profit [i. e. their calumnies find eager customers]; the nobleman knows this, and [therefore] the women have no public service, they have to [rest =] abide by their silkworm work and their weaving)». In this way only can the st. be interpreted in a consistent and logical way. — **C.** In comm. on *Wüan* there is a gloss stating that the Han school said: 77 = 78. *Ch'en K'iao-tsung* and *Ma Juei-ch'en* think that 77 is a variant of a 79 and that the gloss refers to our ode, Han reading it 80. But 77 was **iər* / **iei* / *y* i, and it does not at all satisfy the rime here (62 **t'ək*), nor is a 79 known from any text. This is certainly therefore an unsatisfactory speculation.

Shê er kie t'i, *wei yü sü ki*, see gl. 563; *Pu tiao pu siang*, see gl. 429; *Wei yi pu lei*, see gl. 830.

1059. *T'ien chī kiang wang* 81.

A. Cheng: »When Heaven sends down its net» (for snaring the culprits). This is because in ode 207 the phr. 82 has been traditionally taken to mean 'the net of crime'. In gl. 651, however, it has been shown that this is wrong and that 82 stands for 83 'crime, guilt'. This invalidates the idea of the simile of 'net' here as well. — **B.** Another interpr. *Wang* 84 'net' has several loan char. functions. One of them is 'to deceive' (ex. in ode 191), hence also 'to be deceived, confused', and this word (**m̥i*wang, rising tone) is closely cognate to 85 (**m̥i*wang, falling tone) 'disorder, recklessness' (*Shuowen* = 86). Cf. *Lun*: *Wei cheng* 87 »If one studies without thinking, one is confused» (*Huang K'an* = 88); *Li*: *Shao yi*: »To have the ritual garments on the body and not know their (name =) significance, 89 that is to be confused, ignorant»; *Lie*: *Chou Mu wang* 90 »He had the sickness of delusion and confusion». This is the idea here: »When Heaven sends down (confusion:) disorder». This is confirmed by the numerous par. in the odes where »Heaven sends down» is followed by such abstract words: ode 257, phr. 91 »Heaven sends down death and disorder»; our ode here, st. 1, phr. 92 »It (Heaven) sends down these great evils».

1060. *Wei k'i yu yi* 93.

A. *Mao*: *yu* 94 = 95 'ample moisture', which means that he takes 94 to be loan char. for 96 (see gl. 677). In any case, the latter would then, by an extension of meaning, simply equal 'ample'. — **B.** Cheng: *yu* 94 = 97: »It is (ample =) widespread». — *A* is quite an unnecessary loan speculation.

Mo mo hao t'ien, see gl. 1012.

1061. *Ning tsī kin yi* 98.

A. *Mao* reads it thus. *Ning* is = 99: »Why is it (sc. the distress) of the present time». — **B.** *Lu* (ap. *Lie nü chuan*) reads 100 »How can I save myself». — The *tsī kin* 1 corresponds to the following 2 and 3, which confirms *A.* Cf. ode 192, where we have a similar idea. *Lu*'s 4 is but a misreading of the graphically similar 5.

1062. *Wu pu k'o kung - - - shī kiu er hou* 6.

Mao reads thus, but his version fails in the rimes: 7 **k̥iung* / *k̥iung* / *kun* g : 8 **g'u* /

γəu / h o u. — B. Lu (ap. Lie nü chuan) reads 9, which fails even worse: 7 *k_iung: 10 *ngwā / nguā / n g o. — Since there is a glaring discrepancy in regard to the last word of the line, and this fails in the rime in both versions, we must conclude that this word has to be something else that rimes better with *k_iung. Mao's h o u 8 has slipped in on the analogy of such endings as ode 172, phr. 11. On the analogy of ode 235, phr. 12, I propose to correct the text into 13 'Then you will save your person'. Even so, the rime is not perfect: 7 *k_iung: 14 *k_iōng, but it is allowable, for there are several Shī par.: ode 84 rimes *dz_iung: *l_iung: *i'ōng: *d'ung; ode 173 rimes *nung: *d'ōng: *iung; ode 244 rimes *kung: *dz'ōng; ode 248 rimes *dz'ung: *tsōng: *g'ōng: *dz'ōng; ode 289 rimes *p'ung: *d'ōng.

Ode CCLXV: Shao min.

W o k ü y ü t s u h u a n g, see gl. 557; T' i e n k i a n g t s u e i k u, see gl. 651. 1063. H u n c h o m i k u n g 15.

M i k u n g 16 does not mean, with Cheng: 17 'there are none who are willing to do their duties', the k u n g 18 being equal to 19, thus properly: 'none furnish' (their service), but it means: 'They have no respect', 18 being a short-form for 20, as often, see gl. 653 and 1024.

A. Mao says nothing of h u n 21, and says: c h o 22 = 23, which refers to ode 192, phr. 24, see gl. 548. Thus: 'They (darkened, unenlightened =) stupidly strike and have no respect'. — B. Cheng: h u n 21 and c h o 22 both mean 25 'eunuch'. C h o 22 means 'castration' as a punishment in Shu: Lü hing (see below). H u n 21 is the same as the homophonous 26, a common word meaning 'door-keeper'. Quite particularly the h u n 26 was the keeper of the door of the harem, cf. Li: Nei-tsê 27 'The h u n and the s i guarded it' (the door of the harem). In Yi: Shuo kua we also find the combination h u n s i 28. In Li: Tsi t'ung it is stated that 29 'h u n was the lowest of those who guarded the doors'. Kuliang: Siang 29 says 30 'The h u n door-keeper is equal to the s i j e n', the h u n and the s i being evidently either identical or servants of very similar standing. The question is whether they really were eunuchs or simply low menials. The s i j e n in ode 126 is defined by Mao as = 31 'a low servant of the interior' (women's department); in ode 264 s i 32 is defined by Mao as = 33 'close-standing', i. e. intimate (servant); Cheng defines it by 34 'to wait upon' (explaining 32 *dz_iag by 34 *dz_iag). Tu Yü (3rd c. A. D.) in comm. on Tso: Ch'eng 17 and Hi 2 defines 32 as = 25, 35 'eunuch'. As to h u n 26, Cheng (in comm. on Chouli) tries an etymology (based on Shuowen): the one who h u n 21 evening and 36 morning shuts and opens the gate (door), h u n thus fundamentally meaning 'the evening man'; very forced (more probably 26 and 21 'darkness' are really etym. identical in another way: the h u n 'door-keeper'

75.不得中 76.如賈三倍君子是識婦無公事休其蠶織 77.嫗 78.悅 79.嫗 80.伊胡為嫗 81.天之降罔 82.罪罟 83.罪辜 84.罔 85.妄 86.亂 87.擊而不思則罔 88.証罔 89.罔也 90.有迷罔之疾 91.天降喪亂 92.降此大厲 93.維其優矣 94.優 95.渥 96.渥 97.寬 98.率自今矣 99.胡 100.率自今矣 1.自今 2.自我先 3.自我後 4.全 5.今 6.無不可鞏...式救爾後 7.鞏 8.後 9.式救爾訛 10.訛 11.保艾爾後 12.無遏爾躬 13.式救爾躬 14.躬 15.昏極靡共 16.靡共 17.無肯共其職事者 18.共 19.供 20.恭 21.昏 22.極 23.大極 24.天天是極 25.奄人 26.閭 27.閭寺守之 28.閭寺 29.閭者守門之職者 30.閭門者寺人也 31.內小臣 32.寺 33.近 34.侍 35.奄宮 36.晨 37.別 38.夏書

being the man of the 'dark part' of the palace, i. e. the harem). But, as seen above, Cheng really thinks that both the *h un* and the *s i* were eunuchs. The comm. on Hou Han shu: Huan chē chuan, on the other hand, believes that *h un* 26 meant 37 'to cut off the feet', the *h un* thus being equal to the keeper of the city gate. The truth about the *h un* — and *eo ipso* about the *s i* — can be gleaned, I think, from a passage in Tso: Chao 14, where a lost early text (»Book of the Hia») is quoted: 38. This has been hideously misinterpreted by the Tso author himself: »The (darkened =) unenlightened, (black =) impure and malefactors should be killed, that was the penal law of Kao Yao». The old text meant something quite different, as proved by a par. in Shu: Lū hing, a treatise on punishments: 39 »The cutting-off of the nose, the cutting-off of the ears, castration, the black-branding, those who incurred these punishments . . .» etc. To the two punishments *cho k'ing* 40 of the Lū hing corresponds the *h un mo* 41 of the Hia shu (the penal statutes of Kao Yao). *Mo* 42 'the black-marking' and *k'ing* 43 'the black-branding' are obviously the same, and *h un* 21 corresponds to *cho* 22 'castration'. The Hia shu quoted in Tso (phr. 38) thus means: »Hia shu says: castration, black-marking, mutilation and killing, those were Kao Yao's punishments». This strikingly confirms Cheng's surmise above that the *h un cho* 44 of our ode line is a binome of synonyms and means '(castrated men =) eunuchs'. And the *h un* 'door-keepers' ('men of the dark part of the palace'), whether wr. 21 or 26 (enlarged char.) were eunuchs, as also their colleagues of a similar standing, the *s i* 32. — Our ode line 15 thus means: »The eunuchs have no respect».

Huei huei, huei yü, see gl. 101; Shī tsing yi wo pang, see gl. 653.

1064. Kao kao tsī tsī 45.

For *tsī tsī* 'to slander', see gl. 574.

A. Mao: *kao kao* 46 (47) (**kôg* / *kâu* / *k a o*, even tone) = 48 'stupid, ignorant'. Erya says 49 'it criticizes the eating of emoluments without doing work', thus 'useless, lazy, incompetent'. Cf. Tso: Ai 21, phr. 50 »How slow (lazy), the people of Lu, for several years they do not wake up», on which Tu Yü: *k a o* = 51 'slow'. Thus: »They are lazy and slanderous». — **B.** One Erya version (that of Fan Kuang) inst. of 52 read 53, this, however, not read in its ordinary way (**g'ôg* / *yâu* / *h a o*) but **kôg* / *kâu* / *k a o*, rising tone (Shīwen). Ho Yi-hang thinks that 53 was the true Erya reading and that the 52 of the orthodox version is a correction after Mao, and the Ts'ing scholars believe that the Lu school read our ode line 54. All this is much too unsafe. — **C.** Ch'en Huan: *k a o* 46 is a short-form for 55 (**g'ôg* / *yâu* / *h a o*) 'to howl, to cry' (ex. in Tso), thus: »They shout and slander». Ma Juei-ch'en, on the other hand, thinks it is a short-form for 56, Yü P'ien = 57 (unknown in early texts). Unnecessary text alterations. — A is well confirmed by the Tso par.

1065. Wo wei k'ung pien 58.

Mao: *pien* 59 = 60 (61) 'to throw down, to ruin'. The word normally means 'to diminish, to reduce', here an extension of meaning: to reduce > to spoil, to ruin. This has been differently explained.

A. Cheng: »Our (king's) throne greatly collapses». *Wei* 62, easy to understand, is difficult to translate. It means 'standing, official position, station', in regard to the king therefore 'seat of honour', mostly rendered by 'throne' in Western translations. That *wo wei* 'our position' should be equal to 'our king's (position:) throne' is unacceptable. — **B.** Chu: »Our official positions are very (reduced =) lowered», i. e. we are degraded. — The context shows that it is the virtuous officials who find their positions invalidated: »Our official positions are greatly (reduced =) weakened».

Ts'ao pu huei mou, see gl. 579.

1066. Ju pi si ts'ü 63.

A. Mao does not explain *si 64*, and says: *ts'ü 65* = *66* 'herbs floating in water'. K'ung expounds further: *si 64* = *67* 'to sit still', and Lu Tê-ming similarly *si* = *68* 'to rest', thus: »They are like those (resting = lying dead =) wizened herbs floating in the water». A very bad forcing of the text. — B. Cheng explains: *69*. K'ung and Chu have tried to vindicate that Cheng merely expounded Mao: »Like dried herbs floating in the water and fastening on a tree», which is even more nonsensical than A (Legge still worse: »As water plants attached to a tree»). What Cheng meant was something quite different from Mao's idea and very simple and logical. *Ts'ü 65* in the sense of 'straw, dried herb' is very common. *Si 64* (**sior / siei / si*) means 'to roost, (a bird) sitting on the nest'. The original graph for this word was *70* (**sior / siei / si*, then also loaned for **sior* 'west'), and this was probably originally a drawing of a bird's nest, see *Grammata* p. 278. **Sior 64* fundamentally means, as a noun, 'a bird's nest', and as a verb it really means 'to sit on the nest, to roost'. The noun **sior 64* is used metaphorically in Meng: Wan-chang, shang *71* »As to my two sisters-in-law, I shall make them attend to my nest (i. e. bed)». In our ode line *63*, *si 64* simply means 'bird's nest': »(In the year of drought the plants are not numerous and luxuriant), they are (dry) like those bird's-nest straws».

Wu pu huei chī, see gl. 101.

1067. Pi su sī pai 72.

A. Mao expounds: »Those ought to eat coarse grain, but they eat fine grain», thus taking *sī 73* as = *74*, which misses the antithesis of *pi 75* and *73 sī*. — B. Chu: »Those (bad officials) are (like) coarse grain, these (good ones) are like fine grain». A very curious idea. — C. Another interpr. The line follows up the preceding ones, which compare the opulence of former times and the present distress: and yet the ancient men, in spite of their prosperity, lived frugally, whereas the useless men of this day live in luxury. It is quite obvious that our *pi 75* 'those' and *sī 73* 'these' balance the *ju shī 76* 'like that' and *ju ts'ī 77* 'like this' of the preceding lines. Thus: »Yet those ate coarse grain, these eat fine grain».

Chī huang sī yin, see gl. 412.

Ode CCLXVI: Ts'ing miao.

Tsi tsi to shī, see gl. 263, 266.

1068. Ping wen chī tē, tui yüe tsai t'ien 78.

In the first line, Mao's: »They possess a fine virtue» is better than Cheng's: »They hold on to Wen Wang's virtue», for *wen tē* is a standing phrase (Tso: Chao 23, Kyü: Chou yü, etc.).

A. Cheng: *tuei yüe 79* = *80*, thus: »They are (corresponding to =) worthy counterparts to those in Heaven». It is true that *yüe 81* is often a particle, but it is never equal to *yü 82* as a preposition. (When Waley translates: »There has been an answer in Heaven», it is not clear how he understands *yüe 81*). — B. Ch'en Huan: Erya says

日昏墨賊殺皋陶之刑也 剗則桮駮越茲刑 桮駮 昏墨 墨 駮 昏桮 皋皋
誡誡 皋 皋 頑不知道 刺素食也 當人之皋數年不覺 緩 皋皋 浩浩 浩浩
誡誡 皋 誡 相欺 我位孔敗 敗 隊 墜 位 如彼樓直 樓 直 水中
浮草 樓止 息 如樹上之直 西 二 嬖使治朕樓 彼疏斯碑 斯 斯 則 彼
如時 如此 東文之德對越在天 對越 配於 越 於 揚 揚王休 使越

yüe 81 = 83, and tuei yüe 79 is equal to tuei yang in ode 262, phr. 84 »In response he extolled the king's grace« (this tuei yang is common in bronze inscriptions). Yüe 81 is common in the sense of 'to go far away' and transitively 'to bring out far, to publish, to proclaim', as in Kyü: Tsin yü 85 »Let it be proclaimed to the princes»; Shu: Tsī ts'ai 86 »If you regularly proclaim and say». Thus: »They respond to and (proclaim =) extol those in Heaven». For the short tsai t'ien 87 »those in Heaven», cf. Shu: P'an Keng: »In instructing the people, 88 begin with those in (high) positions»; ode 288, phr. 89 »It (Heaven) daily inspects us who are here».

1069. Tsün pen tsou tsai miao 90.

A. Mao: tsün 91 (**tsiwan* / *tsiwen* / *tsün*) = 91 ch'ang 'long', thus: »They (prolongingly =) constantly hurry about in the temple». Cf. ode 194, phr. 93 »(Heaven) does not prolong its grace». — B. Cheng: tsün 91 = 94: »They grandly hurry about». Cf. ode 235, phr. 95 »The great appointment is not easy (to keep)». — C. Ts'i. In Li: Ta chuan we have the phr. 96, and there the same Cheng in his comm. quotes our ode 97, which thus seems to have been the Ts'i school reading. This 97 (**siwan* / *siwen* / *sün*, Shīwen) is defined as = 'quick, rapid', thus: »Quickly they hurry about in the temple». Now Erya has an entry: 91 = 99 'quick'. One would think that this tsün 91 here is a loan char. for sün 98, but that seems not to be the case. Unfortunately Shīwen gives no reading for the Erya 91, but under the word sin 100 'quick' Shīwen says: »it has two readings, **siwen* / *siwen* / *sin* and **tsiwan* / *tsiwen* / *tsün*»; the former is the regular reading of 100, and the latter can only mean that Lu Tê-ming thought that 100 could sometimes serve as loan char. for a 91 'quick', which reveals that he read Erya's 91 'quick' in its regular way **tsiwan* (and not **siwan* as loan for 98). We thus have two aspects of the same stem: 91 **tsiwan* and 98 **siwan* both meaning 'quick'. For 91 **tsiwan* 'quick' cf. Kuan: Ti Tsī chī: »If there are guests, 1 the disciples quickly rise« (comm.: 2). — C certainly agrees best with the following pen tsou, and if we take the A text with this meaning, following Erya, supported by the Kuan ex. 1, it agrees with the Ts'i school meaning; it is then undecidable whether the orig. Shī had **tsiwan* or **siwan*. In any case the meaning is »quickly». — We should compare:

Ode 277. Tsün fa er sī 3. A. Mao: tsün 91 = 94: »Grandly (open up =) break the soil on your private fields». Mao takes fa 4 in one of its well-established meanings, cf. Chouli: Kü jen 5 »With a curved lower shaft-end (of the plough, in which the share is inserted) it is easy to (open up =) break the soil». — B. Cheng: tsün 91 = 6 'quickly', and fa 4 (**piwāt*) is loan char. for 7 (**b'iwāt*): »Quickly (attack =) go to work on your private fields». Ma Juei-ch'en adduces Kyü: Chou yü 8 or 9 (**b'iwāt*) 'to plough, to furrow' and even insists that Cheng's fa 7 does not mean, in a general way, 'to attack, go to work on' but has a technical sense, since in Chouli: Tsiang jen 10 means: »The fa (7, = 8, 9, Wei Chao) opened soil of a double furrow». This is all very well, but there is really no reason whatever for altering the transmitted 4 **piwāt* into a 7 (or a 8, 9) **b'iwāt*, even though the latter might also make good sense. — C. Ts'i (ap. Yen t'ie lun) reads 11. This 12 (**siwan* / *siwen* / *sün*, 'to ladle') is evidently loan char. for 98 **siwan* (see above), and thus here again, as in ode 266 above (phr. 90), Mao's version read **tsiwan* and Ts'i **siwan*, and it is undecidable whether the orig. Shī had the one or the other. But it is evident that the Ts'i variant supports interpr. B above as to 91 (as against A), and that the line in any case means: »Quickly (open up =) break the soil on your private fields».

1070. Pu (p'ei) hien pu (p'ei) ch'eng wu yi yü jen sī 13.

A. Mao paraphrases: 14 »Illustrious (in Heaven), waited upon (by men), never wearied of by men». Cheng, who in the preceding line took 15 »They hold on to Wen Wang's virtue», refers the line to Wen wang. Mao, who rightly took those words to mean »They

possess a fine virtue» (see gl. 1068), does not say whom our lines have in view. Mao evidently read both 16 as *p u*, taking them either as empty particles (so Ch'en Huan) or, as Chu believes, as marking an oratorical question: 17 »Is he not illustrious...» — B. Another interpr. The common phr. 18 should always be read as 19 *p'ei hien* 'greatly illustrious', see gl. 410. The 20 should likewise be read as 21 *p'ei ch'eng*. This is proved by Meng: T'eng Wen kung, hia, which quotes a lost Shu chapter: 22 (This line has later been incorporated in the spurious Shu chapter Kün Ya). Chao K'i here explains *ch'eng* 23 by 24 'to continue' (a common meaning of *ch'eng*), thus: »Greatly illustrious were Wen wang's plans; greatly continuing were Wu wang's bright deeds». This must be wrong, for the meaning 'to continue' cannot be applied in our ode, and the phr. *p'ei hien p'ei ch'eng* is obviously the same in the ode and in the Shu chapter. *Ch'eng* 23 fundamentally means 'to lift up' (etym. s. w. as 25, see Grammata p. 364), hence also 'to present (from a lower to a higher person), to serve, wait upon', etc. Here it means 'to raise high' in the sense of 'to esteem, to honour' (Chu: 26). The Shu phr. 22 in Meng means: »Greatly illustrious were Wen Wang's plans; greatly honoured were Wu wang's bright deeds». In our ode line, *p'ei hien* refers to the Spirits, the ancestors (so also Waley), just as in ode 256, phr. 27 »Do not say: of the greatly illustrious ones (the ancestors) there are none who see me» (see gl. 957). In fact the attribute *p'ei hien* was particularly common as referring to dead ancestors, see gl. 410. Our ode line 13 thus means: »The greatly illustrious, greatly honoured ones (the ancestors) never weary of (the homage of) men.»

Ode CCLXVII: Wei t'ien ch'i ming.

1071. Wen wang ch'i t'e ch'i ch'un 28.

A. Mao: *ch'un* 29 = 30, thus: »Oh, the greatness of Wen wang's virtue». Cf. ode 220, phr. 31 »They bestow on you a great abundance» (*ch'un* must mean 'great' here, it cannot mean 'pure', see gl. 708). — B. Chu: *ch'un* 29 = 32 'unmixed', i. e. 'pure': »Oh, the purity of Wen wang's greatness». *Ch'un* = 'pure' is common. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: *ch'un* (**čiwən* / *čiuən* / *ch'un*) is loan char. for 33 (**t'wən* / *t'uan* / *t'un*) 'bright'. An unnecessary loan speculation. — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr. (A), which is supported by a good Shī par.

Kia yi yi wo, see gl. 758.

1072. Tsün huei wo Wen wang, tseng sun tu ch'i 34.

A. Cheng explains *tsün huei* by 35 and interprets: »We are greatly obedient to our Wen wang, and the descendants will (make it ample =) amply practise it». Ma Juei-ch'en even thinks that 36 (**tsiwən* / *tsiuən* / *tsün*) is loan char. for 37 (**dziwən* /

於諸侯 28 汝若 恒越 曰 27 在天 22 由乃在位 29 日暨在茲 20 駿奔走 在廟 21 駿 22 長 23 不
駿其德 24 大 25 駿命不易 26 逸奔走 27 逸奔走在廟 28 逸 29 速 100 迅 1. 弟子駿作 2. 迅起
3. 駿發爾私 4 發 5. 句庇利發 6 疾 7. 伐 8. 城 9. 墮 10. 一耦之伐 11 浚發爾私 12 浚 13 不
顯不承 無射於人斯 14 顯於天矣 見承於人矣 不見厭於人矣 15 秉文之德 16 不 17 豈不
顯哉 豈不承哉 18 不顯 19 丕顯 20 不承 21 丕承 22 丕顯哉 文王之謨 丕承哉 武王之烈 23
承 24 續 25 丕 26 尊奉 27 無曰不顯 莫予云觀 28 文王之德之純 29 純 30 大 31 錫爾純嘏 32
不韋 33 煒 34 駿惠我文王 曾孫篤之 35 大順 36 駿 37 馴 38 克明駿德 39 克明馴德 40 惠我

zjüēn / *s ũ n*) 'docile', which would make *s ũ n h u e i* a binome = 'to obey'. In support he adduces that Shu: Yao tien 38 is rendered by 39 in Shiki. But there is no reason whatever for altering the good and well-established text in our ode. — **B.** Another interpr. The line is analogous to ode 269, phr. 40, where it is quite evident that *w o* is the object of the verb *h u e i*: »They (favour us =) give us favour without bounds, sons and grandsons preserve it«. In the same way, in the corresponding line in our ode (34) *w o* is the object of *h u e i* 'to favour, give favour to', and the subject of the clause is the following Wen wang (so also Waley). In principle this is a wrong word sequence, and therefore it must be understood as an emphatic construction, equal to 41. Thus: **The one who grandly gives us favour is Wen wang, the descendants will (consolidate it =) preserve it steadily.**

Ode CCLXVIII: Wei ts'ing.

Wei ts'ing ts'i hi, see gl. 618.

1073. *Wei Chou ch'icheng* 42.

A. The traditional text reads thus.— **B.** Another version (ap. Shīwen) reads 43, meaning the same. With A, two consecutive lines rime (44); with B, the first and the last line rime (45). The former is decidedly better.

Ode CCLXIX: Lie wen.

1074. *Lie wen pi kung si ts'ich'ifu* 46.

A. In accordance with the Wei Hung preface, all comm. agree that »brilliant and fine princes and rulers« refers to the *ch u h o u* feudal princes assisting at the sacrifice and that the ode is an exhortation addressed to those princes. Mao even thinks that the subject of the verb is »Wen wang« (not mentioned in the text). Thus: »Brilliant and fine princes and rulers, (Wen wang) has given you these blessings«. This is very arbitrary and far-fetched. — **B.** Another interpr. The ode is one of the eulogies of Chou, and the ancestors are here addressed as *pi kung* 'rulers and princes', obviously referring to those early generations (*Ku kung Tan fu* and *Wang Ki*) who were not yet *w a n g* 'king'. Cf. ode 166, phr. 47 »to princes and former kings«; here *k u n g* 'prince' precedes *w a n g* 'king', referring first to the »prince« generations, then to the »king« generations of the ancestors. Thus: »Brilliant and fine rulers and princes, you have given us these blessings, (40 you have given us favour without bounds)«. Similarly, in ode 283, phr. 48 does not mean, with Cheng: »The brilliant and fine feudal princes (comfort him:) cheer him with his many blessings« but refers to the ancestors: »The brilliant and fine rulers and princes (the ancestors) tranquillize them with many blessings«.

1074 a. *Wu feng mi yü er pang* 49.

A. Mao, still with the idea that the feudal princes are addressed, says: *f e n g 50* = 51 'great', and *m i 52* = 53 'to implicate', thus: »Do not greatly implicate yourselves (in crime) in your states«. *F e n g 50* = 'great' occurs in Tso: Ting 4, phr. 54 »Wu is a big pig and a long snake«; Ch'u: Li sao 55 »big foxes«, etc. *M i 52* means 'to bind together, connect' in Chuang: Jen kien shī, and by an extension of meaning this would then mean 'to implicate' here. Ch'en Huan prefers to take Mao's 53 as equal to 56 'to bind' in the sense of 'bonds, fetters', referring to the common phr. 57: »Do not be great (men in bonds =) criminals in your states«. — **B.** K'ung: *m i 52* = 58, thus: »Do not be greatly extravagant (prodigal) in your states«. Cf. Li: T'an kung 59 »to be so prodigal as that«. — **C.** Ma Juei-ch'en: *m i 52* = 'to damage, to ruin', as in Kyü: Yüe yü 60 »It will harm, ruin the king's body« (Wei Chao *m i 52* = 61). Thus: »Do not greatly cause ruin in your states«. — **D.** Chu, with hesitation: *f e n g 50* 'to establish oneself' in the sense of 'to enrich oneself', thus: »Do not enrich yourself and be extravagant

in your states». — E. Waley: «There are no fiefs save in your land». He takes *feng* 50 in its ordinary and common sense, and *mi* 52 as = 'not', which it means in no less than 53 phrases in the Odes (as against 1 case with another meaning). E is simple and refreshingly independent of the ancient scholastics. Here, as in the whole ode, the ancestors are addressed: «There are no fiefs that are not in your land, 62 it is only the king who (elevates them =) establishes them», i. e. all feudal states in the world are subject to the Chou king, descendant of the «brilliant and fine rulers and princes» addressed in st. 1. E is strikingly plausible.

1075. *Ki sū k' i huang chī* 63.

A. Mao says simply (after Erya): *huang* 64 = 65 'fine, beautiful' and does not explain the *sū* 66 here (but cf. C below). K'ung expounds: «In due succession and order (from generation to generation) I shall make you (fine =) distinguished» (*chī* 67 = 'you'). — B. Cheng: *huang* 64 = 68: «In due succession and order you shall be rulers over them (your fiefs)». — C. Chu: *huang* 64 = 69: «Your successors in a sequence will enhance it». — D. Another interpr. *Huang* 64 normally means 'august' (see gl. 661), of which definitions like 65 and 69 are only free variations. Throughout this ode it is the ancestors who are addressed: «(We remember these great deeds of yours), continuously we (find them august:) revere them». *Ki sū* 70 (with Ch'en Huan and Ma Juei-ch'en) is a binome id. w. 71 (in ode 286 Mao defines 70 by 71; 66 and 72, both *dzjo / zjuo / sū rising tone, and also 73, same sound, are etym. the same w.).

Wu king wei jen, see gl. 948.

1076. *Sī fang k' i hūn chī* 74.

A. Mao reads thus: 75 **χiwən / χiuən / hūn* 'to obey'. — B. Another school (ap. Tso: Ai 26) reads 76. 77 **ǵ'iwən / dz'iuən / shun*, same meaning. — Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.

Ode CCLXX: T'ien tso.

1077. *T'ien tso kao shan, T'ai wang huang chī* 78.

A. Mao: *huang* 79 = 69 'great'. So far so good. But then he expounds the line most scholastically: *tso* 80 = 81: «Heaven created (all the things) on the high hill, and T'ai wang (by his good principles) enhanced it» (what Heaven had created). In fact he bases himself on a sermon in Kyū: Tsin yü, which says: 82 «*huang* means to make it great; to make great what Heaven has created may be called to stand near to Heaven». — B. Chu: *huang* 79 = 83, thus: «T'ai wang brought it under cultivation». No text par. — C. Waley: «T'ai wang laid hands on it». No text par. Waley adduces examples where characters belonging to the phonetic series 79 (**χmwāng*) and 84 (**mīwo*) alternate in text variants, and I suppose he means that 79 (**χmwāng*) stands for 85 (**p'īwo*), but it is difficult to see how that could be possible. — D. Another interpr. *Huang* 79 certainly, with Mao, means 69 'great' (for text confirmation see gl. 287), but the *huang* here means 'to find grand': «Heaven made the high hill, T'ai wang found it grand» (and settled there, as fully described in odes 236 and 241).

無疆子孫保之 41 駿惠我者文王也 42 維周之禎 43 維周之祺 44 成禎 45 熙祺 46 烈文辟
公錫茲祉福 47 于先公先王 48 烈文辟公綏以多福 49 無封靡于爾邦 50 封 51 大 52 靡 53
累 54 是為封豕長蛇 55 封狐 56 累 57 胥靡 58 侈靡 59 若是其靡也 60 靡王躬身 61 損 62 繼
王其崇之 63 繼序其皇之 64 皇 65 美 66 序 67 之 68 若 69 大 70 繼序 71 繼緒 72 緒 73 敘 74 四
方其訓之 75 訓 76 四方其順之 77 順 78 天作高山大王荒之 79 荒 80 作 81 生 82 荒大之也

Pi tso yi, see gl. 821.

1078. Pi ts'u yi K'i yu yi chī hing 86.

With this reading, the line has to be cut thus: Pi ts'u yi, K'i yu yi chī hing.

A. Cheng takes hing 87 in the abstract sense: »Those (sc. who came after) went there, (because) K'i (the new state) had peaceful (ways:) principles». Very scholastic: — B. Han (ap. Hou Han shu) reads 88: »For those who went (there), K'i had level roads». — C. This Han version 88 has been tampered with by Shen Kua 89 (11th c. A. D.), who changed it into 90, then cut thus: Pi ts'ü chē K'i, yu yi chī hing. Chu has adopted this, explaining it: »That steep K'i has level roads». — The A text version is certainly authoritative (the 91 corresponds to the 92 of the preceding line). K'i belongs to the second line (both Han Shī wai chuan and Shuo yüan quote 93). Waley translates: »He cleared the bush», tentatively proposing that 94 is loan char. for 95, which means 'hoe' in Kuan: Chung k'uang. Waley is certainly right that pi 96 refers to Wen wang, just as pi tso yi 92 in the preceding line refers to T'ai wang. But the loan is not necessary, nor probable, for the very combination of ts'u 94 with the following hing 87 'road' confirms that it has its normal meaning 'to march'. T'ai po had cleared the ground for the settlement; his descendant Wen wang widened the realm and built roads: »It was he who marched about, and K'i (had =) got level roads». Pi 96 is emphatic.

Ode CCLXXI: Hao t'ien yu ch'eng ming.

Su ye ki ming yu mi, see gl. 908; Tan k'ue sin, see gl. 423.

Ode CCLXXII: Wo tsiang.

Wo tsiang wo hiang, see gl. 660.

1079. St. 1. Wei t'ien k'i yü chī 97;

St. 2. Ki yu hiang chī 98.

A. Cheng: yu 99 = 100 'to help, assist', but he expounds it further: 1. Thus: 97 »May Heaven (lend its support to =) grace them» (sc. the offerings); 98 »(Wen wang) has graced and enjoyed them». Shiwen therefore records the var. 2, and Kia Kung-yen (comm. on Chouli) the var. 3, same sense, these being simply elucidating enlargements of the char. in the sense of Cheng's interpr. (99, 2 and 3 being interchangeable in this sense). — B. Chu: yu 99 'the right hand' was the place of honour, thus: »May Heaven (descend) to the right of them» (the offerings), i. e. take the place of honour to the right of the gifts and accept them. Ingenious but strained. — C. Ch'en Huan: Erya says shang 4 = yu 99, both meaning simply 'to consider high, to esteem', thus: 97: »May Heaven esteem them»; 98 »(Wen wang) has esteemed and enjoyed them». Cf. Huai: Fan lun 5 »To esteem the wise men and honour the spirits» (Kao Yu: yu 99 = 6). Yu 99, common in this sense, is really an extension of meaning of yu 'the right hand' = 'to put in the place of honour', and 97 would then properly mean: »May Heaven place them (the gifts) to the right» = esteem them, which would be directly opposite to Chu's idea. But of course we may say that the fundamental metaphor has been worn out and forgotten, yu being simply felt, in a general way, to mean 'to esteem', as it obviously does in the Huai ex. 5. Even so, it might seem forced to say that Heaven »esteems» the offerings, but we have a good par. in ode 256, where shang 4 'to consider high' is used in the same way: 7 »And so the august Heaven does not (consider you high =) approve of you». In the light of this par., a line like 97 in the sense of 8 »may Heaven esteem them» is in no way unnatural. — A and C are both plausible, but in st. 2, phr. 98, C makes a better parallelism between the two verbs yu and hiang of the line: A: »Wen

wang has (lent his support to =) graced and enjoyed them» is much more disparate than: C: »Wen wang has esteemed and enjoyed them». This makes C preferable. Cf. further gl. 1082.

1080. *Yi shī hing Wen wang chī tien*, see gl. 768. Another school (ap. Tso: Chao 6) reads *tê 9* 'virtue' inst. of the *tien 10* 'statutes' of the Mao text. Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. *Shī*.

Ji tsing sīfang, see gl. 653; *Yi kia Wen wang* see gl. 708.

Ode CCLXXIII: *Shī mai*.

1081. *Shī maik'ipang 11*.

A. Cheng: »He makes his seasonal tour in his state». — B. Ma Juei-ch'en = *shī 12* = 13, being only an introductory word: »He goes to his state». — Since later in the ode there are mentioned both the »River» and the »High Mountain», the sacred places traditionally sacrificed to on seasonal »inspection» tours, there is no reason for abandoning the earliest interpr. A.

1082. St. 1. *Shī yu sū yu Chou 14*;

St. 2. *Shī sū tsai wei 15*.

A. Cheng: 14 »It (Heaven) truly assists and (orders =) regulates (the affairs of) the house of Chou»; 15 »It (Chou) has regulated those who are in the high positions» (the princes). In both cases Cheng takes *sū 16* in its common meaning of 17 'order, sequence, to regulate'. — B. Chu takes *yu 99* as = 6 'to honour' (see gl. 1079), and takes *sū 16* = 18 in the sense of 'to place in the series', thus 14: »It has truly exalted and placed in the (royal) position the house of Chou»; 15: »It has put in their places (those in the positions =) the princes». — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: *sū 16* = 19 (as in Ta Tai: Pao fu, phr. 20, which he thinks is equal to 21) and by a curious speculation he comes to the conclusion that *yu sū 22* = 23 = 24: »It has truly aided the house of Chou». Quite unwarranted. — D. Waley: 14 »Truly the succession is with Chou»; 15 »It has succeeded to the seat of power». As to *sū 16* = 'to continue, to succeed', this is certainly right. *Sū 16* is equal to 25, as in ode 286, phr. 26 (Mao = 27, cf. also gl. 1075) and ode 269, where 16 likewise means 25 'to continue'. There remains the *w. yu 28*, which Waley simply skips. Chu's interpr. 'to honour, to exalt' is quite plausible in itself: »It (Heaven) exalted and (let continue =) gave the succession to the house of Chou». But *yu 28* (= 29) regularly means 'to help, to favour', and in ode 249 we have it combined with the very *ming 30* which means 'to give the appointment to', equal to the *sū 16* 'to give the succession to' here: 31. »It protects and helps (favours) and appoints him», and there even Chu takes it in this sense ('to honour' would go less well together with *pao 32*). Similarly in ode 236, phr. 33. It is therefore most consistent to interpret here: 14 »It (Heaven) truly has (helped:) favoured and (let continue =) given the succession to the house of Chou»; 15. »It has (continued =) succeeded and is on the throne». — We should study here:

33. 治 24 撫 25 彼 祖 矣 岐 有 君 之 行 27 行 28 彼 祖 者 岐 有 君 之 行 29 沈 括 20 彼 祖 者 岐 有 君 之 行 21 彼 祖 矣 22 彼 作 矣 23 岐 有 君 之 行 24 祖 25 組 26 彼 27 維 天 其 右 之 28 既 右 饗 之 29 右 30 助 1. 受 而 福 之 2 佑 3 祐 4. 尚 5. 尚 賢 右 鬼 6. 尊 7. 肆 皇 天 弗 尚 8. 維 天 其 尚 之 9. 德 10 典 11. 時 邁 其 邦 12. 時 13 是 14. 實 右 序 有 周 15. 式 序 在 位 16 序 17. 次 序 18 次 19. 順 20. 言 語 不 序 21. 言 語 不 順 22 右 序 23 右 順 24 佑 助 25. 緒 26 繼 序 27 繼 序 28 右 29 佑 祐 30. 命

Ode 282. *Ki yu lie k'ao, yi yu wen mu* 34. A. Cheng takes *yu* 28 in the passive: »I am helped (favoured) by my brilliant dead father and my fine mother«. — B. Chu: *yu* 28 = 35: »I honour my brilliant dead father and my fine mother«. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: it is here a question of a sacrifice, in which the dead parents are encouraged to eat of the offerings. *Yu* 28 meaning 'to assist' = 'to wait upon' is therefore equal to *yu* 36 as we have it in ode 209, phr. 37 »We make (the representative of the dead) sit at ease, we assist him (encourage him to eat)«, see gl. 659. We have our *yu* 28 in this sense of 'to assist' = 'to wait upon' also in ode 175, phr. 38 »(I have a fine guest), the whole morning I wait upon him«. Thus: 34 »I wait upon my brilliant dead father, and also upon my fine mother«. — C is strikingly plausible.

1083. *Po yen chen chi, mo pu chen tie* 39.

For *po yen*, introductory particles, see gl. 11.

A. Mao: *chen* 40 = 41 'to move', and *tie* 42 (**d'iap* / *d'iep* / *tie*) = 43 'to fear', which means that he took 42 **d'iap* to be a loan char. for 44 **i'iep* / *ts'iap* / *ch ê*. *Chen* 40, etym. id. w. 45 (cf. B next) fundamentally means 'to shake', both transitive and intransitive. Mao's 41 'to move' is expounded by Cheng as = 'to move them with his majesty'. Thus: »When he (the king) shakes (overawes) them, there are none who do not shake and fear«. — B. Han (ap. Han Shī wai chuan) reads 45 inst. of the first 40 of Mao's, and the Han school (ap. comm. on Hou Han shu and Wsüan) defines *chen* 45 by 46, 40 by 41 and 42 by 47, thus: »When he rouses them, there are none who are not moved and respond«. This probably (with Chu Tsün-sheng) means that Han took 42 **d'iap* to be a loan char. for 48 **i'ap* / *t'ap* / *ta* 'to respond'. — A is phonetically better than B.

Huai jou po shen, see gl. 110a and 917; *Sī yü shī Hia*, see gl. 841.

Ode CCLXXIV: *Chi king*.

1084. *Chī king Wu wang* 49.

A. Cheng takes *chī* 50 in its ordinary sense of 51 'to hold': »Holding strength was *Wu wang*«. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen) says *chī* 50 = 52, thus taking *chī king* as two coordinated words. This *fu* 52 'to subdue' shows that Han took 50 (**i'iap* / *ts'iap* / *ch ī*) as a short-form for 53. This word, meaning 'scared stiff, stupefied' in Chuang: *Ts'i wu lun*, has two readings in *Ts'ie yün*: **i'iap* / *ts'iap* / *ch ī* and **i'iep* / *ts'iap* / *ch ê*, two aspects of the same word stem, the latter id. w. 44 (**i'iep* / *ts'iap* / *ch ê*) 'to fear'. Ma Juei-ch'en points out that the binome *ch ê fu* 54 'to be scared and submit' in *Shī ki*: *Hiang Yü pen ki* recurs as 55 in *Han shu*: *Chu Po chuan*, and, with the same short-form as in our ode, as 56 in *Han shu*: *Ch'en Hien chuan*. The intransitive *ch ī* 'to fear' is then here a causative: 'to cause to fear' = 'to scare, to terrify', just as *kü* 57 'to fear' means 'to scare' e. g. in Tso: *Chao* 12, phr. 58 »in order to scare *Wu*«. Thus 49: »Terrifying and strong was *Wu wang*«. — B is grammatically superior to A.

Wu king weilie, see gl. 948; *P'ei hien Ch'eng K'ang*, see gl. 410; *Tsī pi Ch'eng K'ang*, see gl. 300; *Yen yu sīfang*, see gl. 827.

1085. *Chung ku huang huang, k'ing kuan ts'iang ts'iang* 59.

A. Mao: *huang* = 60: »Drums and bells (sound) in unison«. — B. Shuowen quotes 61, this word in *Erya* defined as = 62 'music'. — In ode 189, phr. 63 »They cry shrilly« (said of infants) we have the same w., and it is obvious that *huang* written one way or another is an onomatope. Thus: »Bells and drums peal«. So also the following *ts'iang ts'iang* 64 (in spite of Mao's gloss: 64 = 65 'blended'): »Musical stones and flutes resound«, *Ts'i* reading 66, *Lu* 67 or 68 and *Han* reading 69, all variants for the onomatope see gl. 450.

1086. *Kiang fu jang jang* 70.

A. Mao: *jang jang* 71 = 72, thus: »(Heaven) sends down blessings that are very

(numerous:) abundant». Cf. ode 302, phr. 73 »Rich years that are very abundant», *j a n g* meaning properly 'rich' (growth), abundance' (of grain). Yen t'ie lun quotes 74, this *j a n g* 75 in ode 94 meaning 'rich, ample' said of dew, which gives the same sense here. — B. Lu (ap. Ts'ien fu lun) reads 76. This 77 means 'to purify' through sacrifices for expelling noxious influences (Tso etc.), and if 77 is not simply a loan char. for 71 here, the line will mean: »(Heaven) sends down blessings that are very (purified:) pure». — A is confirmed by the parallelism with the next line: »(Heaven) sends down blessings that are very great».

Wei yi fan fan, see gl. 711; fu lu lai fan, see gl. 892.

Ode CCLXXV: Si wen.

Si wen Hou Tsi, see gl. 700.

1087. Li wo cheng min 78.

A. Mao has no gloss on li 79, thus taking it in its ordinary sense: »You have established our multitude». — B. Cheng: li 79 is a short-form for 80, thus: »You have given grain-food to our multitude». His reason for this is a par. in Shu: Kao Yao mo: 81 »The multitude then had grain-food». Here, on the other hand, Si-ma Ts'ien has been influenced by the 79 of our ode, for he took 80 to be a loan char. for 79, paraphrasing: 82 »The multitude was established» (foll. by 83, paraphrased by 84 »all the states were well-governed»). — Both interpr. are possible. It speaks in favour of B that it is easier to conceive that 79 was a short-form for 80 in the ode than that 80 was a loan char. for 79 in the Shu; furthermore that our ode, as well as the Shu passage, concerns Hou Tsi, the (minister:) god of agriculture and grain. On the other hand, in favour of A we might say that in the Shu line li 79 'to establish' and yi 85 ('to govern, to be ordered') balance each other better than 80 and 85. But this is only superficially so, for the preceding lines in the Shu passage describe how Shun said that together with Hou Tsi he sowed the grains and taught the people to barter their stores. It seems evident that 81 »The multitude then had grain-food» follows up this, which confirms B in the Shu passage. And since the two passages in Shī and Shu are obviously analogous and must be interpreted in the same way, B is after all better substantiated.

Mo fei er ki, see gl. 182.

1088. Yi wo lai mou 86.

Mou 87 is a short-form for 88 'barley'. Lu quotes 88 and Han 89, see below.

A. Cheng cites a document (which K'ung says is drawn from Shu: T'ai shī, now lost, not identical with the traditional spurious T'ai shī) telling how Wu wang, when passing the Meng tsin ford for the battle of Mu ye, received good auspices: a white fish leapt into the boat; a light came from heaven and changed into a red raven, which 90 came and

34.保右命之 35.保 35.保右命爾 36.既右烈考亦右文母 35.薄言 36.有 37.以妥以侑 38.一朝右
之 39.薄言震之莫不震疊 40.震 41.動 42.疊 43.懼 44.懼 45.振 46.奮 47.應 48.答 49.執 50.武王
51.執 52.持 53.服 54.熱 55.懼服 56.執服 57.執服 58.懼 59.以懼吳 60.鐘鼓 61.嚶 62.磐 63.將將 64.和
65.鏗鏘 66.樂 67.其泣 68.嚶 69.將 70.集 71.銍 72.琤琤 73.鏘 74.鏘 75.降福 76.懷 77.懷 78.衆
豐年懷 79.降福 80.懷 81.懷 82.降福 83.懷 84.懷 85.立我 86.烝民 87.立 88.粒 89.烝民 90.乃粒 91.衆
民乃定 92.萬邦作 93.萬國為治 94.又 95.貽我 96.來年 97.年 98.楚 99.楚 100.以穀俱來 101.來 102.

brought grain. This »T'ai shī» which K'ung had evidently seen, was probably one of the spurious Shu documents current in Han time. We meet with this legend earliest in Shang shu ta chuan (early Han time) (in Shī ki, Chou pen ki, only a part of it, not mentioning the »grain») which says: »When Chou was about to rise, there was a great red raven which, holding seeds of grain in its mouth, settled on the king's house». Cheng thinks that lai 91 in our ode refers to this legend. Thus: »You have given us the (auspiciously) arriving barley». But as the ode refers to Hou Tsi, earlier than the Hsia, Yin and Chou dynasties, this presupposes a similar miraculous »arrival» of grain in the primeval age, of which the event in Wu wang's time was a repetition. This is all extremely factitious. — B. Lu (ap. Han shu: Liu Hsiang chuan, in a document of Liu's) reads 92, with 93 *liag / lji / li inst. of Mao's 91 *lag / lai / lai. This li 93 we have meaning 'to give, to bestow' in odes 247 and 262, and so evidently Liu understood it here, for he adds: »li mou means barley 94 which originally was sent down from heaven». Thus: »You have given us the (from heaven) conferred barley». The idea is very similar to A. — C. Han (ap. comm. on Wsüan) reads 95. Wang Yin-chi has here advanced a curious theory. Because 96 (*xiag) and 93 (*liag) are sometimes interchangeable in honorific names: 97 ~ 98 etc. (being evidently synonymous: 'felicitous'), he thinks that the kia 99 of the Han version is a scribe's error for 100; this would then be equal to 96, and this again equal to the 93 of the Lu school. That is very far-fetched. Kia ku 1 is a common phr., and Han's kia mou is simply analogous to that; thus: »You have given us the fine barley». — D. Ma Juei-ch'en tries to reconcile Mao's lai 91 and Lu's li 93 through yet another interpr. Shuowen (as quoted by K'ung; there are several variants of the Shuowen gloss) under lai 91 says: 2 lai is the auspicious barley received by the Chou; lai mou: one (straw of) barley, two ears». Hsü Shen therefore implies the meaning of 'double-eared' in the w. lai 91 (*lag), though he further adds 3 »which has come from heaven» in accordance with interpr. A. Now li 93 (*liag) is defined in Fang yen (W. Han coll.) as = 'twin' (twin children), and Ma thinks that this is the meaning of both lai 91 and li 93. Thus: »You have given us the double-eared barley». No pre-Han text support. — E. Chu (after Kuang ya): lai 93 = 4 'wheat', mou 87 = 5 'barley', thus: »You have given us the wheat and the barley». Lai in the sense of 'wheat' was written 6, and Hsü Shen says that in his time (1st c. A. D.) wheat was called lai 6 in Ts'i. Kuang yün says that the lai mou 7 of our ode was wr. 8 in the dictionary Pei ts'ang (3rd c. B. C.). There are no pre-Han text ex. of this lai 'wheat', but the primary graph for lai: 9 (for variants see Grammata p. 374) is obviously a crude drawing of the cereal, which confirms the very early existence of the word. — F. Ch'en Huan tries to evade the difficulty by saying that lai 91 is »a particle», which is quite impossible, with this placing of the word in the sentence. — There could be only one way of reconciling Mao's lai 91 and Lu's li 93. That would be to take the lai 91 as a short-form for lai 10 'to give' (common w.) and li 93 in the same sense (common). It would then be tempting to translate: »You have endowed us and given us the barley». But the par. texts in odes 42, 74 (phr. 11, 12) show that yi wo must have the following lai mou or li mou as object, and we should have to force the line into meaning: »You have given us the conferred barley», which is strained. Still more unsatisfactory would this be in ode 276, phr. 13 »Oh, fine is the conferred barley». The different versions are consequently not reconcilable. Mao's text 86 means, with E: »You have given as the wheat and the barley». Han's text 95 means: »You have given us the fine barley». In Lu's text 92, li 93 is probably synonymous with 96 (with which it is interchangeable in honorific names, see above): »You have given us the felicitous barley». — The A text version 7 recurs in ode 276, phr. 13 (and there no variants of types B or C are known), so that text A with the E interpr. seems safest.

1089. Ti ming shuai yü, wu ts'ï kiang er kie 14.

Mao says simply: shuai 15 = 16, which tells us nothing of how he understood the line.

A. Cheng takes shuai 15 as = 17 'to follow' (common), interpreting: »God decreed: following the nourishing, do not have these limits for your boundaries». »The nourishing» would refer to Hou Tsi's nourishing the people. — B. Chu: shuai 15 = 18, and er 19 = 'near' (as in ode 246), thus: »It was God's decree, and shuai all yü being nourished, there are not these limits and near boundaries», i. e. there are no distinctions between people near and far away. It seems better, however, to modify this into a connected clause: »God decreed that all should be nourished, without having these confines and (near =) narrow limits», i. e. the prosperity should not be limited to the primary territory of the king but be extended to all his vassal states. For yü 20 'to be nourished' cf. Meng: T'eng Wen kung, shang 21 »When the five kinds of grain were brought to maturity, the people were nourished». For shuai 15 = 'all' see gl. 642. — C. Han (ap. comm. on Wsüan) reads 22, but says 23 = 24. Shiwen, on the contrary, says 23 = 25 'great', but it is difficult to see how the line could then make any sense. Ch'en ch'ang yü shi Hia, see gl. 841.

Ode CCLXXVI: Ch'en kung.

Tsie tsie ch'en kung, see gl. 666.

1090. Wang li er ch'eng 26.

A. Cheng: li 27 (*liag, even tone) = 28 (*liag, rising tone), thus: »The king regulated your achievements». Cf. Shu: Yao tien 29 »Regulating the various officers»; Kyü: Chou yü 30 »He regulated and altered the measures». — B. Chu: li 27 = 31 'to give', and ch'eng 32 = 33, thus: »The king has given you rules». Li means 'to give' in odes 247 and 262, but for ch'eng 32 in Chu's sense there is no text par. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: wang 34 is loan char. for 35 (as in ode 254), and because 27 sometimes in honorific names is interchangeable with 36 (see gl. 1088), and because this 36 in Erya is defined as = 37, the line is equal to 38 »Go and report on your achievements». A school example of uncritical philology. — D. Ch'en Huan: »The king confers upon you to achieve (peace)». — E. Waley: »The king will reward your achievements». This is tempting, but li 'to give' normally has a direct object (the thing given), and there seem to be no par. texts where li has this general and indefinite sense of 'to reward'. — A is well supported by the Shu par. which refers to the officials, just as in our ode.

Lai tsï lai ju, see gl. 66.

1091. Tsie tsie pao kie 39. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: pao 40 = 41 and kie 42 = 43, thus: »Oh, you clad and buff-coated (men)», referring to 44 the men on the right in the war chariots. Ma Juei-ch'en then

飴我釐醴 釐始自天降 貽我嘉糈 傳傳 傳公 釐公 嘉 嘉穀 來
周所受瑞麥也來糈一麥二秬 天所來也 小麥 大麥 秬 來牟 秬 來
10. 糈 11. 貽我彤管 12. 貽我佩玖 13. 於皇來牟 14. 帝命率有無此疆爾界 15. 率 16. 用 17. 循 18.
徧 19. 爾 20. 育 21. 五穀熟而民人育 22. 爾介 23. 介 24. 界 25. 大 26. 王釐爾成 27. 釐 28. 理 29. 允釐
百工 30. 釐改制量 31. 賜 32. 成 33. 成法 34. 王 35. 往 36. 德 37. 告 38. 往告爾成 39. 嗟嗟保介 40. 保

explains that pao 40 is equal to 45, but all this is unreasonable, for it is here not a question of war chariots and warriors but of agricultural work. — B. On Lü: Meng ch'un ki, where we have the same term pao kie in connection with the king's ritual ploughing of the sacred field, Kao Yu says simply: pao kie 46 = 47 'assistant'. Kie 42 is common in that sense (Li and Yili, *passim*). Pao 40 means 'to guard, to protect', in the sense it has in Li: Wen wang shī tsī 48 »to guard, that means to take care of his person in order to assist and protect him«. Thus simply: Oh, you assistants.

Yen kuan chī yi, see gl. 732 and 827.

Ode CCLXXVII: Yi hi.

1092. Yi hi Ch'eng wang 49.

Mao defines hi 50 as = 51, but yi-hi is obviously a mere interjection.

A. Mao: Ch'eng wang 52 = 53 'to achieve those royal works'; very scholastic. — B. Chu: Ch'eng wang is simply the name of king Ch'eng: »Oh, Ch'eng wang...« Waley doubts this, translating »the glorious kings«, which is quite plausible in itself. But since Wen wang, Wu wang, Ch'eng wang and K'ang wang are frequently mentioned in these early odes — Ch'eng wang for instance in odes 271, 274 — there is really no reason for not following B.

Ki chao kia er, see gl. 1018; Tsün fa er sī, see gl. 1069.

1093. Yi fu er keng 54.

A. Cheng: yi 55 = 56 'great', which means that he takes yi 55 as equal to 57. 55 for 57 is common, see gl. 754. Thus: »Grandly perform your ploughing«. — B. Chu in his paraphrase skips yi 55, thus taking it merely to be a particle. — A and B are both possible, but A gives a fuller and more expressive sense. — In ode 279, phr. 58 Cheng likewise takes 55 as a short-form for 57, but there it comes in much more naturally in its ordinary sense.

1094. Shī ts'ien wei ou 59.

The Chinese comm. have no gloss on shī ts'ien 60. Chu says simply: »two men ploughing together are called ou (pair)«. A. Legge: »With your ten thousand men all in pairs. — B. In gloss 678 on ode 211, phr. 61, I have already had occasion to point out that 'ten thousand' in Chinese is not shī ts'ien 60 but wan 62, and that the phr. 61 there means: »Yearly we take (for ten, one thousand =) a hundredfold harvest«. The idea is the same here, a promise of a rich harvest. Two farmers work together. Thus: »(For ten, one thousand =) a hundredfold harvest to each pair of farmers!«.

Ode CCLXXVIII: Chen lu.

1095. Chen lu yü fei 63.

A. Mao: chen 64 = 65 'the appearance of flying in a flock'. Chen properly means 'to array', thus: »(In numerous array =) in a flock the egrets go flying«. For par. see gl. 18. Ma Juei-ch'en insists that the dancers in the sacrificial dances had egret's plumes in their hands and that the line is a simile for the dancers, with egret plumes, who »arrayed« as in a flock posture in the ceremony. Cf. Tso: Chuang 28, phr. 66 »They arrayed the wan dance«. But the sequel vetoes this: the simile refers to the »guests« at the sacrifice, finely attired, who come in an array like a flock of egrets. The Preface, as expounded by Cheng, says that the »guests« were the princes of K'i and Sung, descendants of the Hia and Yin dynasties. But there is nothing in the text to suggest this. »The guests« is probably a term for the high dignitaries generally who assist at the sacrifice. Waley thinks that the ode has nothing to do with sacrifice at all, and translates: »My guest has come«. But parallelism with ode 280, which is clearly a sacrificial hymn,

indicates that our ode here is a sacrificial hymn as well (see gl. 542), as surmised by all Chinese commentators. — B. Ch'en Huan: *chen* 64 means 67 'to fly up, to start', thus: »The starting egrets go flying». *Chen* 64 'to shake, to move' would then by extension of meaning have the sense of 'to start'. This is certainly no improvement on A.

1096. Tsai pi wu wu, tsai ts' i wu yi 68.

A. Cheng refers the line to the princes who come to assist in the sacrifices: »There (in their own states) there are none who hate them, here (in the capital) they are not (wearied of =) disliked». — B. Another interpr. »There» and »here» are often placed in contrast in the Odes, as a stylistic feature. Cf. ode 212: »Pi there is some uncut young grain, ts' i here are unharvested bunches; pi there are handfuls forgotten, ts' i here are some ears left behind»; ode 193: »Pi j i that sun is eclipsed... ts' i y üe this moon is eclipsed»; ode 180: »We shot at pi that small boar, we killed ts' i this big rhinoceros». So they are used here, referring to the sacrificial arrangements: »There there is nothing to dislike, here there is nothing to disrelish» (for the spirits; all our offerings are perfect). In the same way, the following 69 does not, with Legge, refer to the princes, *su ye* being an adverbial phrase (»They are sure, day and night, to perpetuate their fame», which takes no account of the *yi* 70), but the line again refers to the perfection of the sacrifices. *Su ye* is a verb: »to morning-and-night» = 'constantly be in attendance': »May we constantly be in attendance» (sc. in the temple). *Su ye* as a verb in this function we have in ode 194, phr. 71 »None of them are willing (»to morning-and-night» =) to (be there) early and late» (serving at court). For *yi yung chung y ü* see gl. 542.

Ode CCLXXIX: Feng nien.

Yi yu kao lin, see gl. 1093; *Kiang fu k'ung kie*, see gl. 440.

Ode CCLXXX: Yu hu.

Shê ye shê kü ch'ung ya shu yü, see gl. 852.

1097. Ying t'ien huan ku 72.

A. Mao (after Erya): Ying 73 = 74 (= 75) 'a small drum'. In Li: Li k' i it is said: 76 »The ying (»responding») drums are placed at the eastern side». Mao further: t'ien 77 = 78 'a big drum'. Thus: »The small and big drums are the suspended drums». For 77 (**d'ien* / *d'ien* / t'ien) as = 'big drum', no text par. In Meng: Liang Huei wang we have the homophonous 79 (**d'ien*, both even tone) as an onomatopoe for the sound of the drum: 80 »They drum, (it sounds) *d'ien*». So Mao's 77 **d'ien* as a name for a drum may be an onomatopoe: »The rumbler». If so, this would bear out Mao's interpr., for »a rumbler» must reasonably be a big and mightily sounding drum as opp. to smaller drums. — B. Lu (ap. Kuo Po's comm. on Erya) and Ts' i (ap. Cheng Chung's comm. on Chouli) read 81, and Cheng, following this, says that 77 ought to be 82 (in his comm. on Li: Ming t'ang wei he even quotes the line as 81). This 82 **d'ien* / *ien* / *y in*, well known as a name for a small drum (Chouli: Ta shi) is homophonous with 83

衣 介 甲 車 右 報 保 介 副 保 也 者 慎 其 身 以 輔 翼 之 噫 時 成 王 嘯
和 成 王 成 是 王 事 亦 服 爾 耕 亦 大 突 亦 有 高 廩 十 千 維 耦 十 千
虎 取 十 千 萬 振 鷺 于 飛 振 鷺 飛 兒 振 萬 書 在 彼 無 惡 在 此 無 數 庶
幾 夙 夜 以 永 終 譽 以 莫 肯 夙 夜 應 田 縣 鼓 應 小 鞀 聲 應 鼓 在 東 田

(**d'ien*) and has been explained as etym. id. w. that: Cheng Chung: »The small drums lead on, introduce the big drums, therefore they are called **d'ien*» (foll. by Shuowen). — What makes B preferable to A is not merely that 82 as name of a drum is well attested, whereas Mao's 77 in that sense lacks real text support, but also the construction of the line. This should not be a finite clause: »The small and big drums are the suspended drums», but the line forms part of an enumeration: *shê ye—shê kü—ch'ung ya—shu yü—ying yin 84—hüan ku—t'ao k'ing—chu yü:* »We have arrayed the horizontal boards — the vertical posts — the dented ornaments — the upright plumes — the (small) responding and introducing drums — the (big) suspended drums — the hand-drums and the musical stones — the resounding boxes and the tiger-shaped clappers — all being complete, the music is struck up». It should be added that the 77 of the Mao text may have been misunderstood by Mao; it may have been simply a loan char. for 82: **d'ien* for **d'ien* (cf. that 77 **d'ien* is sometimes loan char. for 85 **d'ien*).

Huang huang hüe sheng, see gl. 1085.

1098. Yung kuan küe ch'eng 86.

A. Cheng: kuan 87 = 88: »Enduring and many are their achievements». This has been refuted in gl. 732. — B. Chu: »Long they watch the complete performance».

Ode CCLXXXI: Ts'ien.

1099. Ts'ien yü to yü 89.

A. Mao: 90 = 91, which shows that he knew the Han version, see B next, and took 90 (**dz'iem / dz'iam / ts'ien* 'to plunge down in water') to be loan char. for 92. — B. Han (ap. Shīwen and comm. on Wsüan) reads 93. This has been differently explained. a. 92 **dz'iem / dz'iam / ch'en* (Ts'ie yün) means 'pool, puddle' in Huai: Ch'u chen, and the Han school defines it by 94 'fish pond'. Thus: »In the warrens there are many fishes». It seems to mean that in »pockets» of the Ts'i and Ts'ü rivers fishes were kept in warrens. This was probably also the idea of the Lu school, for Erya (in its original version, as quoted by K'ung) says: »91 is called 92» (this is what Mao has followed). 91 (**sam / sam / s'a n*) means 'rice gruel with meat' in Chouli, but here it means (acc. to the early Erya comm. 95) 'to throw rice into the water to feed the fish', a *ch'en* 92 thus being a 'rice pond', a warren for feeding fish with rice. B. The Siao Erya (Han time, now lost) ap. Shīwen says 96 = 91, defining this 96 (which never occurs in texts) as = brush-bundles sunk in water, where the fishes gather and then are caught. On the strength of this the original Erya text 91 = 92 has been altered by Sun Yen and Kuo P'o into 97 = 92 (the rad. 'rice' altered into rad. 'wood', after the char. 96), both 97 and 92 being then defined by them as meaning such brush-bundles. But neither 97 (**siem / siem / sh'en* 'tall tree') nor 92 ('pool') ever occur in texts with that meaning. The only apparent support is the word 98 **siem / siem / sh'en*, which occurs in Huai: Shuo lin 99 »Those who take fish by *sh'en* strike the boat». This *sh'en* 98 is defined by Kao Yu as brush-bundles in which the fishes hide themselves when scared. But this expl. may have been made after the char.: 100 'forest, wood' and 1 'net' (brushwood over which a net is cast) and is in no way conclusive, for it may just as well depict the brushwood and nets which fence off the »pockets» from the open river: the boatmen inside the warren knock the boat so as to scare the fish into one corner, where it can be caught. Thus the *sh'en* 98 of Huai may equally well mean 'warren' as 'brushwood bundle'. Hence, under B, the *a* interpr. is the only one supported by texts, 92 being attested to mean 'pool' in Huai. — C. Chu mentions alternatively an interpr. of the Mao version 89 which takes 90 (**dz'iem*) in its original sense, thus: »(In the Ts'i and the Ts'ü) plunging in the deep are many fishes». — We have to choose between two alternatives: either

the 90 (*dz'iem) of the Mao version is a loan char. for the 92 (*dz'iam) 'pool' (warren) of the Han version (which Mao believes, A); or the 92 (*dz'iam) of the Han version is a loan char. for the 90 (*dz'iem) 'to plunge down deep' of the Mao text version in its fundamental sense. Both interpr. are plausible. But in fact the latter is confirmed by a text par. In Shu: Yü kung we find: 2 »The T'o and the Ts'ien were regulated». Erya explains that the T'o was a stream which broke out from the Kiang, and the Ts'ien similarly a stream which broke out from the Han. In Shī ki: Chou pen ki this is rendered by 3. There can be no doubt that the river name originally (as attested both in Shu and Erya) was 90 (Shiwen *dz'iem / dz'iam / ts'ien, etymologically probably = »the deep flow», 90 often meaning 'deep') and that the 92 (*dz'iam) of the Shī ki was a loan char. for the former. In the same way Han's 92 in our ode is loan char. for the orig. 90. That the latter has its ordinary meaning is confirmed by several Shī par. Ode 184, phr. 4 »The fish plunges in the deep»; ode 204, phr. 5 »(The sturgeons) who plunge and escape into the deep».

Ode CCLXXXII: Yung.

T'ien tsī mu mu, see gl. 757; Kia tsai huang k'ao, see gl. 758; Sūan chē wei jen, see gl. 765; Ki yu lie k'ao, yi yu wen mu, see gl. 1082.

Ode CCLXXXIII: Tsai hien.

1100. Tsai hien pi wang 6.

A. Mao: tsai 7 = 8, thus: »For the first time they appear before their sovereign king». For text par. see gl. 311. — B. Chu: tsai 7 = 9, merely an initial particle: »They appear before their sovereign king». Ode 54, phr. 10 begins in the same way with tsai, and as it is there obvious that it cannot mean 'first', Mao says = »an auxiliary». This confirms B. It is the same in ode 290, phr. 11, where Cheng says 7 = 8; tsai is a mere particle. — C. Mo: Shang t'ung reads 12, which is rhythmically inferior to A.

1101. Yü e k'iu k'ue chang 13.

A. Mao does not directly gloss chang 14, but in the next line he says: 15 »it expresses that there were marks of distinction», cf. Tso: Yin 5, phr. 16 »to display the various blazonry». Thus: »They seek their emblems of distinction» (the foll. lines enumerate them: dragon banners etc.). Cf. ode 177, phr. 17 »There were woven patterns, bird emblems»; ode 261, phr. 18 »A fine banner with pennon (emblems:) ornaments» (see gl. 1027). — B. Chu: chang 14 = 19, thus: »They seek their rules» (rules for their proper conduct). — A is amply corroborated.

T'iao lê yu ts'iang, see gl. 450.

1102. Shuai hien ch'ao k'ao 20.

A. Mao simply says: ch'ao k'ao = Wu wang. Chu has expounded this with reference to the arrangement in the ancestral temple, where the tablets of the generations were placed in alternating series ch'ao 21 and mu 22 (in this sense 21 is not read

大鼓 77 填 20 填然鼓之 81 應 棟 22 鼓 23 引 84 應 棟 25 陳 26 永 觀 厥 成 87 觀 88 多 89 潛
有 多 魚 90 潛 91 樛 92 潛 93 潛 有 多 魚 94 魚 池 95 舍 人 96 樛 97 樛 98 樛 99 樛 100 樛 101 樛
四 2 沱 潛 既 道 3 沱 潛 既 道 4 魚 潛 在 淵 5 潛 逃 于 淵 6 載 見 辟 王 7 載 8 始 9 則 10 載
駘 載 駘 11 載 艾 載 梓 12 載 來 見 彼 王 13 曰 求 厥 章 14 章 15 言 有 文 章 16 昭 文 章 也 17 繼 文

t̥iog* / *t̥s̥iäu* / *ch'a o*, as usual, but **d̥iog* / *éiäu* / *ch'a o*, see Shīwen on Li: Chung yung). This alternating arrangement of the altars is well attested in the early texts, see Li: Chung yung, Tsi t'ung and Wang chī; Chouli: Siao tsung po; Tso: Hi 24; Kyü: Lu yü, etc. But as to the real arrangement, in the temple, of these sanctuaries, we have only Han-time and later speculations, which are of little value. Always, however, in the Chou texts, the expression is *ch'a o mu*, never *mu ch'a o*, which shows that *ch'a o* was the primary, even series (after the founder, as number one, the princes 2, 4, 6 etc.) and *mu* the secondary, odd series (princes 3, 5, 7 etc.). Thus 20: **They are led to appear before the dead father of the even series (in the temple), i. e. here Wu wang. Cf. Shu: Tsiu kao 23 **You dead father of the odd series, Wen Wang**. With this reckoning, Wu wang, son of Wen wang, was *ch'a o* 'even'. This tradition is confirmed by Kyü: Chou yü: **Hou Tsi first founded (the house) and settled the people, as the 15th king Wen wang was the first to create peace**. With Hou Tsi as no. 1, and Wen wang as no. 15, Wen wang was sure enough *mu* 'odd', as in the Shu text, and Wu wang, no. 16, was *ch'a o* as in our ode. Again, in Tso: Hi 24 we find: 24 **Kuan, Ts'ai etc. were the sons of Wen; Yü, Tsin etc. were the sons of Wu**. The sons of Wen, who was *mu* 'of the odd series', are here called *ch'a o* 'of the even series', and the sons of Wu, who was *ch'a o* 'of the even series', are called *mu* 'of the odd series', which tallies perfectly with Shu and Kyü. We have evidently here an early and well established tradition. — B. K'ung takes 21 in its ordinary reading *ch'a o* and meaning 'bright', paraphrasing *ch'a o k'a o* by 25 **the brightly virtuous dead father**. — A is amply confirmed by the Shu, Kyü and Tso texts. The true and technically correct translation of *ch'a o k'a o* 'dead father of the even series in the shrines' is, however, very clumsy; the idea being simply 'the dead father put in his proper place in the series of shrines', it is commendable (with Legge in ode 287) to simplify the translation thus: **They are led to appear before the shrined dead father**.

Lie wen pi kung, see gl. 1074.

Ode CCLXXXIV: Yu k'o.

1105. Yu k'o yu k'o, yi po k'i ma 26.

A. Mao and various Han texts, e. g. Po hu t'ung (Lu school) and Tu tuan, insist that the **guest** here was the virtuous Wei tsī 27, kinsman of the last Yin king, who came to the court of Chou and assisted at the sacrifices. The reasons adduced for this are, on the one hand, that in Tso: Hi 24 it is said: **The Sung are the descendants of the previous dynasty; 28 they are guests with the Chou** (come as guests to the court); on the other hand, that in Li: T'an kung we read: 29 **Yin esteemed most the white colour, in war undertakings they rode after white horses** (h a n 30 meaning 'white horse' because Yi: Kua 22 says 31 **white horse, glistening like a feather**). The ode line 26 would thus mean: **There is a guest, there is a guest, he 32 also (like his ancestors) (makes white his horses =) has white horses**. This speculation must be very ancient, for it is the reason for this ode's being included in the Sung section (sacrificial hymns), though for the rest it has nothing that could place it there; it resembled much more the lay odes of the Kuo feng and Siao ya sections, and is simply a song in praise of a distinguished guest. There is not the slightest substantiation in the ode text for the speculation of A. — B. Chu: yi 32 does not mean 'also' here but is simply a particle introducing the second line, as often in the Shī, see gl. 814. Thus: **There is a guest, there is a guest, white are his horses**.

1106. Yu ts'i yu ts'ü (ts'ü) 33.

Shīwen reads 34 **ts'io* / *ts'üwo* / *ts'ü*.

A. Mao: *ts'i ts'ü* 35 = 36 'respectfully attentive'. No text par. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: *ts'i* 37 = 'ample, rich', as in many odes, see gl. 616. That is certainly

right. Further: *ts'ü 34* (**ts'io*) is phonetically similar to and here equal to *38* (**kio*) 'wide, ample' (ex. of which in *Sün*). That is, of course, quite excluded. In ode 261, phr. 39 »The *pien* and *tou* vessels are there in full number» (see gl. 360), the *34* is not read **ts'io* but **tsio* / *tsiwo* / *tsü* (*Shiwen*) = *40* 'numerous', and is thus synonymous with *ts'i 37*: it is a constant phenomenon in Chinese that one and the same word (e. g. *41*) means 'ample, rich' and 'numerous'. Thus: »In ample array and numerous, his retainers are (as if) carved, as if chiselled (so refined)».

Tuei cho k'i lü, see gl. 807; Kiang fu k'ung yi see gl. 519.

Ode CCLXXXV: Wu.

Wu king wei lie, see gl. 948.

1107. Sheng Yin ngo liu 42.

A. Cheng: »He conquered the Yin and stopped their killing» (their cruelties to the people). — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: »He conquered the Yin and (stopped =) exterminated and killed them», adducing in support Shu: Kün Shī 43 »He killed all his enemies», which there refers to the same Wu wang.

Ode CCXXXVI: Min yü ziao tsī.

K'iong k'iong tsai hia, see gl. 299.

1108. Yung shī k'o hiao 44.

A. Cheng: *yung shī 45* = *46* 'for (long =) endless generations', paraphrasing: *47* »For endless generations you can make filial piety the norm for your descendants». This is not reconcilable with the wording of the text. — B. Chu: *yung shī 45* = *48*, thus: »Throughout life you were able to be filially pious». Waley turns it differently: »All my days I will be pious», which disregards the *k'o 49*. — C. *Yung shī 45* is certainly, with Cheng, equal to *46*, cf. Tso: Hi 11: »(When there is no reverence, etc.) *50* how can it (be =) endure for (long =) endless generations». But *hiao 51* is obviously in the passive: »For endless generations you (can =) deserve to be piously revered».

1109. Chī kiang t'ing chī 52.

A. Mao (after Erya): *t'ing 53* = *54* 'straight', a well-attested meaning, see gl. 1026. Cheng, expounding it, adopts the same idea about *chī kiang* that was refuted in gl. 751: »Upwards (towards Heaven) and downwards (towards the people) they were straight» (had straight principles). — B. Yen Shī-ku in comm. on Han shu: K'uang Heng chuan, which quotes *55* for *53* (Ts'i version), paraphrases: *56* »They come to the bright court», thus: »They (the spirits of the ancestors) ascend from and descend to the court» — descending there to receive the sacrifices. Chu follows this. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: *chī kiang* means 'to (lift up =) promote and (send down =) degrade', thus: »In promoting and degrading (officers) they were straight (just)». In ode 235, phr. *57* Ma likewise interprets: »Wen wang in promoting and degrading is to the left and right of Heaven», i. e. assists Heaven in promoting and degrading(!); the meaning is quite different,

鳥章 18. 淑旗絳章 19. 法度 20. 率見昭考 21. 昭 22. 穆 23. 乃穆考文王 24. 筮蔡... 文之昭也邢
晉武之穆也 25. 明德之考 26. 有客有客亦白其馬 27. 微子 28. 於周為客 29. 殷尚白戎事乘
翰 30. 翰 31. 白馬翰如 32. 亦 33. 有萋有且 34. 且 35. 萋且 36. 敬慎克 37. 萋 38. 据 39. 蓮豆有且 40.
多 41. 盛 42. 勝殷是劉 43. 威劉厥敵 44. 永世克 45. 永世 46. 長世 47. 能以孝行為子孫法度
48. 終身 49. 克 50. 何以長世 51. 孝 52. 陟降庭止 53. 庭 54. 直 55. 廷 56. 臨其明廷 57. 文王陟降在

see gl. 751. For other alleged par. see below. — B is simple and convincing. — We compare:

Ode 287. Shao t'ing shang hia, chī kiang küe kia 58. Mao has no gloss. A. Cheng: »You (sc. the dead Wu wang) continued (Wen wang's) t'ing correcting those above and below, and his (acting) upwards and downwards towards (the houses =) the dignitaries». — B. Chu: »I will (continue =) imitate his (the dead father's) going up and going down in the court and his ascending and descending in his house». — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: »(The ruler) continuously corrects those above and below, he promotes and degrades (the houses =) the dignitaries». — D. Waley takes the spirits as understood subject, which is obviously right. Thus: »**They (the spirits) continuously go up and down in the court, they ascend and descend in their house**» (they are ever coming to visit us).

Ode 288. Chī kiang küe shī 59.

A. Mao: shī 60 = 61 (common), thus: »**It (Heaven) ascends and descends in its workings**». — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: »It promotes and degrades its officers». — A is right in the light of all the par. above with the phr. chī kiang.

Ode CCLXXXVII: Fang lo.

1110. Fang yü lo chī 62.

A. Mao (after Erya): fang 63 = 64, and lo 65 = 66, thus: »Planning (discussing) my beginning (of the rule)». Fang 63 properly means 'to scrutinize'. For lo 65 Ho Yi-hang adduces as par. Yi Chou shu: Wen cho 67, on which K'ung Ch'ao: 65 = 66, but that phr. is really very obscure. There are no convincing text par. — B. Yü Sing-wu: fang 63 is loan char. for 68 and lo 65 for ko 69: »When I now go» (to the temple). A very arbitrary text alteration. — C. Another interpr. Lo 65 'to fall down' is used in the sense of 'to die' in high style, said of sovereigns, e. g. Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien) 70 »In the 28th year the emperor deceased». The next ode line speaks of the deceased father, and that conclusively shows that this is the sense here: »**I scrutinize my deceased one**, (I will follow [the example of] that shrined father of mine)».

1111. Wu hu yu tsai 71.

A. Mao: yu 72 = 73 'distant', expounded by Cheng: »Oh, how (distant =) unattainable (he was)». Chu turns it differently: »Oh, how far-reaching (were his plans)». — B. It seems much more natural to take yu 72 here = 74, as in ode 193, phr. 75 »(Causing long-brooding =) distressing is my suffering», see gl. 90, thus: »**Oh, how distressing**», which is confirmed by the context.

Chen wei yu yi, see gl. 481.

1112. Tsiang yü tsiu chī, ki yu p'an huan 76.

A. Mao: yu 77 = 78 (common); p'an 79 = 80 and huan 81 = 82. Wang Su paraphrases: 83 »If you make me try to attain to and continue the principles and deeds of my predecessor, they will be (dispersed =) lost». This is difficult to reconcile with the ode text; it would then have to be construed thus: »If you make me try to attain to him, the ki yu continuing of the principles will p'an huan be dispersed», which is very strained. — B. Cheng takes tsiang 84 as = 'to assist' and yu 77 = 85, 'to plan': »Assist me in attaining to him, and in my ki continuing (the work), you should yu plan for my (dispersions =) shortcomings», i. e. take measures to mend them. This is still worse. — C. Chu takes yu 77 as = 'still': »If you make me try to attain to him, my continuing (the work) will still (disperse =) fail». — D. Ma Juei-ch'en: tsiu 86 = 87, and p'an huan 88 = 89 'great'; for the latter cf. gl. 832, Mao's gloss. Thus: »assist me in (basing myself on =) following him, and continuously plan for the greatness». — E. Waley: »Help me to complete it, in continuing

your plan I have been idle». — F. Waley is certainly right in identifying our p' an huan 88 here with the p' an huan 90 'relaxed' in ode 252, fully discussed in gl. 832. It is inconceivable that we could have two binomes 90 and 88, both *p'wán-χwán, which are quite independent of each other, the one meaning 'undisciplined, relaxed', the other 'separated and dispersed'. The two forms are obviously merely graphic variants of one and the same binome. But as long as we take yu 77 to mean 78 'principle' or 85 'to plan', the line will be hopelessly strained and artificial; Chu is indubitably right in taking it as the common adverb = 91. The tsiu 86 does not mean 'to approach him', i. e. 'try to attain to him', nor, with D, 'to base oneself' on him, for it follows up the preceding: »I have not yet achieved order», and tsiu 86, with Waley, means 'to complete, to achieve'. And this contrast with the preceding line also, I believe, gives the key to the meaning of tsiang 84, which here refers to the future (common): »if it will be that I achieve it» = »if later on I achieve it». Cf. ode 201, phr. 92 »When there is to be peace and joy». Thus: »If later on I achieve it, in the sequel I shall still be (relaxed =) slack». This tallies perfectly with the following: »I, the little child, am not equal to the many difficulties of our house».

Shao t'ing shang hia, chī kiang küe kia, see gl. 1109.

Ode CCXXXVIII: King chi.

1113. T'ien wei hien sī 93.

A. Mao (after Erya): hien 94 = 95 (hien): »Heaven is manifest» (its will or laws are clearly seen). — B. Cheng: hien 94 = 96 'bright'. All through the Shī, hien 94 means 'bright, illustrious, splendid', and there is no reason for giving it another sense here; thus: »Heaven is (bright:) splendid». Similarly, in the last line of the ode, 97 does not mean, with Legge: »Show me how to display a virtuous conduct» but, with Cheng: »It (Heaven) shows me the bright path of virtue».

Ming pu yi tsai, see gl. 763; Chī kiang küe shī, see gl. 1109; Jī kien tsai tsī, see gl. 1068; Jī tsiu yue tsiang, see gl. 587; Hūe yu ts'i hi yū kuang ming, see gl. 899; Fu shī tsī kien, see gl. 847.

Ode CCLXXXIX: Siao pi.

1114. Yü k' i ch' eng er pi hou nan 98.

In the T'ang stone classics a char. pi 99 was added in the margin at the side of pi 100, making the line consist of eight char. (regular number), K'ung therefore cutting the line thus: yü k' i ch' eng er, / pi pi hou nan. Some later scholars believe that in early T'ang time there was a Mao version with this text. But apart from ode 198 where the lines end with the binominal particle h u er 2, no line in the Shī ends with er, and the traditional text 98 is certainly grammatically preferable. — Ch' eng 3 is defined by Cheng as = 4, expounded further as = 5 'to chastise' and by Han (ap. Shīwen)

帝左右 紹庭上下 降厥家 降厥士 事 訪予落止 訪 謀 落 始
物無不落 方 格 二十有八載 帝乃殂落 於乎 悠哉 悠 遠 憂 悠 悠 我
里 將予就之 繼猶判 漢 猶 道 判 分 漢 散 將予就 繼先人之道 業乃分
散而去 將 圖 就 因 判 漢 大 伴 受 尚 將安將樂 天維顯思 顯
見 光 示我顯德 行 予其懲而 勿使難 彼 1. 勿使後難 2. 乎而 3. 懲 4. 文 5.

as = 6 'bitter, to suffer bitterness'. There is no real discrepancy here, for it means: «I have been chastised», have had a bitter experience, a painful warning. Chu expounds this nicely: 7 «I have been hurt and know how to take care». Legge has misunderstood Chu and translates: «I condemn myself» (so also Couvreur).

1115. Mo yü p'ing (p'eng) feng, tsī k'iu sin shī 8.

Shiwen here reads 9 *p'ien / p'ien / p'ing, but in ode 257 it reads the word *p'eng / p'eng / p'eng, see gl. 973.

A. Mao: 10 = 11 'to drag into'. This is based on Erya 12 = 13 (Shiwen 14 *p'ien / p'ien / p'ing). Cheng and K'ung expound: «There is nobody who (dare) drag me into (evil), (if you do), you will yourself (seek =) bring upon you a bitter sting». Sun Yü, on the contrary, takes it to mean: «There are none who drag me into (what is good)», i. e. who assist me. 9 is well attested (see gl. 973) to mean 15 'to cause, to make, to induce'; as to feng 16 or 17, which would be loan char. for 18 (Shuowen = 15) there is no text support whatever. — B. Han (ap. Shiwen) reads 19, the 20 defined as = 21 '(bitter) affair'. But 20 has no such meaning (Ma Juei-ch'ien makes a desperate attempt to explain 20 *šik as a loan char. for 22 *t'ak 'careful, attentive', which in Erya is defined as = 23; phonetically hopeless), and the 20 of the Han text is surely but a short-form for the 24 of the Mao text. — C. Chu takes 16 in its proper sense of 'wasp': «It will (be =) happen that I induce the wasps, and myself (seek =) draw upon me the bitter sting». — D. Waley: p'ing feng = 'to bump and bang', thus: «Never again will I bump myself and bang myself, with bitter pain for my reward». For 9 one could adduce in support 25 (*b'ien / b'ien / p'ing) 'to beat' (sc. clothes in water, Chuang); 17 is defined in Shuowen as = 'to knock against', but with no text support. — E. Another interpr. Chu is certainly right in giving feng 16 its ordinary meaning: when the first line has feng 'wasp' and the second has shī 24 'to sting, the sting' of a wasp or bee, it would be strange indeed if both these words were loan char. for other words: 'to cause, to induce, to drag into' (A) or 'to bump' (D) and 'affair' (B) respectively. They confirm each other, and the metaphor is striking and excellent: «Nobody has caused me to be (*wasped =) wasp-stung, I have myself (sought =) drawn upon me this bitter sting», i. e. it was all my own fault that I was foolish.

1116. Chao yü p'it'ao ch'ung, fan fei wei niao 26.

The t'ao ch'ung 'peach-grub' was some kind of small bird, probably a wren.

A. Mao takes chao 27 as = 28 (the ordinary meaning), for he expounds: 29 «a kind of bird that first is small and in the end becomes big». Cheng further expounds the line as referring to the wicked princes of Kuan and Ts'ai, who first only slandered and then rebelled. Thus: «First indeed those were (only) wrens, but then they flew up and were (big) birds». Later comm. have embroidered this theme with various speculations about the wren being transformed into an eagle etc. Such folk-lore ideas of birds being transformed into other kinds were not uncommon in late Chou time, cf. Lü: Chung ch'un 30 «The hawk transforms itself into a dove». — B. Waley: chao 27 is loan char. for the homophonous 31, and this latter again is a short-form for 32: «Frail was the reed-warbler, it flew away a great bird». — C. Another interpr. The weakness of both A and B is that niao 'bird' has to be taken to mean 'big bird', the crucial notion of 'big' having to be supplied since it is not expressed in the ode text. The idea of the line in fact is quite different. We should always look out for analogous themes in other odes, in order to explain difficult passages. Cf. ode 26: «In the quietude I brood over it (the grief), 33 but I cannot rush up (lift) and fly away». This metaphor of the bird who can fly up and flee the dangers and difficulties is common: ode 204: «I am not an eagle, I am not a hawk who fly up and reach heaven; I am not a shan sturgeon, I am not a wei sturgeon who plunge and escape in the deep», etc. The theme is the same in our ode here.

Chao 27 (Erya = 34) means 'active, smart', as in ode 262, phr. 35 »You have been active (smart) in your work«, see gl. 1042, with corroborating text ex. Thus 26: »Smart indeed are those wrens, they fly up and are birds (they can escape); I am unequal to the many difficulties of our house, but I sit perched here on the smartweed (I cannot escape)«.

Ode CCXC: Tsai shan.

Tsai shan tsai tsê, see gl. 1100.

1117. K'ikeng shī shī 36.

A. Cheng: shī shī 37 = 38 'to open up and spread', and hence Shīwen reads 37 as = 39 *śīk / śīk / shī. Indeed 37 can serve as loan char. for 39, for Kuan: Sheng ma 40 »the (dispersion:) melting of the snow« occurs wr. 41 in Ta Tai: Hia siao cheng. Thus: »Their ploughing lays open (the ground)«. — B. Lu. Erya has an entry 42, which evidently refers to this ode: 43 = 'to plough' (to open up the soil), thus the same meaning as A. Shīwen takes 43 to be a variant of 39 (K'ung even quotes the Erya text as 44) and hence reads 43 *śīk / śīk / shī; 45 (*ī'k) is then phonetic. But Shīwen on Erya records an »alternative reading« for 43: *χāk / χāk / h o, and K'ung quotes the early Erya comm. Shê-jen as saying that »46 is equal to 47 *χwāk«, which clearly reveals that his gloss has been tampered with and that he really had: »43 is equal to 47« (43 *χāk read similar to 47 *χwāk). In a 43 *χāk the phonetic is not 45 *ī'k but 48 *χāk abbreviated. — It thus seems likely that whereas the Mao school read the line 36: k'ikeng shī shī (*śīk), the Lu school read it 49 k'ikeng ho ho (*χāk). In any case, the meaning is the same.

1118. Hou chu hou po hou ya hou lü 50.

A. Mao: »There is the master, the eldest son, the next-following sons, (the multitude =) all the younger men of the family«. Ya 51 = 52 'the second, next-following, inferior' is common, and so is lü 53 = 'multitude'. — B. Waley: »There is the master and his eldest son, there the headman and the overseer.« The term ya lü 54 occurs frequently in the classics as terms for officers but then always fundamentally in the sense of 'the next-following and many', i. e. those who are inferior to others of higher grades: Shu: Mu shī and Shu: Li cheng: 55 »the director of the multitude, the director of the horse and next-following officers«. In Tso: Wen 15, ya lü is defined by Tu Yü as = 56 'ta fu dignitaries of the first degree', but in Tso: Ch'eng 2, where Tu likewise says it means 'ta fu', it follows last in the enumeration of dignitaries and again properly means 'the following many (dignitaries)'. Thus ya and lü have a sense directly opposite to the 'headman' and 'overseer' proposed by Waley; they are not the principals but subordinates. — The ode text enumerates the men of the family who go out to work on the fields, and there is no reason for abandoning A, which suits the context admirably.

創艾 6 苦 7 有所傷而知戒 8 莫于耕蜂自求辛螫 9 耕 10 耕蜂 11 摩曳 12 号 13 制曳
 14 号 15 使 16 蜂 17 号 18 降 19 自求辛放 20 放 21 事 22 放 23 勞 24 螫 25 耕 26 肇允彼桃蟲拑
 飛維鳥 27 肇 28 始 29 鳥之始小而終大者 30 駕化為鳩 31 兆 32 伏 33 不能奮飛 34 敏 35 肇
 敏戎公 36 其耕澤澤 37 澤 38 解散 39 釋 40 雪釋 41 雪澤 42 郝郝耕也 43 郝郝 44 釋釋耕也
 45 赤 46 釋釋 47 藿藿 48 赫 49 其耕郝郝 50 侯主侯伯侯亞侯旅 51 亞 52 次 53 旅 54 亞旅 55
 司徒司馬亞旅 56 上大夫 57 侯彊侯以 58 彊 59 強力 60 以 61 用 62 有餘力者 63 公以楚師

1119. Hou k'iang hou yi 57.

A. Mao says simply: k'iang 58 = 59 'strong' and yi 60 = 61 'to employ'. Cheng expounds this by 62 'those who have a surplus of strength' and refers to a passage in Chouli: Sui jen, which, however, is of little value since it is obscure, has variant readings and has been interpreted in various ways. Cheng explains k'iang as 'strong men' who could do more than their own plots, i. e. volunteers, and yi as such as were 'employed'. For the latter, cf. Tso: Hi 26, phr. 63 'The prince employing a Ch'u army attacked Ts'i; when an army can assist one, it is called yi to employ'. Thus: **'There are (strong men =) volunteers, there are employees'**. — B. Waley takes 58 as a short-form for 64 and yi 60, which is identical with 65, as a short-form for 66 'to plough': 'They mark out, they plough'. This is ingenious, but the context shows that the line forms part of an enumeration of the workers in the fields, which confirms A.

1120. Yu t'an k'i ye 67.

A. Mao: t'an 68 = 69, thus: **'Many are those who bring food'**. No text par. — B. Shuowen: t'an 68 = 70, thus: 'Noisy is their (eating) the brought food'. No text par. — C. Waley: 68 (*t'am / t'âm / t'an) is loan char. for 71 (*d'am / d'âm / t'an), which he says means 'capacious', thus: 'Deep the food baskets that are brought'. But 71 means 'to keep in the mouth' (Chuang: Ma t'i). — The word t'an 68 being a *hapax legomenon*, we can only follow the most ancient interpr.

Yu yi k'i shi, see gl. 837; Ch'u tsai nan mou, see gl. 683.

1121. Shi han si huo 72.

A. Cheng: shi 73 = 'seed': 'The seeds contain the life'. — B. Ch'en Huan: in ode 21 the Han school reads 74, defining shi 73 as = 75. On this analogy our line is equal to 76. — C. Whereas A is quite plausible in itself, the analogy of ode 245, which likewise describes the growth of the grain and where 73 merely = 77 (exceedingly common): 78 'It was (regular =) of even growth, it was luxuriant' etc. (4 more similar lines) shows that 73 is simply equal to 77 here as well: **They contain the life**.

Yi yi k'i ta, see gl. 467.

1122. Yu yen k'i kie 79.

Yen yen k'i miao 80.

A. Mao defines yen 81 by 82 'fine' and kie 83 by 84 'outstanding, single' (common). He evidently means a contrasting effect: **'Fine is every single plant, very fine are (all the) sprouts'**. Ma Juei-ch'en thinks that yen 81 is a short-form for yen 85, Shuowen = 86 'beautiful', but of this word there are no text ex. Ch'en Huan believes that it is a short-form for yen 87, but that means 88 'peaceful, quiet', which makes no sense here. It is better, with Chu, to take Mao's 'fine' as an extension of meaning: yen 81 = 'satiated' = 'well-nourished, luxuriant, fine'. — B. Cheng accepts Mao in the first line 79, but defines the yen yen 81 in the second as = 89 'evenly-growing'. Ma Juei-ch'en in consequence thinks that 81 (*iam) here is a loan char. for 90 (*iam, *iam, Ts'ie yün), which in Tsi yün is defined as = 91, but of this char. there are no text ex. It is unreasonable to suppose different meanings of yen in two consecutive lines.

Mien mien k'i piao, see gl. 741.

1123. Tsai huo tsi tsi 92.

A. Mao: tsi tsi 93 = 94. Cheng has expounded this by 95 'the straws being so numerous that it was difficult to advance'. But that was certainly not Mao's meaning. In ode 228, phr. 96 he defines 94 (*nâr / nâ / n o) as = 97 'ample' (see gl. 188), and he obviously uses his char. 94 here in this sense, thus: 'And then they reap, it was very ample'. Erya says 93 = 98 'increase, abundant', and Tu Yü in comm. on Tso: Huan 11 and Wen 18 interpr. 93 so (though these ex. are both susceptible of other interpr.). — B. Chu: tsi tsi 93 = 99 'the appearance of the men being numerous'.

Cf. ode 239, phr. 100 »The hazels and h u trees are numerous». Thus 92: »And then they reap, in great crowds». — B has a good Shī par.

1124. Yu shī k' i t s i l.

A. Cheng reads 2 in its ordinary way: *tsjēk / tsjūk / t s i 'to accumulate'. But the rime word is 3 *tsjōg, so 2 should be read *tsjēg / tsjē / t s i (Shīwen) as a noun: 'accumulation', thus: »Full is its (the grain's) accumulation», i. e. »richly it is heaped up». — B. Chu takes 2 as a concrete noun = 4 'stacks in the open': »Full are the stacks». — For A speaks the analogous line in ode 191, phr. 5 (see gl. 370) »Full is its richness» (of vegetation). To the abstract y i 6 'richness' there corresponds our abstract t s i 2 'accumulation' here.

1125. Yu tsiao k' i hing 7.

A. Mao: tsiao 8 (tsjōg / tsjäu / tsiao) »is equal to the 9 'fragrant'» (of the preceding line; variant there 10, same meaning). Thus: »Fragrant is the smell». K'ung expounds: tsiao 8 means 'pepper' and the pepper tree is fragrant, hence by extension of meaning 'pepper-like' means 'fragrant'. So also Shīwen. — B. Several stone inscr. of Han time read 11. Fu 12 'fragrant' is synon. with 9, see gl. 667 (ode 209, where one version has 10, another 12). — C. Shen Chung (ap. Shīwen) says that the correct version of the Mao text was 13 (Yüan Yüan tries to vindicate that this 14 is a scribe's error for 12, so that Shen really defended the B version, but 14 and 12 are neither similar in shape nor in sound, so that is very unlikely). Ch' u 14 regularly means 'to begin', but the char. is also interchangeable with 15 'good'. Shuowen defines 14 as = 16 (i. e. = 15), and on Yili: P'ing li, phr. 17 Cheng says: »The Ku wen version had 18. Shen Chung's ode version 13 thus means: »Good is the smell». — A is not so far-fetched as it might seem. In ode 137 the chorus of dancing girls say to their leading lady: »You give us a handful of pepper plants», and this was because they were fragrant herbs used for magical purposes, in bringing the spirits to descend, as described in Ch'u: Li sao. Since thus both A and B have readings meaning »fragrant is the smell», there is no reason for adopting Shen Chung's correction.

1126. Hu k' ao chī ning 19.

A. Mao: hu 20 = 21, and k' ao 22 = 23 'to achieve'. For the former cf. Yi Chou shu: Shī fa 24 »(The one with) extended years and high old age is called h u». For the latter see gl. 160. K'ung expounds hu k' ao as = »The old and (achieved:) perfected ones». — B. Another interpr. K' ao 22 is very common in the sense of 'old', and hu k' ao means »Those with a (far-reaching =) great old age», the hu 20 (*g'o) being a loan char. for 25 (*g'd), see gl. 553. Ning 26 'peace, tranquillity' here corresponds to the ku ang 27 of the preceding line: »Aromatic is the odour, that is the glory of the state; fragrant is the smell, that is (= secures) the tranquillity of those with a great old age». — We compare:

伐齊能左右之曰以 18 疆 15 臣 16 躬 17 有 18 嘖其 19 嘖 19 衆 20 聲 21 嘖 22 實 23 斯 24 活 25 實
 26 實命不同 27 有 28 有 29 斯 30 活 31 是 32 實 33 實 34 實 35 有 36 厥其 37 傑 38 厥厥其 39 苗 40 厥 41 美 42 3.
 傑 43 特 44 壓 45 好 46 壓 47 安 48 齊 49 等 50 倍 51 苗 52 齊 53 等 54 載 55 橫 56 濟 57 濟 58 濟 59 離 60 德 61 衆 62 離 63
 64 其 65 葉 66 有 67 離 68 盛 69 兒 70 溢 71 人 72 衆 73 兒 74 棟 75 桡 76 濟 77 濟 78 有 79 實 80 其 81 積 82 積 83 積 84 積 85 有 86 實
 其 87 積 88 有 89 有 90 有 91 有 92 有 93 有 94 有 95 有 96 有 97 有 98 有 99 有 100 有 101 有 102 有 103 有 104 有 105 有 106 有 107 有 108 有 109 有 110 有 111 有 112 有 113 有 114 有 115 有 116 有 117 有 118 有 119 有 120 有 121 有 122 有 123 有 124 有 125 有 126 有 127 有 128 有 129 有 130 有 131 有 132 有 133 有 134 有 135 有 136 有 137 有 138 有 139 有 140 有 141 有 142 有 143 有 144 有 145 有 146 有 147 有 148 有 149 有 150 有 151 有 152 有 153 有 154 有 155 有 156 有 157 有 158 有 159 有 160 有 161 有 162 有 163 有 164 有 165 有 166 有 167 有 168 有 169 有 170 有 171 有 172 有 173 有 174 有 175 有 176 有 177 有 178 有 179 有 180 有 181 有 182 有 183 有 184 有 185 有 186 有 187 有 188 有 189 有 190 有 191 有 192 有 193 有 194 有 195 有 196 有 197 有 198 有 199 有 200 有 201 有 202 有 203 有 204 有 205 有 206 有 207 有 208 有 209 有 210 有 211 有 212 有 213 有 214 有 215 有 216 有 217 有 218 有 219 有 220 有 221 有 222 有 223 有 224 有 225 有 226 有 227 有 228 有 229 有 230 有 231 有 232 有 233 有 234 有 235 有 236 有 237 有 238 有 239 有 240 有 241 有 242 有 243 有 244 有 245 有 246 有 247 有 248 有 249 有 250 有 251 有 252 有 253 有 254 有 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Ode 292. Hu k'ao chī hui 28. A. Cheng: hui 29 = 30, thus: »It is an auspice of a great old age«. — B. Chu paraphrases 31, thus 28: »It is (= gives) the boon of a great old age«. — C. Another interpr. It is true that hui 29 is a word with many meanings, *inter alia* 'blessing, boon, grace', as in ode 262, phr. 32 »In response he extolled the king's grace«. But it is also very common in the sense of 'to rest' (odes 9, 114, 176 etc.) and, as a noun, 'rest' (ode 252), and it is then synon. w. ning 26. It is quite evident that our hu k'ao chī ning 19 in ode 290 above and hu k'ao chī hui 28 in ode 292 are synonymous expressions, and the latter means: »That is (= secures) the (rest:) tranquillity of those with a great old age«.

1127. Fei ts'ie yu ts'ie, fei kin sī kin 33.

A. Mao: ts'ie 34 = 35 'this'. The Ts'ing scholars think that 34 *ts'ia serves as loan char. for 35 *ts'ia, which is phonetically little convincing. Mao, as often, has simply guessed at a meaning from a superficial sound similarity. Cheng paraphrases 36, whatever that means (K'ung believes that Cheng took ts'ie as a particle). Chu explains: »It is not only here that there is this (harvest), it is not only now that there is the present (happiness)«. — B. Waley in his notes says: ts'ie 34 = 37 'in the past'; but in his translation he follows Mao: »Not only here is it like this, not only now is it so«. — C. Another interpr. Ts'ie 34 *inter alia* means 'temporarily, for the time being, for a short while', not only in classical Chinese, e. g. Tso: Ch'eng 2, phr. 38 »For the time being you should avoid both the left and the right side«, but also in modern Mandarin. This is the meaning here: »It is not that temporarily it occurs for the time being, it is not that just now it is so for the present, (from of old it has been thus)«.

Ode CCXCI: Liang si.

1128. Ch'ī ch'ī liang sī 39.

The char. 40 is read *ts'ia / ts'ia / ch'ī (Ts'ie yün, Shīwen) and *ts'ia / ts'ia / ts'ie (Ts'ie yün).

A. Mao: ch'ī ch'ī 40 is equal to 41, thus: »Deep(-going) are the good ploughs«. He explains the word in one of its readings (*ts'ia) by the homophonous 41 (*ts'ia) 'to sound, to measure the depth of water', here taken to mean 'to go deep down into'. This is very far-fetched. — B. Shuowen says: 42 »when working with the harvest they 43 advance«. This shows that Hū took 40 in its reading *ts'ia to be loan char. for 44 *ts'ia. — C. Erya: 43 = 45 'plough, to plough'. This has been explained by the comm. Shē-jen simply as = 46 'the appearance of the plough entering the soil', by Kuo P'o as = 47 'sharp'. In fact 40 *ts'ia, *ts'ia belongs to a great word family (see BMFEA 5, p. 67) with the sense of 'to cut, to pierce, cutting, sharp' and is cognate *inter alia* to 45 *dzia 'plough' and 48 *dzia 'hoe'. Etymologically this confirms interpr. C, and the line means: »Sharp-cutting are the good ploughs«.

1129. Huo lai chan ju 49.

A. Mao reads thus: »There are those who come to see you«. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: 50 (*tiam / tiam / chan) is loan char. for 51 (*tiam / tiam / shan), thus: »There are those who come to supply you«, referring to the following lines. In Li: Ta chuan 52 »There is nothing which is not (supplied =) sufficient«, Shīwen records a variant 50. — B of course is quite possible, but it means an unnecessary loan speculation.

1130. K'ī li yi kiu 53.

The ancient comm. do not define kiu 54. A. Chu: kiu expresses 55 »that the bamboo-hats were light to lift«. Thus: »Their bamboo-hats are light-lifted«. This seems to be based on Tso: Chao 6, phr. 56, where Tu Yü says: kiu 54 = 57: »Lift them by government«; but this is a free paraphrase, for kiu fundamentally means 'to bind', and hence: »Restrict, correct them by government«. In that Tso passage 54 has its

ordinary reading (*k'îôg). Shīwen in our ode gives alternative readings *k'îôg / k'îu / k'iu and *g'îôg / g'ieu / kia o, rising tone, and Chu has seized upon the latter. Does he mean that *g'îôg is cognate to 58 *k'îog / k'îu / kia o 'to lift'? — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: k'iu 54 means 'to twist, to plait', see gl. 269. Thus: »Their bamboo-hats are plaited« (made of thin strands of bamboo that are plaited). — C. Chu Tsün-sheng: 54 *k'îôg is loan char. for 59 *g'îôg / g'îu / k'iu in ode 292, see gl. 1133. — B is amply supported. 1131. Huo chī chī chī 60.

A. Mao: chī chī 61 (*t'îët / t'îët / chī) = 62 'the sound of reaping' (foll. by Shuowen), thus: »They reap, (it sounds) t'îët-t'îët«. It is a strong tendency with the ancient commentators to take words with obscure meanings as onomatopoes. — B. Erya: chī chī 61 = 63 'to reap'. The word properly means 'to strike, a stroke, a blow', here referring to the blows of the scythe. Thus: »They reap, stroke upon stroke«. Cf. Huai: Ping lue 64 »One blow of the clenched fist«. — B alone is substantiated by par.

1132. Tsi (tsī) chī li li 65.

Shīwen reads 66 *ts'îëg / ts'îë / tsī, cf. gl. 1124, but here, as a verb, it is better read in the ordinary way *ts'îëk / ts'îäk / tsī.

A. Mao (after Erya): li li 67 = 68 'numerous' more precisely (with Chu) it means 'dense, compact', cf. Li: P'ing yi 69 »It (the jade) is dense and compact«, see gl. 873. Thus: »They heap (stack) it densely«. — B. Shuowen quotes an ode line 70 »They stack it in orderly rows«, and the Ts'ing scholars all believe that this is the reading of another ancient school in our ode here. Tsi 71 (*ts'îär / ts'î / tsī) is known from no other texts. Ma Juei-ch'en and others state that 67 (*t'îët) and 72 (*d'îët) »anciently had the same sound«, which is quite wrong. In support they adduce that on Kungyang: Ai 2, phr. 73 Shīwen says: one version reads 74, which of course cannot prove that the words were homophonous. The Shuowen quotation deviates from our ode line so strongly that it is not at all sure that it belongs to our present ode; it may hail from some other ode now lost.

Sha shī jun mu, see gl. 507; Yi sī yi sū, see gl. 497.

Ode CCXCII: Sī yi.

1133. Tsai pien k'iu k'iu 75.

Lu (ap. comm. on Erya) reads tai 76 inst. of tsai; meaning the same.

A. Mao: k'iu k'iu 77 = 78 'respectful and deferential' thus: »They carry the caps respectfully«. The char. 77 is a *hapax legomenon*; there is no word in the series of the phonetic 79 with such a sense, for which it could be loan char. — B. Erya: k'iu 77 = 76 'to carry on the head', and k'iu k'iu 77 = 80 'to wear'. — C. Shuowen: k'iu 77 = 81 'the appearance of the cap being adorned', thus: »They carry caps that are adorned«. In Grammata Serica I reconstructed the reading 77 *g'îüŋ / g'îü / k'iu, because the word in our ode rimes with 82 *k'îŋ and 83 *ng'îüŋ; but that is, after all, not

考之休²⁹休³⁰徵³¹故能得壽考之休³²對揚王休³³匪且有且匪今斯今³⁴且³⁵此³⁶
心非云且而有且³⁷徂³⁸且辟左右³⁹憂憂良躬⁴⁰憂⁴¹測測⁴²治緣憂憂進也⁴³憂憂⁴⁴即⁴⁵躬⁴⁶躬入地之兒⁴⁷嚴利⁴⁸鉞⁴⁹式求瞻女⁵⁰瞻⁵¹瞻⁵²無不瞻⁵³其笠伊糾⁵⁴
糾⁵⁵笠之輕舉⁵⁶糾之以政⁵⁷舉⁵⁸擣⁵⁹依⁶⁰棧之桎桎⁶¹桎⁶²棧聲⁶³棧⁶⁴挾手之一
桎⁶⁵積之栗栗⁶⁶積⁶⁷栗⁶⁸衆多⁶⁹積密以栗⁷⁰棧之佚佚⁷¹積⁷²佚⁷³戰于栗⁷⁴戰于
佚⁷⁵載身依依⁷⁶戴⁷⁷依⁷⁸恭順克⁷⁹求⁸⁰服⁸¹冠飾克⁸²基⁸³牛⁸⁴球⁸⁵受小球大球

conclusive, for on the one hand the rimes are very free and approximate in the Sung section, and on the other hand there are lines later in the st. ending in *g'îôg, *nîôg, *ngog, *χîôg, so possibly it is more correct to construct 77 *g'îôg / g'îu / k'iu (in accordance with the regular sounds of the series 79). If so, 77 may be etym. id. with 84 *g'îôg a kind of precious stone (cf. ode 304, phr. 85), and the line means: **They carry caps that are gem-adorned**. It is quite evident that C is right in principle, the k'iu k'iu referring to the appearance of the caps, just as in the balancing first line 86 **The silk robe is freshly bright** the last word describes the appearance of the robe.

1134. Pu wu pu a o 87.

A. Mao acc. to the traditional text reads thus and says: wu 88 (*ngo / nguo / wu) = 89 'to shout, to be noisy', and Cheng adds: 90, thus (after Erya) taking a o 91 as a short-form for 92 (hence Shîwen: **originally also wr. 92**), thus: **They are not noisy, not arrogant**. 91 = 'arrogant' we already had in ode 215, phr. 93. Shî ki: Wu ti pen ki (wr. by Ch'u Shao-sun, who was an adherent of the Lu school) quotes our ode here as having 94, and this 94 likewise serves for 92 'arrogant' in Chuang: Wai wu. — B. K'ung had a Mao text which read 95. This 96 'to rejoice' was *ngîwo / ngîu / y ü, and when Shî ki (loc. cit., Lu school) quotes 97, this 98 (*ngîwo) is a loan char. for 96. The discrepancy between the two versions is not so great as it appears, for 88 *ngo 'to shout' and 96 *ngîwo 'to rejoice, to be merry' are cognate words, the latter fundamentally meaning 'noisy merriment'. — C. Another interpr. Although a o 91 = 'arrogant' is well attested, it makes poor sense here. It is more likely that it is a short-form for a o 99 (both *ngog / ngâu / a o) 'to clamour', see gl. 558. This makes the two verbs analogous: **They are not noisy, not clamorous**. In just the same way 91 serves for 99 in Sün: K'iang kuo 100 **The people are noisy and clamorous**, which confirms C. — We compare:

Ode 299. Pu wu pu yang 1. A. Mao says nothing of wu and he defines yang 2 (*dîang) as = 3 (*sîang). K'ung, after Wang Su, takes wu 88 as short-form for 4, expounding: 5 **They commit no errors, they do no harm**. A violent and unnecessary alteration of the text. — B. Cheng paraphrases: 6 **They do not shout, they do not raise their voice**. — C. Another school (ap. a Han-time inscr. in the Li shî) reads 7, where 98 just as above is loan char. for 96 in the sense of 88, and 8 (*dîang) is loan char. for the homophonous 2. — The line is quite analogous to our line 87 above and confirms interpr. C there.

Hu k'a o chî hîu, see gl. 1126.

Ode CCXIII: Cho.

This short ode is difficult, and almost every line of it has been speculated about in various ways.

1135. Wu sho wang shî 9.

Oh, fine is the king's army. Waley translates: **Oh, gloriously did the king lead**, altering shî 10 (*sîar / si / shî) into 11 in order to obtain a rime to 12 *kăd / kăi / kie. But whereas 11 as a noun: 'a leader' is read *slîwăt / swi / shuai, as a verb: 'to lead' it is read *slîwăt / sîuət / shuai, which rimes no better with 12 *kăd than 10 *sîar does. In the Sung section the odes are often unrimed. In our ode here shî 10 recurs in the last line without any rime being aimed at. The shî 10 of Mao's version occurs in quotations in Tso, Yi Chou shu and Han Shî wai chuan, and there is no trace of any variant shuai 11. Thus the reading shî 10 is safely established, and the whole ode is a glorification of the royal army.

1136. Tsun yang shî huei, shî ch'un hi yi 13.

A. Mao: tsun 14=15; yang 16 = 17; huei 18 = 19; and K'ung expounds: **He led (the army) and took that (dark =) unenlightened one**, i. e. the wicked Yin king.

Mao in fact bases himself on Tso: Sün 12, which says: 20 »To annex the weak ones and to attack the (dark =) unenlightened ones«, then quoting this ode and adding: »t s u n y a n g sh ĭ h u e i 21, that means to settle the unenlightened«. But there are several fatal faults here. First sh u a i 15 has two meanings: 'to follow' and 'to lead'. T s u n 14 is synon. with 15 'to follow' but never with 15 'to lead'. Secondly y a n g 16 never means 17 'to take' (Mao), nor 'to attack' or 'to settle' (Tso). Ma Juei-ch'en and Ch'en Huan have desperately tried to find text par. where y a n g 16 could mean 'to take', but they are all extensions of meaning of the fundamental sense 16 = 'to rear' = 'to lay up for oneself, for one's use' etc. but never have the sense of 'to take' = 'to take possession of'. Thirdly, m e i 19 'dark' often means 'unenlightened', but there are no texts where h u e i 18 'dark' has this extended sense. — B. Han (ap. Wai chuan) foll. by Cheng therefore thinks that the line refers to Wen wang, who had great patience with the wicked Yin king: »He led (the states) to cherish that unenlightened one«. Same misconception about t s u n 14 as in A, and for the rest no better than A. — C. Chu: t s u n 14 = 22 (common), thus: »Following (the circumstances) he reared (the army) when the time was dark; but when the time was bright, he . . . etc.« — D. Waley takes t s u n 14 'to follow' as = 'to pursue', accepts Mao's y a n g 16 = 17 'to take' and then alters h u e i 18 into 23: »Swift was he to pursue and take«. — E. Another interpr. T s u n 14 = 'following, along, according as' (common). Sh ĭ 24 is = 25 as regularly in the Shĭ, so that the line = 26. H u e i 18 'dark, obscure' is obviously antithetical to the following h i 27 'bright'. Thus: »(Fine is the king's army), according as he reared it, it was (first) obscure, and then it became greatly bright, (therefore it became very great)«. This simple expl. tallies well with the whole theme of the ode: praise of the royal army.

Sh ĭ y u n g t a k i e, see gl. 374.

1137. W o l u n g (ch'ung) shou ch ĭ 28.

A. Mao: l u n g 29 = 30, thus: »We concordantly have received it«. Ch'en Huan is probably right in thinking that Mao took 29 to be a short-form for 31 (*k i u n g / k i u w o n g / k u n g, a w. that in Chou inscriptions is wr. 32) which is id. w. 33 'reverent, respectful' (Shu: M u sh ĭ 34 is wr. 35 in Han shu: S ū chuan). — B. Cheng: l u n g 29 is a short-form for 36 'grace, to favour', thus: »We have been favoured and received it«. Cf. ode 173, phr. 37 »He is full of grace, of brightness«, on which Mao says 29 = 36 and which Tso: Chao 12 already renders by 38. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: l u n g 29 is a short-form for 39, which in Fang yen is defined as = 40, the two words 41 of the ode thus being a binome = 'to receive': »We have received it«. — B is based on a good Shĭ par. — We compare:

Ode 304. H o t ' i e n c h ĭ l u n g (ch'ung) 42. A. Mao 29 = 30: »He (carried =) received the concord of Heaven«, rather meaningless. — B. Cheng: l u n g 29 is short-form for 36, as above: »He received the favour of Heaven«. In Ta Tai: Wei tsiang tsün Wen tsĭ the line is quoted 43.

絲衣其紆 87 不吳不教 88 吳 89 諱 90 不教慢 91 教 92 傲 93 復交匪教 94 驚 95 不娛不教
 96 娛 97 不虞 98 虞 99 教 100 百姓諱教 1. 不吳不揚 2 揚 3 傷 4 誤 5. 不為過誤 不有損傷
 6. 不謹諱 不大聲 7. 不虞不陽 8. 陽 9. 於鑠王師 10. 自師 11. 自中 12. 介 13. 遵養時時時純熙矣
 14. 遵 15. 率 16. 養 17. 取 18. 晦 19. 昧 20. 兼弱攻昧 21. 昔昧也 22. 循 23. 教 24. 時 25. 是 26. 是時是純
 熙矣 27. 熙 28. 我龍受之 29. 龍 30. 合 31. 龔 32. 龔 33. 恭 34. 恭行天之罰 35. 龔行 36. 龍 37. 為龍為
 光 38. 龍光 39. 龔 40. 受 41. 龍受 42. 何天之龍 43. 何天之龍 44. 蹻蹻王之造 45. 造 46. 為 47. 賓維

1138. Kiao kiao wang chī tsao 44. For kiao see gl. 169.

A. Mao: tsao 45 = 46, thus: »Martial were the king's deeds«. — B. Cheng reads 45 ts'ao: »Martial were (the king's hastening ones =) those who hastened to the king (to aid him); a comic idea.

1139. Shī wei er kung yün shī 47.

A. Mao says simply: kung 48 = 49, i. e. it is equal to 50, as often. Cheng paraphrases: 51 »In your management (of the troops) you truly attain to the principles of using the army»; word for word: »Shī wei that is er kung in your work (you) yün truly shī use-army«. Exceedingly forced. — B. Chu takes shī 52 in the sense of 'take as a master', i. e. to imitate, thus: »Your management (of the troops) we should imitate«. Chu skips the inconvenient first two words. And obviously shī 52 means 'army' here as in the first line of the ode. — C. Ch'en Huan cuts the line in two: Shī wei er kung; yün shī; thus: »This is your work; it is truly an army«. A line of two words, ending an ode, is quite out of the question. Ch'en's interpr. is fundamentally right, but in one line: »This through your work is truly an army!«.

Ode CCXCIV: Huan.

1140. Pao yu küe shī 53.

A. Mao: shī 54 = 49, as often, and Cheng expounds: »He could tranquilly (hold =) manage its (sc. the empire's) affairs«. This is very unnatural. — B. Chu therefore takes shī 54 in its ordinary sense: »He protected and held his officers«. I shrewdly suspect that yu 55 is really equal to 56, on the analogy of ode 236, phr. 57 and ode 249, phr. 58, but adhering to my principle to alter the transmitted text as little as possible (no variant for 55 is known here), I abide by the 55. Waley likewise takes 55 as = 56, but turns the line into a passive construction: »Guarded and aided by his knights«, which is grammatically strained. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en would alter shī into the graphically similar 59 (*t'o): »He preserved and possessed the land«, in order to make it rime with the following 60 *kã. But it is impossible to carry through any consistent rime system at all in this ode.

1141. Wu chao yü t'ien, huang yi kien chī 61.

Mao (after Erya): kien 62 = 63 'to change, alternate, take the place of, replace', as in Yili: Hiang yin tsiu li 64 »And then they alternately sing the ode Yü li«. But for the rest the comm. disagree. A. Cheng: yü 65 = 66, i. e. simply a particle, and huang 67 = 68, interpreting: »Oh, bright is Heaven, huang as sovereign it yi by him (sc. Wu wang) replaced him (sc. the last Yin king)«. This is exceedingly forced. — B. Wang Su: »Oh, bright was it (sc. the virtue of Chou) yü 65 (auprès de =) in the sight of Heaven, with huang 67 fine (sc. virtue) it replaced it (sc. the house of Yin)«. — C. Chu, while admitting that kien 62 is obscure, interprets: »(He =) his virtue blazed to Heaven, he became sovereign and replaced it (sc. the house of Yin)«. — D. Ch'en Huan: huang 67 'the august one' is equal to t'ien 'Heaven', thus: »Oh, (he =) his virtue was bright in the sight of Heaven, (the august one =) Heaven by him replaced it (sc. Yin)«. — E. Ma Juei-ch'en: kien 62 = 63 has the same sense as in Shu: Kao Yao mo 69 »Heaven charges men to (take its place =) represent itself« (a very debatable Shu phrase), thus: »It (Heaven) made him sovereign in order to (replace it =) represent it (on earth)«. — F. Waley: huang 67 = k'uang 70 as in ode 157, see gl. 393. There both huang 67 (Mao version) and k'uang 70 (Ts'i version) mean 'to correct, to regulate', but Waley takes 70 here in another sense of that verb: »Helping those that succeed him«. But surely yi kien chī 71 cannot mean »those that succeed him«. — G. Another interpr. The whole ode describes how Wu wang took the empire and settled his house. Huang regularly means 'august, majestic', and the word is governed by the following yi 72: huang-yi 'with augustness' = 'augustly', as in

Lun: Wei Ling kung 73 »With propriety he practises it, with humility he brings it forth», etc. (common). The *chī* 74 in *kiên chī* does not point to »the Yin» or any special object but is the general and indefinite pronoun as object, as in Lun: Li jen 75 »Those who (miss it =) make any slip are few»; *ibid.* 76 »I am not one who by birth (know it =) have knowledge». So *kiên chī* here means 'to replace it' = 'to make a replacement'. Our line 61 thus means: »Oh, he was bright (auprès de =) in the sight of Heaven, (with augustness =) augustly he (made a replacement =) came to the succession».

Ode CCXCV: Lai.

1142. Wo ying shou chī 77.

Mao (after Erya) says *ying* 78 = 79, and by this he does not mean, as Legge thinks: »Right is it we should have received (the kingdom)», nor, as Waley believes: »We, according to his work, receive», but Mao's *tang* 79 means 'to match, to stand up against' in the sense of 'to be the other party' in the action of the gift, thus 'to be the recipient', *ying-shou* thus practically a binome = 'to receive'. Thus: 77 »We have received it». Cf. Kyū: Chou yū 80 »You, my uncle, receive it and yet you feel hatred». The real question is whether this *ying* 'to be the recipient' is an extension of meaning from the fundamental sense of *ying* 78 'to respond' = 'to be the respondent', or whether it is loan char. for *ying* 81 'breast' in the sense of 'to breast', to stand up with the breast against, receive in the breast, to receive (cf. also gl. 857). To Tso: Siang 13, phr. 82 corresponds in Han shu: Wang Mang chuan 83 and in Hou Han shu: Kuang wu ki 84 (85 is common in the spurious chapters of the Shu, but does not happen to occur in the authentic ones; Kyū: Lu yū 86 »To preserve in the breast the bright virtue» is a different metaphor). Cf. Ch'u: T'ien wen 87 »How did they (sc. the deer) receive it (sc. their bodily shape)» (Wang Yi comm.: 81 = 88). The latter etymology: 'to breast' is supported by a par. in ode 300, see below, where we likewise have *ying* 81 'breast' as a verb: 'to breast', but with another extension of meaning: not 'to receive in the breast' but 'to turn the breast against, to withstand'. — We compare:

Ode 300. Jung ti shī ying 89. Lu (ap. Shī ki) reads 90. A. Mao: *ying* 81 = 79 'to match, to stand up against, to withstand', thus: »The Jung and Ti barbarians, them he withstood». Here the fundamental sense of 'to breast' is indubitable, and *ying* 78 'to respond to' is merely a loan char. for 81 (»to respond to the barbarians» in the sense of »to withstand» would be too far-fetched). — B. Chao K'i in comm. on Meng: T'eng Wen kung, shang, where this ode is quoted, says: *ying* 81 = 91, thus: »The Jung and Ti barbarians, them he struck». On Lü: Ch'a wei 92 and on Huai: Chu shu 93 Kao Yu similarly says *ying* 78 = 91: »He led an army and struck them»; »to strike the enemies». In all these cases it is a question of »to ying enemies» (whether wr. 78 or 81) and they really form but one: if 'to strike' is right in one, it is right in all and *vice versa*. But there are no other cases known in which *ying* means 'to strike', and

爾公云師公事功貴維女之事信得用師之道師乃保有厥士士有右保右命爾保右命之士家於昭于天皇以聞之聞代乃聞歌魚麗
於曰曰皇若天工人其代之匠以聞之禮以行之孫以出之失之者鮮矣
我非生而知之者我應受之當叔父實德且惜齊受多福齊受元命
齊受多福齊受保明德何以齊之受戎狄是齊

the interpr. is certainly made *ad hoc*. A is best because it can easily and naturally be derived from the fundamental sense of *ying* 'breast'.

1142 a. *Fu shī yī sī 94.*

Tso: *Sūan* 12 quotes the line with *p'u* 95 inst. of *fu* 96. Both mean 'to spread out'.

A. Mao: *yī* 97 = 98 (see gl. 467), without explaining the line further. Cheng expounds: «He spread everywhere that (toil of Wen wang's) and (drew it out =) expanded it and practised it». How *sī* 99 could mean 100 'practised it' he further explains in the last ode line *Wu yī sī 1* «Oh, you (officers) should expand and 2 think of practising it». Word for word, line 94 would thus mean: «He spread it (the toil) everywhere, and expanded it and thought of (practising it); line 1: «Oh, expand and think». An impossible construction. — **B.** Chu: *yī* 97 (which fundamentally means 'to draw out' as a thread) = 3 'to continue', thus: «He spread it out, he continued it and thought of it». — **C.** Ma Juei-ch'en: the final *sī* 99 is the common particle; *yī* 97, with Chu, is = 3, thus: «He spread it out and (drew it out =) continued it». — **D.** Waley: 97 (**dīāk* / *īāk* / *yī*) is a loan char. for 4 (**d'āk* / *d'vk* / *t s ē*) 'benefit', thus: «He spread his bounties». — **E.** Another interpr. *Sī* 99, with C, is the particle. *Yī* 97, with the Han school (gl. 467) means 'ample, ampleness, abundance'. For no less than five *Shī* par. with *yī* in this sense see gl. 467. Thus: «He spread everywhere that (ampleness: abundance)».

Ode CCXCVI: P'an.

1143. *Yūn yu hī ho 5.*

A. Mao says simply (after Erya): *hī* 6 = 7, and Cheng adds: *yu* 8 = 9, explaining: 10; and *hī* 6 means that there were nine great rivers which were combined into one whole when sacrificed to. Thus: «Truly they followed the plan (sc. of the mountains and rivers), and combined the rivers (sc. in their sacrifices)». This is obviously impossible. — **B.** Chu says that *yūn yu* is obscure, but he proposes tentatively that *yu* 11 (**zīōg* / *īqu* / *yū*) is loan char. for 12 (**dīōg* / *īqu* / *yū*); *hī ho* 'the harmonized rivers' means 'the regulated rivers', regulated so as not to inundate. Thus: «They truly followed the harmonized rivers». — **C.** Ma Juei-ch'en: *yu* 11 = 13 (as often) in the sense of 14, paraphrasing: 15 «the (branches of) the river (agreed with =) followed their courses and jointly flowed». Thus our ode line 5: «(The long narrow ridges, the high peaks), the obediently-flowing and joined rivers». — **D.** Waley (with hesitation): 6 (**χīap* / *χīap* / *hī*) is loan char. for 16 **g'āp* / *γāp* / *hīa* 'gully' (of this 16 no early text ex., but etym. id. w. 17 **g'āp* 'narrow, a defile'). This is unconvincing because the phonetic discrepancy is too great. — **E.** Another interpr. *Yūn* 18, with Ch'en Huan, is merely the common empty particle; *yu* 11, with Ma, is equal to 13, 14 'to accommodate oneself to, to follow'; *hī* 6 (**χīap*) is a short-form for 19 (**χīap* / *χīap* / *hī*), Shuowen = 20 'the sound of swiftly-flowing water', thus: «They followed the roaring River». *Hī* 19, of which there are no other text ex., is id. w. 21 (**χīap* / *χīap* / *hī*), which occurs in the *Shang lin fu* by Sī-ma Siang-ju (2nd c. B. C.). — Though it is a weakness of E that there are no par. pre-Han texts (the one adduced, after all, is of very early Han time), it is certainly superior to A—C. However we turn the expl. 6 = 7 (Mao), the interpr. will always be hopelessly strained.

1144. *P'ou shī chī tuei, shī Chou chī ming 22.*

A. Mao (after Erya): *p'ou* 23 = 24, Cheng = 25, and Cheng adds: *tuei* 26 = 27, and *shī* 28 = 29; thus: «P'ou all of them (sc. the spirits of the hills and streams) *shī* like that *tuei* he (matched =) brought together» (and sacrificed to). — **B.** Chu: *tuei* 26 = 30: «P'ou we brought together *shī* those (sc. the feudal princes)

chī tuei and responded to them». — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: »(The princes) p'ou assemble shī there chī tuei and respond to it» (sc. to the king's grace). — D. Waley: »(To all that is under heaven 31), is linked as compeer the destiny of Chou», thus taking chī 32 as the genitive particle; word for word: (All under heaven), p'ou shī chī all their tuei compeers, that is Chou's destiny». — E. Another interpr. The subject of the clause is »they», referring to shī Chou 33 »those Chou» of the first line of the ode. The chī 32 is not the genitive particle but the demonstrative pronoun as object, resuming the preceding p'ou shī 'all those'; for this construction cf. ode 28, phr. 34 »The former princes, of them I am thinking», etc., and quite particularly ode 39, phr. 35 »(This, for that I long sigh =) long I sigh for it», where chī 32 resumes a demonstrative pronoun tsī 36, just as in our ode chī 32 resumes the pronoun p'ou shī 37 'all those'. Tuei 26 = 30 'to respond to' means that the Chou were welcome and responded to the wishes of all the world, which leads over to the last line. Thus 22: »(All under the vast heaven), to (the wishes of) all those (lands) they responded, that was the (heavenly) appointment of the Chou». That this is the meaning of tuei here is confirmed by a close par. in ode 241, phr. 38 »(To affirm the prosperity of the Chou), to respond to (the wishes of) all the world».

Ode CCXCVII: Kiung.

1145. Kiung kiung mu ma 39.

For kiung 40 *kiweng / kiweng / kiung 'sturdy, powerfully built' (horse) Shuowen has the var. 41, same meaning, and both Shīwen and Ts'ie yün state that this was also read *kiweng / kiweng / kiung. That is because their authors knew that it only occurs in this ode, as var. for 40, but the reading is very improbable (phonetic 42 *kwāng), the -āng and -eng groups being very rarely confused in the phonetic series. The Shuowen w. 41 is probably id. with 43 *kwāng / kwang / kung 'ample' (= 44, see Tuan Yü-ts'ai on Shuowen under this word) and should be read *kwāng. Shīwen says that Shuowen also had a var. 45 (*kiog / kieu / kia o), but that is a mistake of Lu's, Shuowen's 45 referring to a var. of Mao's 46 in ode 259.

A. The orthodox version reads 47 (*môg / mzu / mu), thus: »Sturdy are the stallions». This was also Shuowen's version (under 41). — B. Shīwen records the var. 48 (*mîôk / mjuk / mu), and K'ung's version had this; »Sturdy are the baited horses». From Cheng's comm. 49 »they were always baited on the distant open grounds» it has been concluded that Cheng already had a text with 48, but that is not conclusive, for his comm. expounds the following ode line (50). — In the T'ai p'u chen by Yang Hiung we find: 51, which clearly refers to this ode, so that the version A with 47 is the oldest attested (both Yang Hiung and Shuowen), and we should abide by this.

10 戎狄是患 21 擊 22 師師患之 23 患敵 24 數時繹思 25 鋪 26 敷 27 繹 28 陳 29 思 30 行之 1.
於繹思 2 思行之 3 尋繹 4 澤 5 允猶翁河 6 翁 7 合 8 猶 9 圖 10 信案山川之圖 11 猶
12 由 13 若 14 順 15 河以順軌而合流 16 峽 17 狹 18 允 19 滄 20 水疾聲 21 逸 22 衰時之對時
周之命 23 衰 24 聚 25 衆 26 對 27 配 28 時 29 如是 30 答 31 敷天之下 32 之 33 時周 34 先君之
思 35 茲之永歎 36 茲 37 衰時 38 以對于天下 39 駟駟牡馬 40 駟 41 駟 42 光 43 仇 44 盛 45 驍
驍 46 驍 47 牡馬 48 牧馬 49 必牧於坰野 50 在坰之野 51 偕好牡馬牧於坰野 52 思無疆思

1146. St. 1. *Sī wu kiang, sī ma sī tsang* 52;
 St. 2. *Sī wu k'i, sī ma sī ts'ai* 53;
 St. 3. *Sī wu yi, sī ma sī tso* 54;
 St. 4. *Sī wu sie, sī ma sī ts'u* 55.

A. Cheng takes *sī* 56 in its ordinary sense of 'to think': 52 »He (the prince) thought without limit, he thought of the horses being good»; 53 »He thought without bounds, he thought of the horses being of fine quality»; 54 »He thought untiringly, he thought of the horses' beginning» (i. e. being broken in, this after Mao: 57 = 58); »He thought without deflection, he thought of the horses' running». — B. Ch'en Huan: *sī* 56 is the common particle. It is curious that Wang Yin-chī who (in the wake of Mao and Chu, in regard to a few odes) explains *sī* as a particle in a great many odes (see gl. 700), does not include this one, though it is quite evident that our case here belongs to the same category. Thus Ch'en is undoubtedly right. But then he continues: in 52 and 53, the *wu kiang* and *wu k'i* are a prayer, in 54 and 55 *wu yi* and *wu sie* are an exhortation and warning: 52 »May without limit (for unlimited times) the horses be good»; 53 »May for boundless times the horses be of fine quality»; 54 »Do not be weary; the horses (are =) should be (beginning =) broken in»; 55 »Do not be (deflected =) at fault; the horses (are =) should be running». This interpr. spoils the parallelism entirely. — C. Waley takes *tso* 59 = 'to breed' and 60 as loan char. for 61, which he takes to mean 'to sire'. — D. Another interpr. All four lines follow immediately upon lines describing how the horses run vigorously in front of their chariots, and all four phrases with *wu* 62 connect with the preceding, praising their strength and skill. Most unambiguously this comes out in 55: »(With their chariots they go vigorously), **without (turning away =) swerving; the horses run**» (it is a common praise of good horses that they go »unswervingly», e. g. in ode 179). Similarly in 54 *wu yi* 'untiringly' refers to the horses and corresponds to the following *tso* 59, which consequently means 'active' (a common meaning of *tso*, see gl. 856), thus: »(With their chariots they go grandly), **without becoming tired; the horses are active**». The corresponding *wu* phrases in 52 and 53 should, acc. to the laws of parallelism in the odes, be analogous to »without becoming tired, without swerving», and they likewise refer to the running of the horses in front of their chariots: 52 »(With their chariots they go *bang-bang*), (without limit =) **for any length of time; the horses are good**»; 53 »(With their chariots they go strongly), (without time-limit =) **for any amount of time; the horses are of fine quality**». This simple explanation obviates all forced speculations: the whole ode is nothing but a praise of the prince's fine horses.

Yi kü pang pang, see gl. 218; *Yi kü yi yi*, see gl. 467.

Ode CCXCVIII: Yu pi.

Chen chen lu, see gl. 18 and 1095.

1147. *Kün tsī yu ku* 63.

A. Mao: *ku* 64 = 65, thus: »The lord has (good =) luck». — B. Waley takes *ku* 64 its primary sense: »The lord has corn». — B is quite plausible in itself, but we have two par. in favour of A: ode 196, phr. 66 »From what can there be (good =) luck»; ode 204, phr. 67 »How can I have luck», see gl. 491.

Ode CCXCIX: P'an shuei.

Sī lo p'an shuei, see gl. 854.

1148. *K'i k'i pei pei* 68.

A. Mao: *pei pei* 69 (Shīwen **b'wād / b'uài / pei* and **p'wād / p'uài / p'ei*) = 70, thus »His banners are regular, orderly». No text par. — B. Shuowen 69 (**b'wāt / b'wāt / fa*) = 71 'the leaves of plants being many'. Ts'ien Wen-tsī (Sung time) has seiz-

ed upon this: «His banners are like numerous hanging leaves». This suits the rime badly (*x*: **ɣwād* : *d'ād*: **mwād*), and Shuowen's definition is not supported by any early text ex. Yet the word may be cognate to 72 (**b'wād* / *b'uāi* / *p ei* and **p'wād* / *p'uāi* / *p' ei*, Shīwen) = 'dense, luxuriant' (foliage) in ode 140, phr. 73 «Its leaves are luxuriant». Observe that Shīwen reads our 69 here and 72 'luxuriant' in ode 140 in exactly the same way (the same alt. readings **b'wād*, **p'wād*). With this modification, then, B is worth considering: «His banners are like dense leaves». — C. Chu: *pei pei* 69 = 74 'to fly and rise', thus: «His banners flutter». Though Chu does not expressly say so, this means that he takes 69 to be a loan char. for 75 **b'wād* / *b'uāi* / *p ei* 'streamer'. Indeed, in ode 177, phr. 76 «The white streamers were brilliant» Shīwen records the variant 69; and in Tso: Ting 4, 69 serves for 75 'streamer'. Now this *pei* 75 functions as a verb = 'to be streamer-like, to flutter' in ode 168, phr. 77 «Do they not flutter», and in ode 245, phr. 78 «The large beans were (streamer-like =) rankly-waving». It is quite evident that here again our 69 is but a loan char. for this 75 'to flutter' and that C is right.

Luan sheng hui hui, see gl. 482; K'i ma kiao kiao, se gl. 169.

1149. Yung sin an lao 79.

Nan lao:

Cheng expounds this as = 80, but that is just as ambiguous as the phr. *nan lao* itself. It may mean 'difficult to cause to become old', i. e. ageing with difficulty, withstanding the forces of ageing, and so Waley has understood it («youth unending»). But it may also mean 'old age that is difficult to bring about', i. e. old age difficult to obtain, 'a rare old age' (so Legge). For the latter there is a good par. in Lun: T'ai po: 81 «Talent is difficult (to obtain), rare».

The whole line:

A. Cheng: «He (ever:) always bestows gifts on those of a rare old age». This is because in Li: Wang chī and Li: Wen wang shī tsī it is told how the performances in the schools were regularly combined with feasts for the old men. — B. K'ung: *si* 82 'to bestow, to give' does not refer to the prince, but to Heaven: «For (ever =) long there will be given him a rare old age». This is clearly confirmed by several Shī par. in which *yung si* has this sense: ode 209, phr. 84 «Forever they (the spirits) will give you the utmost (blessings)»; ode 247, phr. 85 «Forever there will be given you good (things)»; *ibid.* 86 «Forever there will be given you blessings and posterity».

1150. Shun pi ch'ang tao 87.

A. Cheng takes this to refer to the war expedition against the Huai barbarians celebrated throughout this ode. *Shun* 88 = 89: «He has followed that long road (and subdued all this multitude)». Cf. Yili: Ta shē yi 90 «He follows (with the hand), passes along the left and right curves», on which Cheng: the *kin wen* version for 88 reads 91. 88 *d'iwān* / *dž'iwěn* / *shun* 'to follow, to obey, to accord with' and 91 **dziwān* / *ziwěn* / *sün* 'to follow, go along' are closely cognate words (they belong to a great word family, see BMFEA 5, p. 87). For *ch'ang tao* 'long road', cf. ode 129, phr. 92 «The road is

馬斯臧 51 思無期思馬斯才 52 思無數思馬斯作 53 思無邪思馬斯但 54 思 57 作 58 始 59
作 60 但 61 祖 62 無 63 君子有穀 64 穀 65 善 66 自何能穀 67 曷云能穀 68 其旂茂茂 69 茂 70
有法度 71 柞葉多 72 肺 73 其葉肺肺 74 飛揚 75 旆 76 白旆央央 77 胡不旆旆 78 荏苒旆旆
79 永錫難考 80 難使老 81 才難 82 錫 83 永錫 84 永錫爾極 85 永錫爾類 86 永錫祚胤 87 順
彼長道 88 順 89 從 90 順左右隈 91 循 92 道阻且長 93 長 94 大 95 陳 96 南順 97 南陳 98 南肆

difficult and long». — B. Chu says 93 = 94, thus: »May he accord with those great principles». I suppose Chu then reads *ch ang*, not *ch 'ang*, though he does not say so. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en (after Erya): *sh un* 88 = 95, and, with Chu, 93 = 94, thus: »He sets out (displays) those great principles». The only support adduced is Yili: *Shi kuan li* 96 which corresponds to Yili: *T'ê sheng kuei si li* 97 and to Li: *Hiang yin tsiu li* 98; but the 88 *sh un* here has the sense of 'to cede the place, take an inferior position', and is not synon. with *ch 'en* 95, so the par. is not conclusive. — D. Ch'en Huan: »He follows the constant norms». — D is quite plausible in itself, but since the ode celebrates the great expedition against the south-eastern barbarians, the concrete and well substantiated oldest interpr. (A) is preferable.

K 'ü ts 'i k 'ün ch 'ou, see gl. 918; *Chao kia lie tsu*, see gl. 1018.

1151. *Cheng cheng huang huang* 99.

For *huang huang* see gl. 661.

A. Mao: *cheng cheng* 100 = 1 'ample' (Chu = 2); in ode 244, phr. 3 Mao (after Erya) said *cheng* = 4 'sovereign, majestic', and Han said *cheng* = 5 'fine'. These are merely variations of the same idea, that *cheng* is a praising attribute, which I have rendered by 'splendid'; thus here: »**Splendid and august**». — B. Cheng (after Erya): *cheng* 100 = 6; and, as stated in gl. 661, he takes *huang* 7 to mean 'to go'. Thus »They advanced, they went along». The latter was already refuted in gl. 661. As to *cheng*, it often means 6 as a transitive verb = 'to bring forward, to present' (odes 210, 220 etc.). But as an intransitive verb = 'to advance' it is poorly attested. Erya says *cheng cheng* = 8 'to rise, to start', which has been twisted into meaning 'to advance', but text ex. are missing. On Shu: Yao tien 9 pseudo-K'ung says *cheng* = 6 'advancingly, progressively', but Wang Yin-chi and followers have refuted this, showing that it means 'amply'. On Shu: To fang 10 pseudo-K'ung again says *cheng* = 6: »He did not in purity progress», but Ma Jung says *cheng* = 11, and the phr. has been much debated, pseudo-K'ung being certainly wrong. Thus B lacks text support. — We compare:

Ode 300. *Cheng t'u tseng tseng* 12. Here Cheng says that *cheng t'u* 13 means 14 »the footmen advance», with an impossible inversion of the words. But in ode 238 on the same phr. 13 he says *cheng* = 15 »**The many men**», which is correct, see gl. 387.

Pu wu pu yang, see gl. 1134.

1152. *Pu kao yü hiung* 16.

A. Mao has no gloss here, but on ode 191, phr. 17 »It sends down these ample quarrels» he says *hiung* 18 = 19 'litigation, quarrel'. Cheng expounds: »They do not (announce =) appeal to the (litigation officers =) judges», thus taking *hiung* as = 20. But there is no reason for this. *Hiung* means simply 'quarrel', and with Mao's definition the line simply means: »**They do not report in contention with each other**». — B. Ch'en Huan (foll. by Wang Sien-k'ien): 21 (**kôg* and **kôk*) is loan char. for 22 **kîôk* = 23 in the sense of 'to punish (culprits) to the utmost', and *hiung* 18 is equal to the homophonous 24; thus: »They do not mete out extreme punishments to the miscreants». A curious and quite unacceptable speculation.

1153. *Kü e kung k' i k' iu* 25.

A. Mao: *k' iu* 26 (**g'îôg / g'îgu / k' iu*) = 27, thus: »The horn(-adorned) bows are relaxed». — B. Cheng: 28, thus: »The horn(-adorned) bows are eagerly pulled». — C. Chu: *k' iu* = 29, thus: »The horn(-adorned) bows are strong». — D. In ode 215 we have 30, and this is quoted 31 (**g'îôg / g'îgu / k' iu*) in Shuowen and defined as = 32, thus: »The Kuang vase of rhinoceros horn is long and curved». The word means the same here: »**The horn(-adorned) bows are long and curved**». Cf. Kuliang: Ch'eng 7, phr. 33 »a curved horn».

1154. Shu shī k'ī sou 34.

A. Mao: sou 35 (**ṣiôg* / *ṣiəu* / sou) = 36 'has the meaning of 'many'. Thus: «The bundled arrows are numerous». Sou 35 properly means 'to search', and this making no sense here, the char. is obviously a loan char. Mao means that it is equal to 37 (both **ṣiôg*, even tone) Erya = 38 'the meet, *réunion*' (autumnal hunt). In Kungyang: Huan 4 the 'autumnal hunting meet' is called 39, Shīwen var. 35 (Kuliang correspondingly has 37, and Shīwen var. 35). Thus the two characters are freely interchangeable. — B. Cheng: sou 35 = 40 'vigorous and rapid', but then the word shu 41 makes poor sense («the bundled arrows are vigorous and rapid»). No text par. — C. Chu: sou 35 is the sound of the arrows; Legge observes that shu 'bundled' is then meaningless, and he says: «we must drop the shu 41 in the translation»(!): «The arrows whizz forth»; Waley tries to evade the difficulty by translating: «Our sheaves of arrows whizzed». Chu's interpr. is based on the idea that 35 is here equal to the 42 (**ṣiôg*) in ode 245, phr. 43, which Mao takes as an onomatopoe: «They wash it (the rice), (it sounds) *ṣiôg-ṣiôg*». But that interpr. was refuted in gl. 878. — A is best substantiated.

1155. Jung kü k'ung po 44.

A. Mao reads thus. Wang Su therefore interprets: «The war chariots are very (wide =) large». — B. Cheng: po 45 ought to be 46 in the sense of 47 = 48 'safe and convenient'. — The rime words are **dǐāk*, **ngǐāk*, and Mao's 45 **pāk* makes a correct rime, whereas Cheng's 46 **b'üwo* fails in the rime.

1156. Huai wo hao yin 49.

A. Cheng: huai 50 = 51: «They revert to us with good sounds». This 50 = 51 was refuted in gl. 110 a. — B. They (cherish =) comfort us with their fine notes».

1157. Ta lu nan kin 52.

A. Mao: lu 53 = 54, thus: «They largely present us with southern metal». — B. The comm. on Hou Han shu reads 55, and this 55 (var. of 56) meaning 'state carriage', Ma Juei-ch'en believes that the lu 53 of the Mao text is a loan char. for this 57: «State carriages and southern metal». A ridiculous idea that the Huai barbarians presented «state carriages».

Ode CCC. Pi kung.

1158. Pi kung yu hü 58.

A. Mac: pi 59 (**piəd* / *pji* / pi) = 60 (**pied* / *piei* / pi) 'to shut, to close', thus: «The closed temple is still»; (**piəd* and **pied* are cognate words). Pi 59 in this sense is common (ode 54, Tso: Chuang 32, Min 2 etc.). — B. Cheng: pi 59 = 61, thus: «The divine temple is still». This is more an extension of meaning than a different sense. The word 62 (**piəd* / *pji* / pi) 'secret, mysterious' is really etym. id. with 59 (closed, hidden >

11 肅肅皇皇 10 肅 1 厚 2 盛 3 文王肅哉 4 君 5 美 6 進 7 皇 8 作 9 克諧以孝肅 10.
不顯肅 11 升 12 肅徒增增 13 肅徒 14 徒進行 15 衆 16 不告于訇 17 降此鞠訇 18 訇 19 訇 20.
治訇之官 21 告 22 鞠 23 窮 24 凶 25 角弓其觶 26 觶 27 弛克 28 言持弦急也 29 弓堅克 30 兕
觶其觶 31 其觶 32 角克 33 觶角 34 束矢其搜 35 搜 36 衆意 37 蒐 38 聚 39 度 40 勁疾 41 束 42.
隻 43 釋之隻 44 戎車孔博 45 博 46 博 47 博 48 安利 49 懷我好音 50 懷 51 歸 52 大路南
金 53 路 54 遺 55 大路 56 大輅 57 輅 58 路 59 闕宮有恤 60 闕 61 闕 62 神 63 秘 64 愼 65 實

secret, mysterious), and Cheng takes **piəd* in this sense of 'secret, mysterious, supernatural, divine'. In his definition he may have been influenced by the fact that Erya defines both 63 (**piəd*, homophonous with 59) and 61 as = 64. — No reason to abandon Mao's more fundamental sense. Legge's »the solemn temple« is wide of the mark.

1159. Shī shī mei mei 65.

Shī shī:

A. Mao: shī shī 66 = 67 'wide and great', i. e. 'vast'. I suppose that Mao meant this as an extension of meaning from the common meaning 'full': 'containing much, capacious, spacious'(?). If so, this is very far-fetched. — B. Chu: shī shī = 'solid', a common meaning of the word.

Mei mei:

A. Mao: mei mei 68 = 69. Mao by his mi 70 does not mean 'mysterious' (as Waley translates the mei mei), nor 71 'the fine and close structure of the building', as Tsou Ts'üan (Ming dyn.) thinks, but something quite different. In Kyü: Tsin yü it is said about the house of the king: 72 »They carve the beams and scrape them and apply the whetstone«. It is doubtful whether mi shī 73 'whetstone' means 'fine-textured, fine-grained stone' or 'the stone for mi minute work' (K'ung: 74), but it is in any case evident that Mao's gloss meant: polished and minutely worked, polished fine in every detail. But for mei 68 in this sense there are no text par. Possibly we could adduce that in Chouli: Lun jen, mei 68 means 'a tenth of an inch', a minute measure, 68 **mwər* / *muqi* / mei then cognate to 75 **mjwər* / *mjwqi* / wei 'minute, small'. But even so an interpr. with Mao: »It is minute« in the sense of »It is minutely worked« would be very strained. — B. Kiang Yung: mei mei means 76 'the equipment being complete. Evidently he takes mei in its sense of 'a piece, an item', mei mei meaning: »(there being) every item«, which is even more far-fetched. — C. Another interpr. All comm. agree that the line refers to the building and describes it. Now mei 68 is *inter alia* a technical term meaning 'a board' used in timbering. Cf. Tso: Siang 21: »My horses turned round in the gate, 77 I know the number of its boards«, the number of boards used in timbering the gate door. It seems evident that this is the sense in our ode: »It is very solid, board upon board«.

Shang ti shī yi, see gl. 837.

1160. Kiang chī po fu 78.

A. Cheng: »(Heaven) sent down on him a hundred blessings«. — B. Waley: The subject is Hou Tsi: »He sent down on them (the people) a hundred blessings«. This is confirmed in gl. 874 above.

Yen yu hia kuo, see gl. 827; Chī t'ien chī kie, see gl. 521.

1161. Wu er wu yü 79.

A. Mao: yü 80 (**ngiwo* / *ngiu* / yü) is loan char. for 81 (**ngo* / *nguo* / wu). Now this wu 81 has two meanings: 'to err' and 'to cheat'. K'ung believes that Mao meant the former: »Do not (double =) break faith, do not (err =) blunder«. But Ma Juei-ch'en rightly points out that 'to cheat' agrees better with the preceding 'to break faith' (when Ma quite arbitrarily wants to alter er 82 into t'ê 83, this should be rejected). Thus: »Do not break faith, do not play false«. For wu 81 in this sense see Tso: Chao 27, Chao 30 etc. The char. 80 is very common, but I know of no sure case where it serves for 81 (on the other hand 81 in one case serves for 80 'to be anxious': Ta Tai: Wen wang kuan jen 84 [comm. 80 = 85], which recurs as 86 in Yi Chou shu: Kuan jen kie). One possible case might be Tso: Süan 15, the words of a covenant: 87. Chu Tsün-sheng thinks that this means: »We shall not deceive you, you shall not cheat us«, that is very tempting, but the ancient comm. say nothing of 80 here and evidently understand it in its ordinary sense: »You shall not take precautions against us«. Thus the par. is not

conclusive. — B. Cheng: y ü 80 = 88, Chu = 89 'to consider, to think anxiously about, to be anxious'. Y ü in this sense is very common. Thus: «Do not break faith, do not be anxious». — B, which does not presuppose a loan of char. (*ngiwo for *ngo) like A, but takes y ü in one of its most common meanings, seems safest.

1162. Tun Shang chí lü 90. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: 91 = 92, and Shīwen concludes that he read *twər / tuəi / t u e i. 91 in this reading means 92 in the sense of 93 'to carve' sc. jade, see gl. 882. Thus here: «He (carved =) trimmed the hosts of Shang», a very forced expl. — B. Wang Su (ap. Shīwen): 91 = 94 'thick, make thick, to heap', then read *twən / tuən / t u n. We have it in this sense and reading in ode 263, phr. 95 «Extensively he (heaped =) massed (his troops) on the Huai River bank», see gl. 1037. Also in ode 40, phr. 96 «The king's affairs are (thick =) heaped on me», see gl. 112. As pointed out by Ma Juei-ch'en and Ch'en Huan, our ode line is quite analogous to ode 305, phr. 97 «He brought together the multitudes of King», where 98 means 99 'to collect, bring together'. In both these odes it is a question of the people of a conquered state. Thus: «He brought together the multitudes of Shang». — C. Waley (with hesitation): 91 *twən is loan char. for 100, which read *d'wən / d'uən / t u n means 'to ruin' in Kyü: Chou yü 1 «The king may be ruined» (Wei Chao: 100 = 2). Thus: «He ruined the hosts (armies) of Shang». — C is worth considering, but B is confirmed by the Shī par. 97, which in fact is conclusive.

1163. K' o hien kü e kung 3. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: hien 4 = 5 explaining: «He could have his merits together with (the ancestors)». Chu modifies this into: «He could have his merits together with (his helpmates)». — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: hien 4 'all' means 6 'to make complete'. Thus: «He was able to make his work complete». Cf. Li: Yüe ki 7 «The Hien-ch'i (a piece of music) means completeness»; Kyü: Lu yü 8 «Small gifts are not complete» (not sufficiently comprehensive), on which Wei Chao: 4 = 9. — C. Ch'en Huan: 4 is a short-form for 10 'to reduce', here in the sense of 'to exterminate', and k' o 11 = 'to vanquish', thus: «To vanquish and exterminate was his deed». — B is well substantiated.

1164. Liu pei er er 12.

A. Mao: er er 13 = 14 'very ample'. In ode 105, phr. 15, var. 16, Mao said 17 = 18 'many', and evidently he took our 13 here as a variant for 19. As final particles 13 and 19 are practically synonymous, and one might guess that 13 therefore could serve as a variant for 19 in the sense of 17. So all later comm. have understood the line. But this is really out of the question, for in ode 105 the word 17 was *niər / niei / n i, riming with 20 *tsiər: *d'iər, and here 13 is *ñiəg / ñzi / e r, riming with 21 *tsiəg: *dziəg. Thus 13 cannot be a variant for 19. — B. Chu: er er 13 = 22 'soft and pliant'. Chu does not state how he has arrived at this sense. But it is evident that 13 *ñiəg 'ear' must be a loan char. for some other *ñiəg, and probably Chu thought of 23 *ñiəg / ñzi / e r 'to

枚枚 16 實 17 廣大 18 枚 19 鬱密也 20 密 21 結構密 22 斲其椽而鑿之加密石焉 23 密石 24
細密 25 微 26 器物完備 27 識其枚數 28 降之百福 29 無貳無虞 30 虞 31 誤 32 貳 33 貳 34 營
之以物而不虞 35 憂 36 而不誤 37 我無爾詐爾無我虞 38 度 39 慮 40 敦商之旅 41 敦 42 治
43 彫 44 厚 45 鋪敦淮濱 46 王事敦我 47 哀荊之旅 48 哀 49 聚 50 頓 1. 王幾頓乎 2. 敗 3. 克
成厥功 4. 咸 5. 同 6. 備 7. 咸池備矣 8. 小賜不咸 9. 偏 10. 減 11. 克 12. 大營耳耳 13. 耳 14. 至
盛也 15. 至營滴滴 16. 至營爾爾 17. 滴 18. 聚 19. 爾 20. 濟弟 21. 子祀 22. 柔從 23. 肅 24. 率夫肅

boil soft', e. g. Tso: Süan 2, phr. 24 »The cook soft-boiled bear's paws»; same word in Ch'u: Chao hun. Thus: »The six reins are very (soft-boiled =) supple». This is worth considering, but I know of no other case where a word of the 13 series serves as loan for one of the 25 series or *vice versa*. — C. Another interpr. 13 **ñiag* is a short-form for 26 **ñiag / ñzi / er* 'sinew'. Cf. Li: Nei tsê 27 »One removes the sinews (from the meat)» (Cheng: 28 = 29). 28 here should really be 30 (**ñiag*), Ts'ie yün = 29 'sinew'. Thus: »The six reins are like sinews (so strong)».

1165. Hia er pi heng 31.

A. Mao: pi heng (**piak / piak / pi*, Shīwen and Kuang yün, or **piük / piuk / fu*, Shīwen and Ts'ie yün) = 'wooden cross-piece on bull's horns' (to prevent it from goring). — B. Tuan Yü-ts'ai: Shuowen under ka o 32 describes the cross-piece on the horns, but the word pi 33 it defines as = 34 'something of wood by which it is pressed and tied', and Tuan concludes that the pi heng was not the stick on the horns but some kind of 35 railing. — C. In Chouli: Feng jen we find: »At the sacrifices they clean the bull, 36 apply the pi-heng and put on the nose-rope». Here it is quite clear that pi-heng is something applied to the body of the bull. But the same Cheng Hün who in our ode follows Mao above (A), here in comm. on Chouli makes pi heng two different objects: pi on the horns and heng on the nose. There are no pre-Han texts that reveal clearly the nature of these various objects, and we have nothing to do but to follow the most ancient interpr. (A); heng 37 fundamentally means 'crosswise', and pi 33 (**piak*) being probably etym. id. w. 38 (**piak*) 'to press, to force', it is quite plausible that pi-heng meant 'the forcing cross-piece' and had the sense indicated by Mao.

1166. Hitsun tsiang tsiang 39.

A. Mao says of the hi tsun 40, which has led to all kinds of speculations. First that 41 (**chia*) and 42 (**sa*) »anciently had the same sound» (! Ma Juei-ch'en), which would account for Mao's definition; and then that 43 meant 'décor of pheasant's plumes', or that 42 is equal to 44 etc. — all very futile. — B. Various other comm. speculate about the tsun vase having a bull décor (41) or that it was in bull's shape etc. — C. Hi 41 meaning 'sacrificial animal', hi tsun probably simply meant 'sacrificial vase' (so Waley). Thus: »The sacrificial vases are very grand». It is generally accepted that the fundamental sense of hi 41 is 'pure-coloured i. e. one-coloured animal'. But I shrewdly suspect that the original sense is quite different. 41 and 45 'to rejoice, to jest, to sport' both were **chia / χiē / hi*, and 41 fundamentally may mean 'joyful, happy', analogous to ki 46 'good, happy, auspicious', the sacrificial animal being called hi »the happy (auspicious) one» and the sacrificial vase »the happy (auspicious) vessel». Compare: 47 is equal to 48 'a lucky omen'. — Tsiang tsiang, by Wang Su defined as = 49 'fine and ample', is the ordinary tsiang 'great, grand', see gl. 15; Ch'en Huan wants it to mean 50 or 51 'are joined', but for this there is no support.

1167. Pien tou ta fang 52.

That ta fang means »the great foodstand» is generally admitted; in Li: Ming t'ang wei it is called fang tsu 53. But the etymology has been variously explained. A. Mao: ta fang = 54 'a stand for a half body (of a sacrificial animal)'. It is an old idea that 55 **b'iwang / b'iwang / fan g* is etym. cognate to 56 **b'wáng / b'wáng / p'a n g* 'side'. Shuowen defines 55 'apartment' as = 57 'the room that is at the side' (behind the t'ang 58 'hall' is the shī 59 chamber, and at both sides of this are the two fang 55 'side-apartments'). Mao's opinion that fang tsu 53 means 'half-victim stand' and ta fang here 'the great half-victim (stand)' is based on Kyü: Chou yü 60 »In the ti sacrifice in the suburb there is the presenting of the whole (victim), at the wine-drinking in standing position of the king and the princes there is the presenting of the

half (victim)». Fang 55 = p'ang 56 then means 'one side' = 'a half body'. — B. Cheng explains that the fang was a tsu 61, adorned with jade, which between the 62 feet had 63 cross-bars, and between them 64 a support, raising it higher so that it resembled the fang 55 'apartment' behind the t'ang hall. Thus the fang tsu 53 properly means 'the apartment-like stand', and ta fang 'the great apartment (stand)'. — Etymological speculations like these are in fact of little value. I suspect that 55 *b'iwang, both in the sense of 'apartment' and of 'sacrificial stand', is cognate to 65 *p'iwang / p'iwang / fang 'square' rather than to 56 *b'wáng 'side', the 'apartment' meaning simply 'a square' and the ta fang 'the great square (stand)'. In any case, the more vague translation 'great stand' does not commit us to any definite etymology. 1168. Wan wu yang yang 66.

A. Mao: yang yang 67 = 68, thus: 'The (dancers in the) wan dance are very numerous'. — B. Waley: 'The wan dance is very grand'. We had yang in this sense in ode 57, phr. 69 'The water of the River is (ample:) voluminous', Mao = 70, and in ode 236: 'The field of Mu-ye was very (great:) wide'. 'Ample' and 'numerous' are kindred notions, but it is certainly better, with Waley, to take wan wu as the subject of the clause.

1169. Lu pang shī ch'ang, pu k'uei pu peng 71.

A. Cheng: ch'ang 72 = 73, and k'uei peng 74 = 75 'to destroy, be destroyed'. Thus: 'The state of Lu you will have for ever, without being destroyed or ruined'. K'ung expounds this further: 'You will not like a mountain be k'uei destroyed or peng collapse'. Another idea is propounded by Ts'ao Suei-chung (Sung dyn.): k'uei 76 means 'to wane': 'Not waning (like the moon), pu peng not collapsing (like a mountain)'. But these two words in our ode have a much more concrete sense, referring to the men themselves, and are not such vague, poetical metaphors. K'uei means 'to damage, injure, destroy', cf. Tso: Chao 9, phr. 77 'If a leg or an arm is injured, destroyed, what pain is equal to that?' (Lin Yao-sou, Sung dyn.: k'uei = 78, after Siao Erya kuang yen); Mo: Shang t'ung, shang 79 'The people of the world with water and fire and poison injure and harm each other'. For peng 80, cf. ode 190: 'Your sheep come, they are vigorous and strong, 81 they are not defective, they do not (collapse =) break down'. Thus here 71: 'The state of Lu you will have for ever, you will not be injured, not break down'. That this concrete sense is the meaning here follows from the context: immediately before and after their long life is spoken of. — B. Waley takes Lu pang as subject: 'The land of Lu shall be for ever, it shall not crack or crumble'. For k'uei = 'to crack' I know of no par., but that could be bettered: 'it shall not be injured, not crumble'. At first sight this is tempting. But it fails in the logical sequence in the stanza: '(The ancestors) make you long-lived and good, you will preserve that eastern region; 71 the land of Lu' etc., immediately followed by a sentence

熊蹯²⁵而²⁶餌²⁷胹²⁸去其餌²⁹餌³⁰筋³¹腍³²胹³³更而樞衡³⁴告³⁵樞³⁶以木有所通³⁷
東³⁸闌³⁹閑⁴⁰設其樞衡置其絢⁴¹儀⁴²通⁴³犧⁴⁴尊將將⁴⁵有沙飾⁴⁶犧⁴⁷沙⁴⁸沙飾⁴⁹疏⁵⁰
戲⁵¹吉⁵²喜兆⁵³吉兆⁵⁴美盛⁵⁵集⁵⁶合⁵⁷籩豆大房⁵⁸房俎⁵⁹半體之俎⁶⁰房⁶¹旁
傍⁶²室之在旁⁶³堂⁶⁴室⁶⁵掃郊之事則有全烝王公立飲則有房烝⁶⁶俎⁶⁷足⁶⁸橫⁶⁹
附⁷⁰方⁷¹萬物洋洋⁷²洋洋⁷³衆多⁷⁴河水洋洋⁷⁵盛大兒⁷⁶魯邦是常不虧不崩⁷⁷常⁷⁸
守⁷⁹虧崩⁸⁰毀壞⁸¹虧⁸²股肱或虧何痛如之⁸³損⁸⁴天下之百姓皆以水火毒藥相虧

on their longevity. That the poet should first speak of their longevity, then pass on to the stability of the Lu state and then again jump back to their long life, is very unnatural. The whole passage refers to the rulers of Lu, their long life and invulnerability.

1170. *Pu chen pu t'eng* 82.

A. Mao: *chen* 83 = 84 'to move' and *t'eng* 85 = 86 'to mount, to surmount', both common meanings of the words. The gloss is terse and obscure and has been differently understood. *α*. Cheng: both *chen* and *t'eng* mean 87 'to infringe upon, offend against each other'. This means that Cheng took Mao's 86 in the sense of 88 'to overcome and oppress', as in Kyü: Chou yü 89 'To (surmount =) overcome, get the better of people unjustly, that is oppression'. The *t'eng* 85 of the ode occurs in this sense of 'to surmount' = 'to get on top of' in Kuan: Kün ch'en, hia: »A subject who alters the precedents and changes the rules and 90 with clever service fawns upon his superior, that is called (surmounting, overcoming him =) infringing upon him» (comm.: *t'eng* = 91 'infringing and overriding'). From Cheng's gloss it is not clear whether he took the line in the active: »You will not shake each other, not (surmount =) overcome each other», or in the passive: »You will not be shaken, not (surmounted =) overcome». The latter certainly suits the context best. *β*. K'ung: the line implies the simile of a quiet river: »You will not move, not rise»; but then he forces this to agree with what he thinks is Cheng's idea: you will not, like a moving and swelling river, infringe upon each other(!). *γ*. Ts'ao Suei-chung: »You will not shake (like the earth when quaking), you will not rise (like a river when swelling)». — B. Chu: *chen t'eng* 92 means 93 'to be scared and moved'. But *t'eng* has no such sense. — C. Waley refers the line to *Lu pa ng* »the state of Lu»: »It shall not be shaken nor heave». In gl. 1169 above it has been stated why the context forbids this. — A *α* is supported by a good text par.

1171. *San shou tso p'eng* 94.

Mao simply says: *shou* = 95 'high age', and does not explain the line. A. Cheng: *san shou* 96 = 97, and K'ung expounds this: »The three ministers of state will be your friends». The phr. *san k'ing* 97 »the three ministers» is a common term, e. g. Tso: Ch'eng 10, Kungyang: Siang 11. These would be called *san shou* 96 »the three elders», just as *kuo lao* 98 »the elders of the state» means the elder statesmen in Tso: Hi 5, and »an old officer of the state» in Tso: Hi 11. But *san shou* here must be the same as in many bronze inscriptions (see C below), where it cannot have that sense. — B. Chu (with hesitation): »You will be the *p'eng* = 99 peer of the three long-lived ones», referring to the following »like the ridges, the hills»: you, the ridges and the hills making a triad. This is curious mathematics, and we should then, at least, have to construe the line thus: »The three long-lived ones form a *p'eng* set of equals, (you are) like the ridges, the hills» (all three, you are all equally long-lived). But all this is very forced. — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: *san shou* 96 is equal to the *san lao* in Tso: Chao 3, phr. 100 »The three classes of aged ones are cold and starving», expl. by Tu Yü as those of 80, 90 and 100 years. The comm. on Wsüan quotes a passage from a Yang sheng king 2 in which *san shou* 96 has this sense. Thus 94: You will be the peers of the three kinds of aged ones. That is all very well, but this expl. of *san lao* 100 is exceedingly scholastic. In the bronze inscriptions *san shou* 96 is common, and in one inscr. it is wr. 3, which causes Kuo Mo-jo to explain it as = »a longevity like that of Orion» (4). Now 4 **ts'am* / *ts'âm* / *ts'a n* 'a triad' is synon. w. 5 **sam* / *sâm* / *san* 'three' and sometimes serves as loan char. for this 5 **sam*; but 5 **sam* never serves as loan char. for 4 'Orion' (in that sense 4 is read **šiam* / *šâm* / *shen*). Thus Kuo's expl. is not admissible. In the inscr. on the Ki-chung Hu (Cheng sung t'ang tsi ku yi wen, pu shang 37) we find: 6 »praying for *san shou* and a fine virtue». Here *san* is an adjective to *shou* 'age' just as *yi* 'fine' is an attribute of *tê* 'virtue', and *san shou*

therefore reasonably must mean »a treble age», three times a normal life-time. Similarly the *san lao 100* in Tso should mean »those of a treble longevity», i. e. the very aged. Our ode line 94 thus means: »You will be the peers of those with a treble age».

Cheng t'u tseng tseng, see gl. 1151; Jung ti shi ying, see gl. 1141.
1172. Tsê mo wo kan ch'eng 7.

A. Mao: ch'eng 8 = 9 'to stop'. In ode 183, phr. 10 »How is it that nobody stops them», Mao says ch'eng 11 = 9. This 11 *d'iang / d'iang / ch'eng really means 'to reprimand, rebuke, repress, punish', and 'to stop' is an extension of meaning. We had the same ch'eng 11 here in the preceding line 12 »King and Shu, them he repressed», on which Cheng: 11 = 13 'to govern, to correct, to repress'. When Mao here says 8 = 9, he means that 8 *d'iang / i'iang / ch'eng is a loan char. for 11 *d'iang, so that both lines end by a *d'iang (the word riming with itself), and the loan would then be due to a wish to have at least different graphs. This is very unlikely. — B. Cheng: ch'eng 8 = 14 'to withstand'. Ma Juei-ch'en believes that Cheng meant by this the same as Mao above. Chu Tsün-sheng, on the contrary, thinks he means that 8 *d'iang is loan char. for the 15 *d'iang / d'iang / ch'eng discussed in gl. 1169 above: 'to get on top of, to get the better of, to affront'. But in fact 8 in its ordinary reading (*d'iang / i'iang / ch'eng) means 'to receive', and 'to receive' an enemy is to stand and receive him, not to flee and avoid him. Thus Cheng's yü 14 'to withstand' is merely an extension of meaning of the word 8 proper, and this 8 is no loan char. Thus: »And so nobody can dare to (receive =) meet us (in battle)».

1173. Shou sü yü shi 16.

A. Cheng: »You are old, and yet together you use» (sc. your forces, without being tired). — B. Chu says he does not understand the line, but quotes »Mr Wang»: »The old ones all together are used» (in office), and »Mr Su»: »You will be old and all together use» (your forces). — C. Ma Juei-ch'en: 17 (*s'iang / si / shi) serves for 18 (*d'iar / d'iar / shi) in the sense of 19: »In longevity you will be comparable to each other», you will all be equally long-lived. Phonetically inadmissible. — D. Waley: 20 *s'io / s'io / sü is a loan char. for 21 *s'io / s'io / shu 'comfortable', and 17 *s'iang for 23 *s'iek / s'iek / shi 'suitable', thus: »An old age easy and agreeable». A violent and arbitrary text alteration. — E. Another interpr. Shi 22 is common in the sense of 'to test, to try' (Shu etc.); thus: »In longevity you will (test each other =) vie with each other», i. e. the one »testing» the other how far he can go, the idea being that of a competition.

1174. Lu pang so chan 24.

A. Mao (after Erya): chan 25 = 26, thus: »To which the state of Lu comes». — B. Han (ap. Han Shi wai chuan) reads 27 »To which the state of Lu looks up». — It is obvious that 25 of the Mao text is but a short-form for the correct 28 of Han. Similarly in ode 226, phr. 29, Mao says: »After six days he does not come», but, with Chu, it means: »On the sixth day I (still) do not see him». It is true that Fang yen (W. Han coll.) says 25 = 26, but there are no other text ex. in corroboration of this, at least from pre-Han time.

考 20. 崩 21. 不 壽 不 崩 22. 不 震 不 騰 23. 震 24. 動 25. 騰 26. 乘 27. 相 侵 犯 28. 乘 陵 29. 乘 人 不 義 陵
也 30. 巧 官 以 詔 上 謂 之 騰 31. 凌 駕 32. 震 騰 33. 驚 動 34. 三 壽 作 朋 35. 考 36. 三 壽 37. 三 卿 38. 國
老 39. 等 40. 三 老 凍 餒 2. 養 生 經 3. 參 壽 4. 參 5. 三 6. 三 壽 懿 德 7. 則 莫 我 敢 承 8. 承 9.
止 10. 卑 莫 之 德 11. 德 12. 荆 舒 是 德 13. 艾 14. 禦 15. 乘 16. 壽 齊 與 試 17. 試 18. 視 19. 比 20. 晉 21. 舒
22. 試 23. 適 24. 魯 邦 所 瞻 25. 瞻 26. 至 27. 魯 邦 所 瞻 28. 瞻 29. 大 日 不 瞻 30. 魯 侯 是 若 31. 萬 民 是

Suei huang ta tung, see gl. 287.

1175. St. 7. Lu hou shī jo 30;

St. 9. Wan min shī jo 31.

Mao says simply in st. 7: jo 32 = 33.

A. Cheng realizes that the two lines are analogous and should be construed in the same way. Phr. 31 he paraphrases: 34 »The people call it (accordant, to what it should be =) proper«. He thus takes jo as a transitive verb = 35 'to find it suitable' (just as shan chī 36 means 'to find it good'). And consistently with this he paraphrases phr. 30 thus: 37 »That is what the prince calls proper«. Cheng takes the opening words of both lines: Lu hou and wan min, as subjects of the clauses, thus: 30 »The prince of Lu found it (accordant =) proper«; 31 »The myriad people found it (accordant =) proper«. — B. Chu in st. 7 simply says, with Mao: 32 = 33; in st. 9 he paraphrases: »It accords with the expectations of the myriad people«. Here then he takes wan min as the object: »The myriad people, them it (the temple) accords with«. Presumably he held the same opinion of phr. 30: »The prince of Lu, him they (accord with =) obey«. That the latter is right is confirmed by the context. It corresponds to ode 260, phr. 39 »The Son of Heaven, him he (accords with =) obeys«, see gl. 1021. But the former, 31, is better taken not as = 'to accord with the expectation of the people', a far-fetched interpr., but: »The myriad people, (them it accords with =) for them it is appropriate«. — C. Waley in phr. 30 follows Chu, taking Lu hou as the object of jo: »All have submitted to the Lord of Lu«; but in phr. 31 he takes wan min as subject: »whither all the people come in homage«. An unacceptable inconsistency.

1176. Huang fa er ch'ī 40.

A. Mao reads thus: »A faded hair and (yet) a child's teeth«. — B. Lu (ap. Erya) reads 41, thus inst. of 42 *ñiĕg / ñiĕg / er* having 43. Shīwen and Ts'ie yün read this *ngieg / ngiei / y i, saying: 'new teeth coming after fallen ones'. Shuowen says 43 = 44 'the teeth of an old man'. Thus: »A faded hair and renewed teeth«. Shīwen even thinks that Mao's 40 is a short-form for this 41, and hence reads 40 *ngieg / ngiei / y i. — There exists no other text with 41, and Erya's 41 is evidently but an enlarged graph for 42 in this special context. That 42 in this connection should have a special reading *ngieg seems very unlikely.

1177. Shī tuan shī to 45.

A. K'ung: »Those they cut, those they measured«; the ordinary meaning of 46. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en: 46 is a short-form for 47, Erya = 'to carve', thus: »Those they cut, those they carved«. Kuo P'o in comm. on Erya quotes a line from Tso: Yin 11, phr. 48, but the current version has 49, and the context shows that Kuo is wrong: 49 is there the proper reading, meaning 'to measure'. Thus 47 is quite unattested in texts. B is therefore too poorly substantiated.

Ode CCCI: No.

Yi yū no yū, see gl. 188; T'ang sun tsou kia, see gl. 333.

1178. Suei wo sī ch'eng 50. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng paraphrases: 51 »He tranquilizes what our hearts think and achieves it«, thus word for word: »He tranquilizes our thoughts and achieves (them)«, which is rather meaningless, and has been desperately twisted and turned by later scholasts. In the similar line in ode 302, phr. 52 Cheng says lai 53 serves for 54 'to come': »He (the ancestor) comes and our thoughts are achieved«, which is just as bad. — B. Ma Juei-ch'en and Ch'en Huan both take sī 55 as the common particle (cf. gl. 700). Then Ma

enters upon some wild speculations: 56 (**snjwār*) is loan char. for 57 (**giwed*) 'to give' and *ch'eng* 58 means 59 'happiness'. Ch'en Huan soberly says that *suei* 56 as usual means 60 (this after Cheng) and *ch'eng* 58 = 61 'peace'. The former is very common, and for the construction of the line cf. ode 282, phr. 62 »He comforts me with a vigorous old age». *Ch'eng* 58 is very ambiguous, having various meanings (Ch'en: 'peace', Waley: 'victory', etc.). Fundamentally, however, it means 'to achieve, to complete, to fulfil', and since it is here a question of some blessings bestowed, it must reasonably mean the same as in ode 4, phr. 63 »May felicity and dignity (achieve him, complete him =) make him perfect»; ode 248, phr. 64 »Felicity and blessing come and (achieve, complete you =) make you perfect». The subject of the clause is not the T'ang sun descendant of T'ang in the preceding line but the *lie tsu* »illustrious ancestors» mentioned earlier; this is proved by the par. 52 in ode 302. Thus: »They (the ancestors) comfort us with a (completion =) perfect happiness.» In the same way 52 means: »They recompense us with a (perfection =) perfect happiness.»

Yung ku yu yi, see gl. 9, 467; Wan wu yu yi, see gl. 466.

Ode CCCII: Lie tsu.

Shen si wu kiang, see gl. 753.

1179. Ki kie ki p'ing 65.

Yen ts'i ch'un ts'iu and Sün Yüe: Shen kien quote 66.

A. Mao says simply: *kie* 67 = 68 'to come'. This has been differently understood: α. Cheng has a long paraphrase in which he plays a curious trick. He says: 69 »When the spirits come, there are concordant princes who come and assist at the sacrifice; and when they are in the temple, they are reverent and 70 careful, they are standing straight and 71 in an even row». In other words, he gives two different interpr. of *kie* 67: 'to come' and 'careful', leaving it obscure whether he understood the line thus: »When they (the spirits) come, they (the princes) are in an even row»; or thus: »They (the princes) are careful, are in an even row». β. Ch'en Huan thinks that Mao meant: »They (the spirits) have come, it is (all) peaceful», and he believes that Mao took 67 (**keg* / *kāi* / *kie*) to be a loan char. for 72 (**ked* / *kāi* / *kie*) 'to reach' — which he may indeed have done through ignorance of the Arch. Chin. phonology. But if so, Mao's interpr. fails utterly, for a **keg* cannot be a loan char. for a **ked*. — γ. K'ung, however, has yet another idea about Mao's definition. He paraphrases: »They (the princes) are respectful and 73 careful and perfect, they are standing straight in their rows». The word *ch'i* 68 often means 'perfect' in the gloss literature, and K'ung thought Mao by his *ch'i* 68 meant, not 'to come' but 'perfect', as an expl. of the *kie* 67 'careful' of the ode text. This is very forced. — B. Chu believes that the line refers to the soup of the preceding line. *Kie* 67 *inter alia* means 74 'to take precautions, to take measures beforehand, to prepare', and this would be the meaning here: »It is prepared, it is (even = well-balanced =) rightly proportioned». That *p'ing* 'even' should mean 'rightly

若³²若³³順³⁴國人謂之順³⁵若之³⁶善之³⁷是公所謂順³⁸順萬民之望³⁹天子是若⁴⁰
黃髮兒齒⁴¹觀齒⁴²兒⁴³觀⁴⁴老人齒⁴⁵是齒是度⁴⁶度⁴⁷剋⁴⁸工則剋之⁴⁹度之⁵⁰
綏我思成⁵¹安我心所思而成之⁵²養我思成⁵³養⁵⁴來⁵⁵思⁵⁶綏⁵⁷遺⁵⁸成⁵⁹福⁶⁰安⁶¹平⁶²
綏我眉壽⁶³福履成之⁶⁴福祿來成⁶⁵既戒既平⁶⁶既戒且平⁶⁷戒⁶⁸至⁶⁹神靈
來至⁷⁰敬戒⁷¹平列⁷²屈⁷³戒至⁷⁴備⁷⁵既敬既戒⁷⁶終和且平⁷⁷來假來享⁷⁸來假來

proportioned', said of a soup, is a ridiculous idea. — C. Another interpr. Kie 67 means 'careful, solicitous', as in ode 263, phr. 75, and p'ing means 'peaceful, quiet' (very common, e. g. ode 165, phr. 76 »All is harmonious and peaceful»). Thus: »We are careful and quiet», connecting with the following: »We come forward and arrive silently».

Tsung kia wu yen, see gl. 333.

1180. Lai kia lai hiang 77.

A. This version is that of certain printed editions: »We come forward and present our offerings». — B. Certain other prints, among them Chu's version, have 78 »They (the spirits) come and enjoy» (the offerings). — A is corroborated by the par. four lines earlier: 79.

Ode CCCIII: Hün niao.

1181. Tsê Yin t'u mang mang 80.

A. Mao reads thus: »He dwelt in the land of Yin that was very large». — B. Lu (ap. Shī ki: San tai shī piao, wr. by Ch'u Shao-sun) reads 81 »The altars to the soil of Yin were very grand». — A suits the context much better than B.

1182. Ku ti ming wu T'ang 82.

A. Cheng: ku ti 83 'the ancient God' means 'Heaven'. — B. Chu: ku = 84, thus: »Of old, God charged...»

1183. Fang ming küe hou yen yu kiu yu 85.

Han (ap. comm. on Wsüan) inst. of kiu yu 86 'the nine possessions' reads 87 'the nine domains'. The rime words are 88 *d'ag: *tsi'ag, so that yu 89 *gi'üg forms a better rime than 90 *gi'wak.

A. Cheng: »Fang 92 everywhere ming he gave orders to küe hou the princes, and...» — B. Ch'en Huan: »Fang in the (four) quarters it (Heaven) appointed him to be the sovereign». That hou 91 'sovereign' refers to the Shang king and not to his subordinate princes is proved by the context (next line). It is true that we have fang 92 as an abbreviation for sī fang 93 in ode 236, phr. 94 »He received the states of the (four) quarters». But that fang alone, at the beginning of a line, should mean »in the four quarters» (or, with Chu = 96 'everywhere') is forced. Fang 92 introducing a line is exceedingly common in the odes, meaning simply 'and then'. Thus: »And then it (Heaven) charged the sovereign to hold» etc.

1184. Shou ming pu tai 97.

A. Cheng: pu tai = 98, thus: »He received the appointment (and carried it out) without laziness», which shows that he considered tai 99 *d'ag / d'äi / tai as loan char. for the homophonous 100 'lazy'. — B. Wang Su follows the text: »He received an appointment never imperilled». — There is not the slightest reason for the loan speculation of A.

1185. Tsai Wu ting sun tsī, Wu ting sun tsī, wu wang mi pu sheng 1.

A. Mao says simply: sheng 2 = 3, i. e. mi pu sheng = »there was nothing of which he was not capable»; a common meaning of pu sheng. For the rest he explains nothing. Wang Su and K'ung expound what they believe was Mao's opinion: »(That the appointment was never imperilled) depends on Wu ting, the descendant; Wu ting, the descendant, in wu warfare and wang reigning mi pu sheng is capable of everything». Ch'en Huan keeps close to this, but insists that wu 4 in wu wang 5 must refer to T'ang, called Wu T'ang 6 in st. 1; thus the last line: »Wu ting, the descendant, in regard to Wu's (i. e. T'ang's) wang reigning work is capable of everything». This is certainly no improvement. — B. Cheng does not take sun - tsī as an apposition of Wu ting; and he takes sheng 2 = 'to vanquish', its ordinary meaning.

Thus: «It (the appointment) rests with a descendant of Wu ting; the descendant of Wu ting is w u martial and w a n g a real king, and there are none whom he does not vanquish». Chu (like Ch'en under A above) has found Cheng's expl. of w u w a n g unsatisfactory and says that since the founder T'ang was called Wu wang «the Martial King», his descendants could also have the same title, thus: «The descendant of Wu ting is a Martial King who has none that he does not vanquish». — C. Waley: «In the time of Wu ting's grandsons and sons, Wu ting's grandsons and sons, warlike kings, ever conquered». This is certainly preferable to both A and B, though it is a weak point that w u w a n g 5 has been taken, not as a title, but as = «they were warlike kings». But the fatal shortcoming of both B and C is that they go against the ancient traditions concerning the Yin. The scanty legends we have show Wu ting as the last capable Yin king and his descendants as weak and incompetent rulers who finally lost the realm. Thus this ode cannot very well panegyryze a «descendant of Wu ting», nor the «grandsons and sons of Wu ting» and praise their extending the realm. — D. Wang Yin-chi therefore has advanced a clever emendation theory. Like Wu T'ang 6 «the Martial T'ang» in st. 1, our Wu wang 5 «the Martial King» must refer to T'ang. This shows that there has been an erroneous inversion in the text, made by careless copyists, and the text should run: Tsai Wu wang sun tsi, Wu wang sun tsi Wu ting mi pu sheng 7, the phr. Wu wang sun tsi «the descendant of the Martial King» being equal to the phr. T'ang sun 8 «The descendant of T'ang» in odes 301, 302. This is strikingly plausible. With this reading, the passage becomes a consistent whole and follows logically on the preceding: «Shang's first sovereign (i. e. T'ang) received an appointment never imperilled; «when it rested with the descendant of the Martial king (i. e. of T'ang), the descendant of the Martial king, Wu ting, had none whom he did not vanquish». We could, of course, translate in the present tense: «Now it rests with the descendant . . . Wu ting has none whom he does not vanquish». But that supposes that the ode was written in the time of Wu ting, which is out of the question. The Shang sung are certainly all of Chou date (written in the feudal state of Sung) and extol remote ancestors.

1186. Lung k'i shi sheng, ta ch'i shi ch'eng 9.

A. Cheng refers this to subordinate feudal princes who come and present sacrificial grain: «With dragon banners and ten chariots they (the princes come and) present the great sacrificial grain». — B. The line obviously refers to the king himself (so also Waley): «With dragon banners and ten chariots he (went and) presented the great sacrificial grain». This is proved by the par. in ode 300: «The descendant of the Prince of Chou, the son of prince Chuang, 10 with dragon banners he (comes and) presents the sacrifices».

Chao yü pi si hai, see gl. 875; Lai kia k'i k'i, see gl. 39.

1187. King yün (yüan) wei ho 11.

A. Mao: king 12 = 13 'great' (common), and 14 = 15 'equal, to make equal, to equalize'. What he meant by this is very obscure. K'ung: «(In his government) he was greatly (equal =) just, (like) the River» (which gives its rich moisture to all). A fearful

饗 7 以假以享 80 宅殷土芒芒 81 殷社芒芒 82 古帝命武湯 83 古帝 84 昔 85 方命厥后 86 有九有 86 九有 87 九域 88 殆子 89 有 90 域 91 后 92 方 93 四方 94 以受方國 95 于四方 96 偏 97 受命不殆 98 行之不解殆 99 殆 100 息 1. 在武丁孫子武丁孫子武王靡不勝 2. 勝 3. 任 4. 武 5. 武王 6. 武湯 7. 在武王孫子武王孫子武丁靡不勝 8. 湯孫 9. 龍旗十乘大精是 承 10. 龍旗承祀 11. 景員維河 12. 景 13. 大 14. 員 15. 均 16. 地員 17. 土均 18. 員 19. 平 20. 治于江

speculation. Ch'en Huan: for 14 = 15, cf. Kuan: chapter Ti yün 16, which Ch'en believes means 17 »The equalizing, regulating of the soil»; further Chouli: Sou jen phr. 18 »He equalizes, regulates the choice» (of horses), where 14 is equal to 15 (Cheng's comm. = 19). For the meaning of this 15 Ch'en refers to Shu: Yü kung phr. 20 »They go along the Kiang and the sea», which in Shī ki: Hia pen ki is rendered by 21 »They (keep even with =) go along». I suppose Ch'en thinks that our ode line 11 means: »(They come in great crowds), what they grandly (keep even with =) go along is the River»(?). But Mao's idea of 15 was probably 'to equalize' in the sense of 'to regulate', cf. ode 304 below, thus: »The great regulator (in the land) is the River» (and the Shang house possessed that region). However, the whole idea of Mao's, taking 14 to mean 15, is far too poorly corroborated by texts, the interpr. of both phr. 16 and phr. 18 being very uncertain. — B. Cheng: y ü n 14 is equal to 22 (the two char. are in fact interchangeable), and h o 23 is loan char. for 24, thus: »What they grandly say, what is that?» (sc. they say the foll. ode lines). A very arbitrary text alteration. — C. Chu says he does not understand the phr. k i n g y ü n but quotes somebody who suggests that k i n g 12 is the name of the mountain where the Shang resided. This King mountain recurs in ode 305, and the place-name occurs also in Tso: Chao 4: »T'ang of Shang gave his commands in King Po 25». 14, then read y ü a n, means 26 'all round', thus: »(The circle of King =) all round the King there is the River». For y ü a n 14 = 'round' cf. Meng: Li Lou shang 27 »square and round». — D. Ma Juei-ch'en: K i n g 12 (*klǎŋ / kǐŋ / k i n g) is loan char. for 28 (*kwǎŋ / kwǎŋ / k u a n g), and 14 (read *gǐwǎn / gǐwǎn / y ü n) is equal to 29 (*gǐwǎn), this 30 = 31 meaning: »West-and-east and north-and-south is the River». Phonetically quite excluded. — Before deciding the case we must study a parallel:

Ode 304. F u y ü n (y ü a n) k i c h ' a n g 32.

A. Mao: f u 33 = 28 'wide', and 34 = 35 'equal, to equalize'. This shows that he took 34 as id. w. the 36 of ode 303 above, and that is admissible, for in ode 192 the char. 36 serves for 34 'to fall'. Wang Su expounds Mao: »It (the state) was wide and regulated, and it became durable». For f u 33 = 'wide' cf. its meaning of 'width, breadth' of cloth (Tso etc.). — B. Cheng: 34 ought to be 37 'round', i. e. it is equal to 36 in its reading y ü a n 'round', see Chu above. K'ung expounds: »It became wide and all round, and durable». — C. Chu: f u 33 = 'border', thus: »The border circle was (extensive =) far-reaching». — It is quite evident that the two phrases 11 and 32 are analogous and that 34 in 32 is equal to the 36 in 11 and with Cheng (in 304) and Chu (in both odes) means 'round, circle'. Further that k i n g 12 in 11 corresponds to f u 33 in 32, being analogous in meaning, and that they therefore mean 'great' and 'wide' respectively (which refutes Chu's idea that K i n g is the place-name). In ode 304 the line follows upon 38 »He delimited the great outer states», and it is hence clear that »the wide circle» is the encircling boundary. Thus: 11 »The great (circle =) encircling boundary was the River» (so also Waley: »Their frontier was the River»); 32 »The wide (circle =) encircling boundary was long».

Ode CCCIV: Ch'ang fa.

F u y ü n k i c h ' a n g, see gl. 1187.

1188. H ü a n w a n g h u a n p o 39.

H u a n :

A. Mao: h u a n 40 = 41 'great'. In Li: T'an Kung the phr. h u a n y i n g 42 is defined by Cheng as = 43 'the great pillar', and in Chouli: Ta tsung po h u a n k u e i 44 as = 'the great k u e i sceptre'. But h u a n 40 in itself means 'a pillar, a post' (Mo: Pei ch'eng men *passim*), and h u a n y i n g 42 is really a synonym-compound; h u a n k u e i 44 means 'the pillar-shaped (oblong) k u e i sceptre'. Shuowen has a

45 = 46 'excessive', but of this there are no text ex. Thus Mao's *h u a n* 40 = 'great' remains quite unsubstantiated. — B. Chu: *h u a n* 40 = 47 'martial'. This is common (e. g. ode 294).

P o :

A. Mao: *p o* 48 (**puât* / *puât* / *p o*) = 49, and Cheng paraphrases: »The Dark King made great his 50 government«. We have just seen that »made great« cannot be accepted. For *p o* 49 = 'to govern' cf. Kungyang: Ai 14, phr. 51 »to dispose the disorders, establish order. P o properly means 'to spread out, distribute, put things in their proper place, to dispose'. Thus: »The Dark king martially (disposed =) established order«. This is a theme that reverts *passim* in our ode (»Beyond the seas there was [trimming =] order« etc.) — B. Han (ap. Shiwen) reads 52, this *f a* 53 defined as = 54: »The Dark king was martial and bright«. This would be an extension of meaning: *f a* 53 'opened up, manifest, bright', which is far-fetched. Moreover our line rimes with another that ends in 53, and so the word *f a* 53 would rime with itself. This is not without par. in the odes, but A, which rimes 48 **puât*: 53 **pīwāt* is clearly preferable. Indeed the 53 of the Han text version may be simply a short-form of 48.

1189. Shou siao kuo shī ta 55.

A. Cheng: 56, thus: »When he received a small state, he carried through (his orders)«. Cheng thus takes *ta* 57 as a causative verb: 'to cause to penetrate, to cause to pass through'. — B. Chu: *ta* 57 = 58: »When he received a small state, he (passed through =) was successful«. — C. Another interpr. In st. 6 of our ode we have a line: »Luxuriantly there were three new shoots (sc. of the enemy houses), 59 but they could not advance, not (succeed:) prosper«. It is evident that our *ta* above has the same sense, and the two ode lines form a c o n t r a s t: his own state succeeded, prospered, the enemy states could not succeed, not prosper. Thus: 55 »When he received a small state, it (succeeded =) prospered«.

Shuai li pu yüe, see gl. 250; Suei shī ki fa, see gl. 1019; Hai wai yu tsie, see gl. 1052.

1190. Ti ming pu wei 60.

A. Cheng paraphrases: »What Heaven commanded (Sie), from generation to generation they carried it out«. This shows that he took *wei* 61 in its common sense of 'to go counter to, to disobey'. Thus: »God's commands were never disobeyed«. Ma Juei-ch'en would construe *wei* in the active with the object placed before: »Heaven's commands they did not disobey«. But the passive construction is preferable, being analogous to phrases like ode 83, phr. 62 »Her reputation will never be forgotten; ode 264, phr. 63 »The guilty ones are not apprehended«. Cheng's interpr. is confirmed by scores of early ex.: 64 »to go counter to, to disobey the order« (Tso: Süan 2, and *passim*); 65 »to disobey the king's order« (Tso: Yin 9); 66 (Tso: Hi 7); 67 »to disobey Heaven« (Tso: Hi 33). — B. Chu: *wei* 61 = 68, thus: »God's appointment never left (the Shang)«. Cf. ode 19, phr. 69 »Why did you go far away«. — C. Ch'en Huan: *wei* 61 = 70, thus: »God's appointment was never deflected«. — A is quite certain, since *wei ming* is a standing phrase.

海₂₁均于江海₂₂.云₂₃河₂₄何₂₅景毫₂₆周₂₇方員₂₈廣₂₉運₃₀景員₃₁廣運₃₂幅員既
長₃₃幅₃₄隕₃₅均₃₆員₃₇圓₃₈外大國是疆₃₉玄王桓撥₄₀桓₄₁大₄₂桓₄₃桓₄₄桓₄₅
圭₄₆查₄₇查₄₈查₄₉武₅₀撥₅₁治₅₂政治₅₃撥₅₄玄王桓發₅₅發₅₆明₅₇受小國是達₅₈
能達其教令₅₉達₆₀通₆₁莫遂莫達₆₂帝命不達₆₃達₆₄德音不忘₆₅罪罟不收₆₆達命

1191. Chī yü T'ang ts'i 71.

A. Mao paraphrases: 72 »When it came to T'ang, he was on a par with Heaven's heart«, he could fully respond to Heaven's will. — **B.** Chu quotes Su Ch'è: ts'i 73 = 74: »When it came to T'ang, he joined himself to, accorded with (Heaven)»; Ch'en Huan similarly: ts'i 73 = 75. This has the same weakness as A, that one has to supply a »Heaven« that is not in the text. — **C.** Waley: »In the time of T'ang it was fulfilled«. — **D.** Ma Juei-ch'en: »(Heaven's commands were never disobeyed), all down to T'ang they were all (on a par:) alike (in this)«. Cf. Tso: Chao 21, phr. 76 »It is better that we ts'i (all on a par =) all alike sacrifice our lives«. — **E.** Later in the st. and riming with our line 71, we have: 77. Ts'i (ap. Li: K'ung ts'i hien kü) reads 78, and in comm. on this Cheng considers the first 73 as a short-form for 79 = 80 'to rise'; thus: »When it came to T'ang, he rose« (Cheng thereafter takes the second 73 as = 81 'dignified'). But Han (ap. Han Shī wai chuan and comm. on Wsüan) reads like Mao, and Lu (ap. Shuo yüan) reads 77, like Mao; Kyü: Tsin yü reads 82, which has the same meaning. Thus in the Ts'i version 78 it is the second 73 and not the first (as Cheng believes) that is a short-form for 79, 83. The same short-form occurs in Li: Yüe ki 84. — D is strikingly plausible and convincing.

1192. T'ang kiang pu ch'i 85.

A. Mao says simply: pu ch'i = 86 'quickly'. He evidently read nothing more into it than what the text has: »T'ang came down (not late =) in good time«. — **B.** Cheng: kiang 87 = 88, interpreting: »T'ang was not slow in humbling himself«. This is based on Kyü: Tsin yü, where this ode is quoted with the reflexion: 89 »That expresses (to go down =) to humble oneself and have propriety«. An amusing scholastic speculation. Chao kia ch'i ch'i, see gl. 1018.

1193. Ti ming shī yü kiu wei 90.

A. Cheng: shī 91 = 92 'to use', expounded by K'ung: = 93 'to use work, carry out work', thus: »God charged him to do work in the nine circumscriptions«. — **B.** Chu: shī 91 = 94, as frequently in the Shī, thus: »God charged him to be a model to the nine circumscriptions«.

1193 a. Shou siao k'iu ta k'iu 95.

A. Mao: k'iu 96 = 97 'jade'. Thus: »He received the small k'iu jade and the large k'iu jade«. In Shu: Yü kung it is said that k'iu stone came as tribute from the province of Yung-chou. In Shu: Ku ming there is an interesting enumeration of the treasures which formed the regalia of the Chou and were set up at a grand ceremony. Among them was yi yü 98 »jade from the Yi tribes« and t'ien k'iu 99 »the heavenly k'iu jade«. I strongly suspect that this t'ien k'iu 99 is a corruption of the ta k'iu 100 of our ode. The characters t'ien 1 and ta 2 were nearly identical in archaic script and easily confused by the copyists. In the same way the Yin king Ta Yi (T'ai Yi) 3 of the oracle bone inscriptions recurs as T'ien Yi 4 in Shī ki, with the same corruption of ta into t'ien that I suspect in the Shu text. Thus the Ku ming throws a valuable light on our ode: the king came into possession of the small and the large k'iu jades, which were tribute from dependent states, treasures that formed part of the regalia and symbolized his power. — **B.** Kuang ya has an entry: 5, and since in the next st. kung 6 is defined as = 7 by Mao (see gl. 1196 below), Wang Yin-chi and followers conclude that Chang Yi (the Kuang ya author) had a text which read 8 inst. of 96 in our ode, and interpreted: »He received the small laws (statutes) and the great laws«. But 8 is not attested in that sense in a single text, and Chang's interpr. is simply due to the analogy of the 9: 6 and Mao's gloss on that. If he really had an ode version with 8, this was merely a variant of 96, just as 9 is a variant of 10 (see gl. 1196).

1194. Wei hia kuo cho liu 11.

A. Mao: cho 12 = 13 'signal token', and liu 14 = 15 'emblem, insignium', the words being practically synonymous. For cho 12 = 'token' see gl. 361, with text par. Cf. further Lü: Pu k'ü phr. 16 »Some hold indicators in their hands», with var. 17 for the same word. Liu 14 means properly 'pendant' (of a banner or cap), also wr. 18 (since it is etym. id. with 18 'to float' and means 'a streamer'), here generalized into meaning 'an ensign'. K'ung expounds further: 11 »He was a signal token and an ensign to the lands below». — B. Cheng: cho 12 = 19 'to tie, to bind' (which the w. also can mean), thus: »He made the lands below into attached pendants» (he bound them to himself). — C. Ts'i (ap. Cheng's comm. on Li: Kiao t'ê sheng) reads 20. Cho 21 properly means 'raised path between fields', and yu 22 means 'signal mark, post'; K'ung, expounding Cheng in this Li comm., says: »He made princes for the lands below in the settlements of the people in the (field marks =) divided fields», thus word for word: 20 »He made lands below (in the) field-path marks», which is exceedingly strained. In fact 21 is homophonous with 12 (both *tšwat / tšwät / cho and *tšwad / tšwäi / chuei) and is only a loan char. for the latter; Han (ap. Yü p'ien) reads 23, saying 21 = 13 'signal mark' (it is even possible that 12 'signal token, distinguishing mark' and 21 'raised path between fields' are etym. the same word, the latter meaning fundamentally 'distinguishing and dividing path', or perhaps 'path having indicators'?). — D. Another interpr. A is fundamentally right in regard to the meaning of cho liu 24 (with which the cho liu 25 of Han and the cho yu 26 of Ts'i are synonymous). But K'ung and later followers have not construed the two lines correctly: »He received the small k'iu jade and the large k'iu jade; he was a signal token (badge) and ensign (signal mark) to the lands below» takes them as having no logical connection. On the contrary they are closely connected: wei 27 here does not mean 'he was' but is the mark of the passive, denoting the agent, a frequently occurring construction. Cf. Kungyang: Siang 5, phr. 28 »He was led by Shu-sun Pao»; Hanfei 13, phr. 29 »The horse is used by man, but the deer is not used by man». Thus our wei hia kuo means »by the states below» and cho liu function as verbs: »He received the small k'iu jade and the large k'iu jade (regalia), and (thus) was badged and ensigned by the states below», i. e. they recognized him as their ruler by giving him the tribute treasures as regalia, symbolical of his power over them. In this way only can the lines obtain a coherent and logical content.

1195. Pu king pu k'iu 30.

Pu king:

A. Cheng: king 31 = 'to dispute precedence with others'. The w. often means 'to contest, to quarrel', e. g. ode 193. — B. Chu: king 31 = 32, 'strong, forceful,

15. 達王命 16. 達君命 17. 達天 18. 去 19. 何斯達斯 20. 回 21. 至于湯齊 22. 至湯與天心齊 23. 齊 24. 會 25. 同 26. 莫如齊致死 27. 聖敬日躋 28. 至于湯齊...聖敬日齊 29. 躋 30. 升 31. 莊 32. 聖敬日躋 33. 躋 34. 地氣上齊 35. 湯降不遲 36. 疾 37. 降 38. 下 39. 降有禮之謂 40. 帝命式于九圍 41. 式 42. 用 43. 用事 44. 法 45. 受小球大球 46. 球 47. 玉 48. 君玉 49. 天球 50. 大球 1. 天 2. 大 3. 大乙 4. 天乙 5. 拱報...法也 6. 共 7. 法 8. 拱 9. 拱 10. 拱 11. 為下國綴旒 12. 綴 13. 表 14. 旒 15. 章 16. 或操表綴 17. 綴 18. 流 19. 結 20. 為下國暇郵 21. 暇 22. 郵 23. 為下國暇流 24. 綴旒 25. 暇流 26. 暇郵 27. 為 28. 為叔孫豹率 29. 馬為人用而鹿不為人用 30. 競不綰 31. 競 32. 強 33. 不剛 34. 綰 35.

violent'. This is common in the Odes, e. g. odes 257, 274. — B balances better the foll. p u k a n g 33.

P u k ' i u :

A. Mao: k ' i u 34 (*g'îôg / g'îu / k ' i u) = 35 'urgent, pressing', thus 30: »Not forceful, not pressing». Kuang ya says 34 = 36 'to seek': »not seeking», not eager to get, which gives the same sense. 34 is probably etym. the same w. as 36 (*g'îôg) 'to seek', 34 being merely an enlarged char., the rad. 37 having the sense of 'to restrain, to press', as in the char. 38. — B. Chu: k ' i u 34 = 39 'slow, slack', thus: »Not forceful, nor slack». Chu must have thought that 34 was loan char. for 40 (*g'îôg / g'îu / k ' i u) which Ts'ie yün defines as = 39. Of this word there are no text ex. But Kuang ya has an entry: 41 (*g'îôg) = 39 'slow, slack'. This is based on a gloss of Cheng's on ode 192, phr. 42. Mao there said k ' i u k ' i u = 'arrogant', but Chu better = 'enemy fashion', see gl. 538. But we should add to our gloss 538 that Cheng, who in his Shī comm. follows Mao, in his gloss on Li: Tsī yi paraphrases 42 by 43 »holding me k ' i u k ' i u-wise not solidly», which Chang Yi (Kuang ya) has understood to mean »slackly». That meaning of Cheng's, which is obviously wrong and not accepted by Chu in ode 192, can give him no justification for considering our 34 here as a loan for a 40 or 41 which is not attested to mean 'slack' by any text whatsoever.

F u c h e n g y u y u, see gl. 346; P o l u s h i t s ' i u, see gl. 395.

1196. Shou siao kung ta kung 44.

A. Mao: k u n g 45 = 46 'law, statute', thus: »He received the small statutes, the great statutes». The only support adduced by the Ts'ing scholars is the Shu Preface (Shu sū) 47, on which Ma Jung says: 45 = 46 »He wrote the nine laws». But that gloss is very enigmatic, 45 otherwise never having that sense, and moreover the age of the Shu preface is very uncertain. — B. Lu (ap. Kao Yu comm. on Huai: Pen king) reads 48 (current version) or 49 (Tao tsang version) (Ts'i ap. Ta Tai: Wei tsiang kün Wen tsī acc. to some versions read 45, like Mao, acc. to other versions read 50). Cheng seizes upon this variant 50 and defines Mao's 45 as = 51 'to hold', considering 45 as a short-form for 50 and expounding it as = 'the precious stone held' (like the siao k'iu ta k'iu in st. 4, see gl. 1193 above). Similarly 45 is short-form for 50 in Yili: Hiang yin ts'iu li, phr. 52. The char. 53 (Ts'ie yün = 54 pi jade) is but a variant for 50 in the phr. 55 in Tso: Siang 28, phr. 56 »Give me his k u n g p i jade», which has been expl. as 'a pi that is k u n g 50 (= 51) held with both hands'. The same phr. 55 occurs in Lao-tsi. Be the etymology as it may, the fact remains that k u n g p i 55 was some kind of very fine jade of pi shape (round disc with hole in the centre), and it is immaterial whether the char. is 50 or 53. Acc. to this version, the 45 of the Mao text is but a short-form for 50, 53. Thus: »He received the small k u n g p i jade and the large k u n g p i jade». — C. Chu: K u n g 45 is a short-form for 57 'to supply' in the sense of 58 'tribute': »He received the small tribute and the great tribute». — When st. 4 has: shou siao k'iu ta k'iu 59, and st. 5 (in Lu version) has: shou siao kung ta kung 50 (var. 53, Mao version abbrev. 45); and when the k'iu 59 is attested in Shu to be a precious jade belonging to the regalia, and on the other hand kung pi 55 is known from several texts to be a luxus pi jade; then it would be strange indeed if these two words of the ode: 59 and 50 (53, 45), which balance each other, did not mean precisely such precious jades, forming part of the regalia and symbolizing the royal power over the tribute-bearing states which furnished them. To say, with Mao, that the latter (45) means 'law', or with Kuang ya that both 60 (Kuang ya's variant for 59, see gl. 1193) and 50 mean 'law' would be unreasonable indeed. The two stanzas corroborate each other definitely, and B is right.

1197. Wei hia kuo tsün mang 61.

A. Mao: tsün 62 = 63 'great' (common), and mang 64 (*müŋg / mǎng / mǎng) = 65 'ample'; expounded by K'ung: »For the states below he was a great and ample(-virtued) (ruler)«. Erya says mang 64 = 63 'great', and this was coll. current in W. Han time; Fang yen says: 66 »all that is great is called 67 (*müŋg / mung / mēng, Ts'ie y ũ n) or 64 (*müŋg / mǎng / mǎng)«. Cf. Tso: Ch'eng 16, phr. 68 »The people's supplies were rich and great« (Tu Yü 64 = 63); Kyü: Chou yü 69 »(Greatness:) ample-ness and solidity then is achieved« (on which Wei Chao 64 = 63). This phr. recurs in Kuan: Wu fu wr. 70, where 71 (*müŋg / mung / mēng) is evidently the same as Fang yen's 67, the 64 *müŋg and the 67, 71 *müŋg being two aspects of the same word-stem 'great'. Cf. further Ch'u: Kiu chang 72 »The heart is ample« (comm. mang = 65). — B. Lu (ap. Sün) reads 73. Ma Juei-ch'en believes that mēng 74 here has its meaning 'to cover' in the sense of 'to protect': »He is a great (coverer =) protector of the states below«, and that Mao's mang 64 is but a loan char. for this mēng 74. But from the texts 68, 69, 70, 72 above (where 64, 71 certainly cannot mean 'to cover, to protect'), it is quite clear that the opposite is true, sc. that the 74 of Sün's is but a short-form for the 67, 71 *müŋg of Fang yen and Kuan, which is a stem variation of Mao's 64 *müŋg 'great'. — C. Ts'i (ap. Ta Tai: Wei tsiang kün Wen-tsī) reads 75. And the comm. Lu Pien says 76 = 77, and paraphrases: 78 »The states below truly received (the blessings); an impossible interpr. since it disregards the wei 79 and hence is grammatically faulty. Ma Juei-ch'en tries to take 76 as loan char. for 80 (Erya = 81): »He was for the states below an all-round (coverer =) protector«. (Chu says after »Mr. Tung« that Ts'i read 82 and Legge translates: »He supported them as a strong steed [does its burden]; but of this »Ts'i« reading there is no ancient confirmation). — D. The meaning of the words is well established by Mao and attested by good corroborating texts, and the 74 *müŋg of B and C is but another aspect of the same word-stem as the 64 *müŋg 'great' of A. But K'ung and followers have construed the line wrongly. Just as in st. 4 wei hia kuo cho liu (11 above, see gl. 1194), our wei 79 is a mark of the passive, denoting the agent, and tsün mang (tsün mēng) functions as a verb: »He received the small kung pi jade and the large kung pi jade, and (thus) was magnified by the states below«. Ts'i (C) correspondingly has: »... and (thus) was truly magnified«; but that is inferior to A and B, which have two synon. words (tsün - mang, tsün - mēng) forming natural binomes.

1198. Wu wang tsai pei 83.

A. Mao reads thus: »The Martial King set up his banner«. 84 was *b'wát / b'uái / pēi. — B. Lu (ap. Sün) and Han (ap. Wai chuan) read 85 »The Martial King then set out«. — C. Another school (ap. Shuowen) reads 86. Shuowen defines 87 as = 88, which refers to agriculture: 'to cultivate', for 87 (*b'wát / b'uát / pō and *b'iwāt / b'iwat / fā) means 'to plough, a furrow' in Kyü etc. This makes no sense here, unless it should be a bold metaphor: »The Martial King then (cultivated =) brought order«. — The rime word is 89 *giwāt / jiwat / y ũ e, which favours B (Lu and Han) as against A (Mao).

急 36 求 37 系 38 繫 39 緩 40 執 41 仇 42 執 我 仇 仇 43 執 我 仇 仇 然 不 堅 固 44 受 小 共 大 共 45
共 46 法 47 作 九 共 48 受 小 珙 大 珙 49 受 小 拱 大 拱 50 拱 51 執 52 退 共 53 珙 54 璧 55 拱 璧 56
與 我 其 拱 璧 57 供 58 貢 59 球 60 球 61 為 下 國 駿 龐 62 駿 63 大 64 鹿 65 厚 66 凡 大 兕 67 朦
68 民 生 敦 龐 69 敦 龐 純 固 於 是 乎 成 敦 懷 純 固 70 懷 71 心 純 龐 72 為 下 國 駿 蒙 73 蒙 74
為 下 國 怕 蒙 75 悔 76 信 77 下 國 信 蒙 其 福 78 為 79 洵 80 偏 81 駿 驪 82 武 王 戴 旆 83 旆 84 武

Ho t'ien ch'ung (ch'ung), see gl. 1137; Yu k'ien ping yüe, see gl. 1124; Pao yu san nie, see gl. 365; Kiu yu yu tsie, see gl. 1052.
 1199. Yu chen ts'ie ye, yün ye t'ien ts'ie 90.

A. Mao says simply (after Erya): ye 91 = 92. K'ung (foll. by Chu) expounds: »(Formerly, in the middle period), there was (shaking =) trembling and peril», and he adds that it must have been »before the time of T'ang». The only other phr. in which ye 91 has been defined as = 92 is 93 in odes 258 and 265 and in Shu: Kao Yao mo. We revert to this in C below. — B. Cheng refers the line to prince Siang-t'u, but takes chen 94 as = 'shaking' in the transitive sense of 'imposing, awe-inspiring, majestic', as in Tso: Wen 18, phr. 95 »What majesty has her son, what is there that is awe-inspiring in her son» (very common, see also gl. 18). Further he takes ye 91 in its common meaning of 'work, achievement'; and finally he does not take t'ien ts'ie 96 as meaning 'son of Heaven', though this is a standing phrase of extreme frequency, but takes ts'ie as a verb to t'ien as subject. Thus: »(Formerly, in the middle period) there was one who was majestic and had achievements; truly Heaven (treated-as-its-child =) cherished (him)». The last is particularly weak, for in a phr. t'ien ts'ie ch'ie 97, the final ch'ie could hardly be left out. — C. Another interpr. As to chen 94, Cheng rightly thinks that it means 'awe-inspiring, majestic', for the ye 91 with which it is coordinated has the same meaning. If we examine all the cases of king king ye ye 93, we shall find that they mean, not: »it is dangerous, perilous», but: »it is fearsome (causing fear), it is terrible, terrifying, causing terror». Ode 258: »The drought is excessive, it is fearsome, it is terrifying» (not: »it is dangerous»). Still more clearly is this meaning brought out in ode 263, where ye 91 is combined with ho: 98 »Majestic, awe-inspiring, august was the Son of Heaven». Ye 91 has this meaning of 'terrifying' as an extension of meaning from its common sense of 'great' (Erya 91 = 99, supported by many text ex.): great > mighty, tremendous, awe-inspiring. Now it is easily seen that the line 98 (ode 263) is a close par. to our line 90 here, which means: »(Formerly, in the middle period), there was one who was majestic, awe-inspiring, truly a son of Heaven». And this refers, as all the preceding, to the great T'ang (which is confirmed by the following lines, describing how he got his wise minister O-heng, i. e. Yi Yin). The ode is eminently in praise of this T'ang. After the preliminaries in st. 1 and 2, in which his ancestors are described, stanzas 3—7 all panegyricize T'ang. He was »in the middle period», from the point of view of the poet: the first period was from the founder down to T'ang (st. 3: »all down to T'ang they were alike; T'ang came in good time» etc.); the second period was from T'ang onwards; thus the great man was »in the middle period» of the house of Shang, dividing it into two sections: one before him, when the Shang were simply feudal princes, one from himself onwards, when they were kings of the empire. That is what is expressed by: »Formerly, in the middle period».

Ode CCCV: Yin Wu.

1200. T'a pi Yin Wu 100.

For t'a 'brisk' see gl. 237.

A. Mao: Wu is king Wu Ting 1. Thus: »Brisk was that Wu (Ting) of Yin». — B. Chu: wu simply means 'prowess', thus: »Brisk was that prowess of (the king of) Yin». Waley takes wu as = 'warrior': »Swiftly those warriors...» — It may seem bold to accept the ancient tradition that wu means Wu Ting. But in ode 303 we had (with the text corrected after Wang Yin-chi's emendation, see gl. 1185 above): »The descendant of the Martial King (i. e. T'ang), Wu Ting, had none whom he did not vanquish» (telling further how he enlarged the realm to the four seas). Here in our first st. of ode 305, a

few lines after t' a pi Yin Wu, we have »That was the work of the descendant of T'ang». In fact, in all the five Shang sung, the only king after T'ang that is mentioned by name is this Wu Ting in ode 303, there called Wu wang ch' i sun - t' s' i »the descendant of the Martial King (T'ang)»; it is very plausible to assume, with the ancient tradition, that the T' a n g sun »descendant of T'ang» in our ode here, named Wu, was really Wu Ting.

1201. Mi j u k' i t' s u 2.

A. Mao: mi 3 (*mǐär / mjǐǐ / m i) = 4, thus: »Deeply he entered its defiles». Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes that Mao's text had 5 or 6, a variant of 4, so that he really read *śiäm / śiäm / shen and not m i. He would then only have explained a graph unusual in his time by its more current enlarged form. Shuowen writes the char. 7, but its definition is transmitted in several widely different versions, and it is uncertain which of them is correct, so that gives us no aid. — **B.** Cheng: m i 3 = 8. This m a o properly means 'to cover', but also 'to cover oneself with', i. e. 'to take upon one's head', to expose oneself to a risk, e. g. 9 »to take upon oneself, to risk dangers and difficulties». Thus: »(Coveringly = riskingly =) boldly he entered its defiles». Cheng's interpr. seems to be a deduction from the graph which has the radial 10 'to cover'. — **C.** Wang Nien-sun foll. by Ma Juei-ch'en: m i 3, which is a *hapax legomenon*, was homophonous with 11 (both *mǐär / mjǐǐ / m i, even tone), and the word, in Kuang ya defined as = 4 'deep', fundamentally means 'to extend to the full, to the full extent', e. g. ode 245, phr. 12 »She went to the full extent of her months», i. e. »She fulfilled her months». Our 3 *mǐär is equal to this 11: »To their full (extent:) depth he entered its defiles», which comes very near to Mao's expl. It is therefore doubtful whether Tuan is right in his surmise above; Mao may already have identified 3 and 11. In any case C is perfectly convincing.

Yu tsie k' i so, see gl. 1052; Mo kan pu lai wang, see transl. of ode 153, note.

1202. Yü e Shang sh' i ch' ang 13.

A. Cheng: »They say: Shang will be our constant (ruler)». — **B.** Chu: »They say: Such is the regular rule of Shang». — **C.** Ma Juei-ch'en: y ü e 14 is the common particle. The line is analogous, to a certain extent, to ode 300, phr. 15 »The state of Lu you will have for ever». Our line 13 here means: »Shang will have them for ever».

1203. Suei sh' i lai pi 16.

A. Cheng: lai pi 17 is equal to the lai wang 18 'to come to an audience' of st. 2. Thus: »About their (service:) work of the year they come to audience». — **B.** Wang Su (ap. Shiwen): pi 19 is = 20 in the sense of 21, thus: »If they came and were (awry =) faulty in their year's (service:) work». This would entail that pi 19 had two entirely different meanings in the same stanza, which is unlikely. In the phr. lai pi 17 'to come to audience', pi (like wang in lai wang 18) is a verb and properly means 'to prince' = 'to visit their prince', thus the same word as to pi 22 »the many princes» in the first line.

王載發²⁶武王載城²⁷城²⁸治²⁹鉞³⁰有震日業允也天子³¹業²²危²³兢兢業業²⁴震²⁵
其子何震之有²⁶天子²⁷天子之²⁸赫赫業業有嚴天子²⁹大³⁰捷復殷武¹武丁²
采入其阻³采⁴深⁵采⁶突⁷采⁸冒⁹冒危難¹⁰一¹¹彌¹²誕彌厥月¹³曰商是常¹⁴
曰¹⁵魯邦是常¹⁶歲事來辟¹⁷來辟¹⁸來王¹⁹辟²⁰僻²¹邪²²多辟²³勿予禍適²⁴適

1204. Wu yü huo chê 23.

Mao simply says 24 = 25, the latter in the sense of 'to find fault with, to reprove, to punish' (which kuo 25 has e. g. in Ts'ê: Chou ts'ê 26 »You, great king, have the intention to examine and reprove, punish him«. This shows that Mao took 24 to be a loan char. for 27 *d'êk / d'ek / chê, and so it is consequently read in the Shîwen. Han (ap. Shîwen) likewise says 24 = 28, same meaning: 'to find fault with'.

A. Cheng paraphrases: 29 »Do not, if they are faulty, give them misery and punishment«. Thus line 23 word for word: »Do not give misery and punishment«. Cheng takes yü 30 as = 31 'to give'. — B. Wang Yin-chî: yü 30 means 'to give' in the sense of 32 'to bestow, to apply', and huo 33 is loan char. for kuo 25 in the sense of 'to punish' (as above). Thus: »Do not apply blame and punishment'. He adduces in support Shî ki: Wu wang Pi chuan 34 »I have presumed to punish the princes«, where the binome 35 would be equal to the 36 of the ode. This, however, is a Han text and is not conclusive regarding the pre-Han language. More important is his quotation of Sün: Ch'eng siang 37 »For punishments there are fixed rules«. Here certainly 38 means the same as 39 'punishment', though it does not seem quite necessary to read 33 kuo inst. of huo: huo 'misery, misfortune' might in itself be an expression for 'hard treatment, chastisement'. Be this as it may, 36 may safely be taken as a binome of practically synonymous words. — C. From Chu's paraphrase it appears that he took yü 30 as the common pronoun: »Do not chastise and punish us«. On the analogy of ode 54, phr. 40 »Do not find fault with me« etc. this is certainly better.

Pu tsien pu lan, see gl. 958; Feng kien küefu, for feng cf. gl. 1074; Shang yi yi yi, see gl. 433.

1205. Si fang chî ki 41. Mao has no gloss.

A. Cheng: ki 42 = 43 in the sense of 44 'the proper mean', thus: »It is the norm of the four quarters«. Chu similarly ki 42 = 45 'a mark'. Cf. gl. 182. — B. Ch'en Huan: ki 42 = 43 in a concrete sense: »It is the centre of the four quarters«. Cf. Chouli: T'ien kuan sü kuan 46 »He establishes offices and distributes charges to serve as centres for the people«; Cheng in comm. on this says 42 = 43, but even here he explains it so as to show that he took 43 in the sense of 'norm' (»to be norms for the people«), and Kia kung-yen expounds it by 44 (cf. A above). Here, however, it is quite obvious that it means simply administrative centres for the people living around those government offices. The sense 'centre' is really an extension of meaning from ki 42 'ridge-pole', the central and highest beam of a house (ex. of that word in Chuang: Tsê yang). The analogy between the Chouli passage and that of our ode is evident: just as the offices were the »ridge-poles« = centres of the districts, so the capital was »the ridge-pole = centre of the four quarters«. — C. K'uang Heng in comm. on the Han ki of Sün Yüé quotes 47. Ch'en K'iao-tsung believes that Sün's text, which in its present form agrees with Mao's, has been altered after that, and that K'uang's quotation reveals a Ts'i version (Sün belonging to the Ts'i school). That is very doubtful. K'ung's tsê 48 is probably a mere gloss word in the same vein as Cheng's 43 'norm' above, which has wrongly crept into the text.

1206. Sung po wan wan 49.

A. Mao: wan wan 50 = 51 'easy and straight', the same expression by which he glossed 52 in ode 237, see gl. 800. Thus: »The pines and cypresses are straight-rising«. For 50 (*g'wân / yüân / wan, even tone; Mand. wan is irregular, one would expect huan) = 'straight-rising' there is no text par. But probably Mao took it to be a loan char. for 53 (*g'wân / yüân / huan, even tone) 'pillar', see gl. 1188, and the line really means: »The pines and cypresses are pillar-like«. In Po K'ung liu t'ie 100 the line is quoted

54, and Ch'en K'iao-tsung believes that this was the reading of some ancient school; but it may simply be a text correction of somebody who has realized that 50 is loan char. for 53. — B. Ch'en Huan: wān 50 means 'round' (Shuowen = 55), thus: 'The pines and cypresses are (round =) round-trunked'. But wān really means 'spherical, a ball, a pellet' (Tso, Chuang etc.), which makes B unlikely.

Fang cho shī k'ien, see gl. 1024; Lü ying yu hien, see gl. 153, 844.

25. 過 26. 唯大王有意督過之 27. 誦 28. 數 29. 勿罪過與之禍適 30. 予 31. 與 32. 施 33. 禍 34. 擅適
過諸侯 35. 適過 36. 禍適 37. 罪禍有律 38. 罪禍 39. 罪過 40. 無我有尤 41. 四方之極 42. 極 43. 中
44. 中正 45. 表 46. 設宜分職以為民極 47. 京邑翼翼四方之則 48. 則 49. 松柏丸丸 50. 丸 51. 易
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 777, 1007 罔 1057 翕 1143 翕 822 考 862 1126 而 936 耗 993 耳 1164 聯 1022 聽 992 率 762 肇 875, 1042, 1106 肆 787 背 939 胡 1126 荷
 790 能 917 腺 881 致 946 臨 844 自 766 自 876 芮 910 若 1021, 1125 第 847, 865 危 880 苟 953 荒 1077 茂 1149 艾 819, 827 姜 1106
 并 973, 1115 蓄 822 落 1110 薇 997 蒙 1197 蕙 930 蒲 921 薦 987 蘊 988 藐 963, 1012 度 1024 旭 1050 度 766, 1001, 1134, 1161 虧 1169 蜂
 1115 蟲 788 融 885 蠶 788 行 778 觀 1078 解 1153 言 844, 978 許 858 訪 1110 詔 1152 試 1173 詹 1174 誡 788 誡 833 論 853 諄 902
 謚 758 謚 788 謚 758 謚 1005 警 954 谷 977 駟 829 貌 1034 敗 1065 資 930 質 802, 957 贊 976 顧 961 赦 1115 赦 904 越
 1068 疎 877 疎 802 載 753 767 792, 824, 1100 輯 899 辟 854, 934, 1039, 1203 近 1013 迪 979 述 762 追 807 逢 855 過 950 造 817, 903, 1138
 逝 972 過 764 達 889, 1189 逆 1014 達 1190 退 806 達 96 遵 1136 道 1204 逝 999 都 1117 郵 1194 配 825 西 988 西 894 米 878
 釐 1088, 1090 鈞 843 鋪 1037 鉞 907 長 1150 閑 844 閑 1158 閑 1050 阮 910 降 1109, 1192 陟 1169 陪 939 陶 799, 1035 陰 964 隅 946 陟
 793 陞 988 隕 1187 隨 96 隨 981 雖 944 難 1146 震 867, 1083, 1170, 1199 靡 1074 革 800 鞠 910 順 1150 頤 96 頤 944 頤 830, 845
 顯 1113 養 1126 餗 911 食 911 馮 996 駭 801 駭 1069 騰 1170 鮑 881 鮮 838 麗 757 黃 809 齊 1191 駭 1126 龍

LEGENDS AND CULTS IN ANCIENT CHINA

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN

During the past fifty years a great many works, extensive books and short articles have been written by Western sinologues on the history, sociology and religion of ancient China prior to the Han dynasty — so many, in fact, that they could form a library. But a feature common to most of these treatises is a curious lack of critical method in the handling of the materials. When a certain theme has to be investigated, the data have first been culled from the pre-Han texts, such as Shu king, Tso chuan, Mencius, Mo-tsi. These having yielded only a meagre harvest, further details have been hunted for in early Han literature, such as Sī-ma Ts'ien, Huai-nan-tsi, and then in later Han documents such as Lun heng and Han shu. This being still insufficient for forming a full and systematic treatise, the investigators have passed on and drawn upon the commentators of the 2nd c. A. D. and the following centuries all the way down to T'ang and Sung times, the identifications of persons and places, descriptions of rites etc. made by these later Chinese scholars being reverently regarded as quite as trustworthy materials as the early pre-Han texts. In this way very full and detailed accounts have been arrived at — but accounts that are indeed caricatures of scientifically established ones. This method, current hitherto, would be analogous to one by which the lore of Hellenistic times and the speculations of medieval scholars were used to fill in the gaps in the documentation about early Rome under the kings, and if this heterogeneous »material» were used as a homogeneous whole to reconstruct the history, customs, beliefs and rites of the ancientmost phase of Roman culture.

In the present article some problems of early Chinese traditions and cults will be treated in a totally different way. We shall try to make a distinction between several kinds of sources and attribute to them their proper value, thus arriving at a picture of how the various beliefs have gradually been transformed, filled out by later embellishments and foreign, imported elements and often ruthlessly trimmed by aid of a systematizing interpretation.

There are two principal distinctions that must be made.

1. In the first place, there is the chronological consideration. There are, first, the pre-Han texts, written at a time when China lived through its feudal age, when the institutions and beliefs were still those of a sociological stage

that was begun in Yin time and ended with the unification work of Ts'in Shi Huang ti. This social system deteriorated rapidly in the 3rd c. B. C., but the traditions were still actively alive in the various feudal courts, centred in the noble class with their ancestral temples, their genealogical lists, their ancestral sacrifices kept up, in many cases, in unbroken line from hoary antiquity, and their cults of various other kinds faithfully preserving the fundamental features of the early Chou rites. Towards the close of this feudal era, particularly in the 3rd c. B. C., certain foreign influences began to make themselves felt, but as yet not to an extent sufficient to overthrow the ancient system of traditions and cults.

Once we have passed the crucial date of 200 B. C., however, conditions are radically changed. The system of feudal kingdoms that had flourished for a millennium had entirely broken down. The barriers, both political and economical, between the various cultural centres were abolished, new great highways connected the various parts of China with each other, the plebeian classes, farmers and merchants, obtained conditions of life quite different from those which prevailed during the feudal era, in short, the confederation of more or less independent small states was supplanted by a strong, centralized empire, in which the nivellation set in at a rapid pace, obviating the provincial contrasts and destroying the ancient local customs and beliefs. The ancestral temples of the feudal lords were no longer the ritual and cultural centres, the *litterati* formed a social class independent of the patronage of feudal lords, the literature of the Chou era was seriously struck at by the famous burning of the books of 213 B. C., and the traditions and cults of the feudal kingdoms were no longer a living reality but a memory, beloved by a small class of scholars but forgotten and despised by the men in power, plebeian representatives sent out from the central Imperial Court in the Capital. In 250 B. C. the authors could still describe the cults they witnessed as living realities, in 100 B. C. they had to tell the story of how things were before the cataclysm of 221—211. (The cults of their own time were a conglomeration full of innovations, many of them newly instituted by imperial order). At the same time the foreign influences were multiplied. The knowledge of Western Asiatic things gained ground rapidly, but, above all, the Chinese of Han time came into close contact and carried on an exchange of ideas and customs with the Nomad peoples of the North and North-west, and of the cultures of the regions that now form Southern China, the Chinese penetration and colonization in this region far south of the Yang-tsi making great strides in the course of a couple of centuries. The lore of the Han era is thus a mixtum compositum far less homogeneous and less genuinely Chinese than the lore of the Chou era.

Yet another great gulf gapes between the conditions of the early Han and those of the 2nd c. A. D. Not only had the first three centuries of Han rule revolutionized Chinese life and thought. There was also another important difference. In the first Han century the students were still not very far remote

in time from the feudal era: their masters' masters lived in the last phase of that epoch, and though the customs and cults were already badly shaken and certainly to a large extent abolished, the knowledge about them could still be kept alive to a certain extent, in the circles of the early Han scholars. But a couple of centuries later, in the age of the great scholasts, Cheng Chung, Fu K'ien, Hsi Shen, Kia K'uei, Ma Jung, Cheng Hsian, Kao Yu and many others, that knowledge was such as had passed through the chain of many generations, it was no longer based on recent memories but the lore of ancient times.

2. In the second place, there is the important and hitherto almost entirely disregarded difference between various kinds of sources: sources of fundamentally different purport. On the one hand, there are sources like *Shu king* and *Shi king*, *Tso chuan* and *Kuo yü* and *Chan kuo ts'ê*, *Lun yü* and *Mencius*, *Mo-tsi* and *Chuang-tsi*, *Li sao* and *T'ien wen* — they are what I shall call *free texts* of the pre-Han era. Their accounts of ancient men, happenings and cults are given *en passant*, either as occasional records of events or inserted in speeches of politicians and philosophers, who refer to current traditions in elucidating some moral or political theme. Of an entirely different character are those writings which I shall call *systematizing texts*. They are the products of scholars who deliberately tried to lay down laws or make a consistent whole of the ancient traditions and ritual ideas. Their goal was to work up and compile a diffuse and heterogeneous material, to create a system. To this class belong, in the first place, works such as the major part of the *Li ki*, and the whole of *Yi li* and *Chou li*. Their scope is something other than simply to record ancient traditions and customs. They represent the endeavours of the Confucian school to determine what the beliefs and rites should properly be, according to the philosophy and principles of the *ju* scholars. It is obvious that certain speeches by prominent men in *Tso chuan* and *Kuo yü* have something of this doctrinary flavour; but there is the fundamental difference that their disquisitions are made *ad occasionem*, referring to a certain tradition or cult in order to guide the conduct of a prince in a special case; they do not form a comprehensive doctrine for the entire field of ritual life. A doctrine laid down in the *Li ki* or the *Yi li* cannot give us such an insight into the real living traditions and rites as a speech in the *Kuo yü*, because the rites it describes have been laid on the Procrustean bed of the systematizing Confucian scholars; it may have been — and can often be proved to have been — tampered with and trimmed so as to fit into the ritual system which the Confucian school thought was the proper one. This consideration is, in a way, just as important as the chronological one. Certain chapters in the *Li ki* and the *Ta Tai li* may have been written in early Han time (this is traditionally said of *Li*: Wang ch'i, though the earliest statement to this effect was made as late as by Lu Ch'i, d. 192 A. D.), whereas other parts are clearly pre-Han texts (e. g. the *T'an kung*); but it is of less consequence whether the systematizer wrote in 250 or in 150 B. C.

than if ~~the~~ wrote with a deliberate purpose to make the rites he describes accord with the doctrine of a certain school.¹⁾

The chapters in Sī-ma Ts'ien's Shī ki which treat of the pre-Han times are of quite the same systematizing character. He has based himself, as an historian, on various earlier documents and consciously tried to reconcile them, to select such facts as do not contradict one another and leave out the rest or modify them so as to make them consistent with the rest. Some of the documents on which he bases himself were already such systematizing texts, particularly the chapter 'Ti hi of the Ta Tai li, which deliberately tries to reconstruct a consistent list of the early sovereigns and to determine their family relationships. Of the same kind were the Shu sū (Preface to the Shu king) and the Shī pen (now lost, but some parts of which are known from early quotations).²⁾

If these systematizing texts of the *ju*-school doctrinaries and of the early historians already represent a deliberate compilation of the raw material of the ancient traditions and customs, this is still more the case with the commentators of Eastern Han, Liu ch'ao and T'ang times. They lived at a time when not only all first-hand knowledge of the raw materials was entirely lost, but when the secondary and tertiary etc. knowledge, passed on through a long series of teachers and pupils, was also to a large extent lost or badly distorted. The many discrepancies between commentators on the rituals, e. g. between Cheng Chung and Cheng Hūan, clearly reveal that their pronouncements were very largely reconstructive speculations, not founded on any living traditions but simply on their conjectures and their attempts at a philological interpretation of the ancient texts. In my works Glosses on the Kuo feng Odes (BMFEA 14), Glosses on the Siao ya Odes (BMFEA 16) and Glosses on the Ta ya and Sung Odes (BMFEA 18) I have shown how far the famous Cheng Hūan is wide of the mark in his interpretations of the Odes. His doctrines about the ancient traditions and rites laid down in his commentaries on the Rituals are of no greater value: in many

¹⁾ Nobody could seriously believe that the Chou li accurately describes the system of officials of the Royal Chou. Its character of a reconstruction to show how it ought to be is quite obvious. On the other hand, there cannot be the slightest doubt that it is a pre-Han text. This follows from a comparison of the system of officials which it lays down and that revealed by the free texts, notably Shu, Shī, Tso and Kyū. The discrepancies are so great that no Han-time forger would have dared to deviate so widely from the sacred classics. Above all, those scholars who have maintained that both the Tso chuan and the Chouli were forged by Liu Hin should have observed the glaring discrepancy between the two texts — it would have been strange indeed if one man had forged two documents that on many fundamental points are irreconcilable.

²⁾ Quite different is the Chu shu ki nien (not the spurious work translated by Legge, in Ch. Cl. III, but the authentic Chu shu collected from early quotations by Wang Kuo-wei in his Ku pen Chu shu ki nien tsi kiao in Hai ning Wang Chung-k'o kung yi shu; whenever I quote the Chu shu ki nien, I always refer to that edition, in which the sources containing the quotations are carefully recorded). This is a chronicle of the Ch'un ts'iu type, based on yearly records of the feudal courts, and, regarding the early periods, evidently based on the genealogies kept in connection with the ancestral temple cults.

cases he may be right, in just as many he may be entirely mistaken, through erroneous guesses and speculations. And that is true not only of Cheng Hsün but of the entire galaxy of great commentators. Their pronouncements must always be taken for what they are: scholarly reconstructions, not documentation of early happenings, beliefs and cults.

In the present article I shall take up for investigation the legends about primeval personages of various kinds and the cults connected with them. I shall keep strictly separate first the accounts of free pre-Han texts, then the systematizing and early Han texts, and finally the Eastern Han and later documents. I shall not aim at completeness, and particularly not in regard to the last category. If I were to incorporate all the speculations of Eastern Han scholars, it would double the size of my article, and quite unnecessarily; I make only a selection of these materials, sufficient to show how violently the ancient traditions have been tampered with and embroidered. Very rarely do I adduce texts later than the 3rd c. A. D. If I should embody in my treatise all the fanciful diatribes of the Six dynasties, T'ang and Sung times, such as the Shī yi ki, Sou shen ki, Shu yi ki, Shen yi king, Lie sien chuan,⁷ San huang pen ki, the T'ang commentaries on the classics and histories, the Lu shī etc., this would make up a volume of several hundred pages, and that falls outside the scope of the present paper.

Under point 1. above we emphasized the fundamental importance of distinguishing between pre-Han texts and Han (and later) texts. Some remarks should be added here about a few important texts, the age of which needs elucidation.

Lie-tsi. There is a strong tendency among modern Chinese scholars to regard Lie-tsi as a spurious text, concocted in post-Han-time. The reasons adduced are, however, of a very general and vague nature and far from conclusive. Now, there is one fact which definitely vetoes this theory. As in many other early texts, there are various passages in Lie-tsi that are rhythmical and rimed, and the rimes are of the archaic type. We find, for instance, in chapter T'ien juei 覆 *p'ióg: 𠂔 *tsag; ibid. 化 *xwa: 宜 *ngia; ibid. 始 *siag: 久 *kiüg; ch. Huang Ti 𠂔 *xiwo: 居 *kjo; ch. Shuo fu 和 *g'wá: 隨 *dzwia; ch. Li ming 汝 *njo: 巫 *míwo; ibid. 知 *tiëg: 之 *iïag, etc. These rimes could not have been imagined in post-Han time, and we have therefore every reason to accept our text as being identical with the Lie-tsi recorded in Liu Hsiang's catalogue (Han shu: Yi wen chī). On the other hand, this does not imply that it is a pre-Han work. The rimes in question were still quite possible in early Han time. Moreover, there is another very significant fact which forces us to conclude that the text was written in early Han time. In the pre-Han texts, the pronoun wu 吾 never occurs except in the nominative and genitive case («I, my».)¹ This is an almost unbroken rule, not only in the Lu school works (Lun, Meng, parts of Li), but in all the literature of the last centuries before the Han (Tso, Kyü, Ts'ê, Mo, Chuang, Sün, Hanfei, Lü etc.), which shows that this was a regular grammatical feature of all the various pre-Han dialects. Now in Lie-tsi there are quite a number of examples in which wu 吾 stands as a regular object after its verb, e. g.: Chapter Huang Ti: shī wu (1); ibid.: yin wu (2); ch. Chung-ni: y i

¹) But for the special construction of the type pu wu chī 不吾知 where, owing to the negation, the pronoun-object is placed before the verb, normally the place of the subject (nominative).

wu (3); *ibid.*: shī wu (4); *ibid.*: shī wu (1); ch. T'ang wen: ju wu (5); ch. Shuo fu: yū wu (6); *ibid.*: chuei wu (7); *ibid.*: kia o wu (8). In the texts of the early and middle Han era, the rôle of wu as a pronoun of the nominative and genitive cases is by no means forgotten, but in various of these texts there appear the first signs that the feeling was gradually lost that wu could not serve as an object (dative and accusative: «me»). A few examples will suffice to illustrate this: Shī ki: k. 70, p. 2: wei wu (9); k. 97 (the end): pu ju wu (10); k. 128, p. 7: sha wu (11); Sin shu: Lien yü: wei wu (9); *ibid.*: Ch'un ts'iu: ts'ung wu (12); Shuo yüan: Ch'en shu: shī wu (4); *ibid.*: Li tsie: yū wu (6); *ibid.*: Cheng li: ju wu (5); *ibid.*: Shan shuo: shan wu (13); *ibid.*: wei wu (9); *ibid.*: K'üan mou: yi wu (14); Lun heng: Kan hü: hai wu (15). Such constructions, with wu as the object of an immediately preceding verb (sometimes in the function of a preposition) hardly ever occur in pre-Han texts. But Lie-tsi, as exemplified above, shows just the same system: as a rule wu means «I, my», but occasionally the rule is broken: wu = «me». This clearly points to early Han time as the date of the Lie-tsi.

In fact, certain Lie-tsi chapters so closely resemble in content and style some chapters in Huai-nan-tsi that we are justified in attributing them to the same milieu and time (2nd c. B. C., cf. below).

Huai-nan-tsi. About the Huai-nan-tsi, H. Maspero says (J. As. 1924, p. 12): «C'est surtout une compilation de petits traités anciens... La plupart de ces opuscules remontent à la fin des Tcheou et à l'époque de Ts'in, fin du IV^e ou III^e siècle». Nothing could be more arbitrary and unfounded than this statement. We know perfectly well through the Han shu (k. 44) that Prince Liu An («Huai-nan-tsi», d. 122 B. C.) assembled at his court many scholars and fang-shī taoist adepts who wrote the various treatises that made up the collection generally known as the Huai-nan-tsi. Pan Ku was sufficiently near in time to Liu An to know very well what he was speaking about. The preface of Kao Yu (2nd c. A. D.) to the Huai-nan-tsi gives full details of the principal coadjutors of Liu An who chu 著 wrote the book. There are no *points d'appui* as evidence that these texts were pre-Han products — that is merely a personal opinion of Maspero's, for which, so far as I am aware, he has offered no proofs. It is a common feature of Maspero's works that he makes no distinction in his mode of expression between established facts and his personal opinions, and the unsuspecting reader is often led to believe that a categorical statement of his sums up a scientifically proved fact, whereas in reality it merely represents his own conviction. His passage quoted above should preferably have run: «C'est surtout, à mon avis, une compilation...». Briefly, the Huai-nan-tsi is a collection of essays written by a number of scholars at the Court of Liu An in the middle of the 2nd c. B. C.

Shan hai king. The Shan hai king is a curious document which has often been stated to be a Chou-time text. Even a slight acquaintance with its contents convinces the reader that it is a product of the Han era, in parts not even of the early Han. The first five books give an enumeration of a long series of mountains and hills all over the «China» known to the Han people, and almost every such hill has some supernatural animal or tree or plant (occasionally also a spirit), and in most cases these animals and plants possess

1. 視吾 2. 引吾 3. 易吾 4. 事吾 5. 如吾 6. 與吾 7. 追吾 8. 教吾 9. 為吾
10. 不如吾 11. 殺吾 12. 從吾 13. 善吾 14. 遺吾 15. 害吾

magic power: when eaten they cause various sicknesses, or the appearance of the animal presages drought or flood or war etc. On Ki shan, for instance, »there is a bird, its shape is that of a hen, but it has three heads, six eyes, six feet, three wings, its name is ch'ang-fu; if you eat it, you do not sleep». In the said five books there are no less than 186 such weird animals and 48 magic trees or plants. 99 percent of them never occur in a single pre-Han text. To a certain extent these chapters undoubtedly contain Han-time folk-lore, but the critical reader cannot seriously accept it all as a *bona fide* representation of beliefs that were really current among the people. The very exuberance of these supernatural phenomena, with which the text is overloaded, gives one the impression that the author has had at his disposal a certain limited fund of such popular beliefs connected with a few localities, and that his fertile brain has then invented the rest in the interest of completeness and parallelism: every hill in the vast domain should be purveyed with its magic animal or plant in order to make the system complete. We have no means of ascertaining how much — one fifth? — one third? — of all these curious statements really correspond to a living Han-time folk-lore. The later chapters (6—18) contain much more lore about pre-Han personages, but they are none the less patently written in Han time, and not even in the beginning of the Han era, since their geography reveals a detailed knowledge of regions entirely unknown to the Chinese of the 3rd c. B. C. There is not only the Min 閩 region (book 13), i. e. in the present prov. of Fu-kien and (ibid.) Fan-yü 番禺 (close to the modern Canton), but also Yü e ch' i ch' i kuo 月支之國 »the state of the Yüe-ch' i» (book 13) and even (book 18) T'ien-tu 天毒, i. e. India. The later books of the Shan hai king have been thoroughly and competently studied by O. Mänchen in Asia Major 1924.

Kuei tsang 歸藏. The existence of this book in Chou time is attested by Chouli: Ta pu, where we are told that there were three manuals of divination: Lien shan, Kuei tsang and Chou yi. Thus the Kuei tsang should be analogous to the Chou yi, i. e. the famous Yi king. In Kuo P'o's commentary on the Shan hai king there is often quoted a work K' i sh' i 啓筮, and since in k. 2 of the Shan hai king Kuo quotes the Kuei tsang k' i sh' i 歸藏啓筮, some scholars have thought that these quotations of Kuo's are drawn from the pre-Han work Kuei tsang, and that K' i sh' i is a chapter in that lost work. H. Maspero, therefore, in his article »Légendes mythologiques dans le Chou king» (J. As. 1924) has made much use of this »pre-Han» source. But all this is due to a misunderstanding. The title Kuei tsang k' i sh' i really means »Explanations of the divinatory figures in the Kuei tsang»; it is not the Kuei tsang itself but a later treatise, in which the author enlarges upon various topics in connection with the divinatory manual Kuei tsang. That this is so becomes clear from an examination of the extracts: they are not at all analogous or even similar to the text of the Yi king, but they are very much akin to a typical Han-time treatise Yi wei 易緯 (see Ku king kie huei han), a similar diatribe in connection with the Yi king. Even when sometimes (e. g. comm. on Wensüan 13) there is a reference briefly formulated »the Kuei tsang says», it is not a question of the Kuei tsang itself, but of some similar »Folgeschrift» of Han or later date, as shown by the content, which is not of the type of a divinatory manual.¹⁾ There must have existed quite a series of such discourses on divination in Han time; another one is also quoted by Kuo P'o (comm. Shan hai king 7) called Kuei tsang Cheng mu king 歸藏鄭母經. The names of various classics have been exploited in this fashion in Han time, e. g. the Ch'un ts'iu yüan ming pao 春秋元命包. The Kuei tsang itself was lost before middle Han

¹⁾ Thus, for instance, the Ch'u h'ue ki 22 quotes a passage from the »Kuei tsang», but the same passage recurs in comm. on Shan hai king 18, there correctly stated by Kuo P'o to be from the Kuei tsang k' i sh' i.

time: if it had existed then, such an important work would surely have been included in Liu Hsiang's bibliography (Han shu : Yi wen ch'i); the Kuei tsang k'i shi, which does not occur there either, was probably a work of Eastern Han time. It has practically no value as a source concerning Chou-time China.

I A.

1. The traditions about the primeval times anterior to Fu Hi, Shen Nung and Huang Ti (see below) are very few and vague. We find some notions of the kind in Hanfei: Wu to, where the author speculates about the earliest conditions of human life: in the highest antiquity people lived in »bird's nests» made in the trees, in order to avoid the dangers threatening them on the ground; this was the age of Yu Ch'ao shi (»the Lords of the bird's nests»). The people harmed their stomachs by eating raw food, and so some »sages» invented the fire-drill and taught them to cook their food; this was the age of Sui Jen shi (»the Lords the Fire-drillers»). This, however, is not the invention of an individual author (Han-fei) but represents some more generally recognized tradition, for Yu Ch'ao shi as ancient rulers are also mentioned in Yi Chou shu: Shi ki; and Chuang: Chi lo speaks of »the pronouncements of Sui Jen and Shen Nung», thus coordinating Sui Jen and Shen Nung as sage rulers of antiquity and placing Sui Jen prior to Shen Nung. Again, in Kuan: K'uei tu, Sui Jen is given as the point of departure in an evolutionary series, followed by Kung Kung — Huang Ti — Yao — Shun. Furthermore, Shi ts'i¹⁾ tells how Sui Jen produced the fire and how he taught people the art of fishing. There is no indication that these »rulers» Yu Ch'ao shi and Sui Jen shi were ever offered any cult; they play a very modest part in the pre-Han literature.

For remnants of other traditions about primeval »rulers» anterior to Fu Hi see 5 below (p. 220).

2. From Yü, the founder of the Hsia dynasty, the Chinese traditions are sufficiently unanimous and consistent to give them at least a semi-historical appearance; from T'ang, the founder of the Shang-Yin dynasty, we are on historical ground in regard to some fundamental facts, thanks to the oracle bones from Honan. We shall revert to these two dynasties later on.

The direct sequence of three great rulers of the golden age: Yao, Shun, Yü, is universally accepted in pre-Han literature. Primarily this is based on the Shu, where full details are given of their succession in the earliest chapters, but the same sequence recurs *passim*, in Lun: T'ai po; Meng: T'eng Wen kung, shang; Kyü: Lu, shang; Kuan: Huan kung wen; Lü: Kin t'ing; Li: Li k'i, etc. Yao is also called T'ao T'ang shi (T'ao T'ang²) or T'ang², and Shun is called Yu Yü² shi (Yu Yü²) or Yü². That these identifications (Yao =

¹⁾ The remains of Shi-ts'i's writings have been collected from ancient quotations by Sun Sing-yen in P'ing tsin kuan ts'ung shu, and by Wang Ki-p'ei in Hu hai lou ts'ung shu.

T' a n g², S h u n = Y ü²) are correct, is attested by the context in Lun: T'ai po, Chuang: Shan sing, Chuang: Lie Yü-k'ou. The traditions concerning the rulers anterior to Yao seem at first sight to be more complicated, but, as we shall see, they are in fact remarkably consistent, if we abide by the free pre-Han texts. There are various texts which give an enumeration of them, sometimes complete, sometimes giving only the most prominent members of the series:

Yi: Hi ts'i: P' a o H i (= F u H i) — S h e n N u n g — H u a n g T i — Y a o — S h u n.

Ts'ê: Chao 2: F u H i — S h e n N u n g — H u a n g T i — Y a o — S h u n.

Kuan: Feng shan: F u H i — S h e n N u n g — Y e n T i — H u a n g T i — C h u a n H ü — K' u — Y a o — S h u n — Y ü.

Lü: Tsun shi: S h e n N u n g — H u a n g T i — C h u a n H ü — K' u — Y a o — S h u n — Y ü.

Kyü: Lu, shang, Kyü: Chou, hia, and Kyü: Ch'u, hia: H u a n g T i — S h a o H a o — C h u a n H ü — K' u — Y a o — S h u n — Y ü.

Auth. Chu shu ki nien: H u a n g T i — X — C h u a n H ü (»When H u a n g T i died, after 7 years, his minister T s o C h'ê put C h u a n H ü on the throne», thus indicating an interval between H u a n g T i and C h u a n H ü, i. e. the reign of S h a o H a o acc. to Kyü above).

Chuang: Ta tsung shi, Chuang: K'ie k'ie, Chuang: T'ien Tsi-fang: F u H i — S h e n N u n g — H u a n g T i.

If we dress a table of this, we obtain:

	Yi, Ts'ê	Kuan	Lü	Kyü	Chushu	Chuang
1. F u H i	—	—				—
2. S h e n N u n g	—	—	—			—
3. Y e n T i		—				
4. H u a n g T i	—	—	—	—	—	—
5. S h a o H a o				—	X	
6. C h u a n H ü		—	—	—	—	
7. K' u		—	—	—		
8. Y a o	—	—	—	—		
9. S h u n	—	—	—	—		
10. Y ü		—	—	—		

The important thing in these traditions is that the sequence is quite consistent: nowhere a text where a 7 comes before a 5 or a 6 etc., in spite of the fact that the texts are very heterogeneous, belonging to various centres and schools.

These same sovereigns, besides figuring in these texts, in which they are placed in a sequence, figure frequently and *passim* in the free texts of pre-Han literature, and will be studied in detail further below. There are, however, several points which demand further comments here.

a). That Shao Hao has to be inserted between Huang Ti and Chuan Hū is directly attested by Kyū and indirectly by Chu shu (see above). It is further attested that Shao Hao's personal name was Chī 𣎵 (Tso: Chao 17), that he was also called Kin T'ien shī (Shī-tsi) and resided in K'ung-sang (ibid.). Hence he was also known as K'ung-sang (Tso: Chao 29). His successor Chuan Hū was born in Jo shuei and resided in K'ung-sang, a variant of the same place name (Lü: Ku yüe). We may add that the Chu shu ki nien tradition according to which the time between Huang Ti and Chuan Hū — the reign of Shao Hao — was short (7 years) is confirmed by Lü: Sū yi, which speaks of »what Huang Ti taught Chuan Hū«, thus suggesting a personal contact between these two sovereigns. Finally it should be mentioned that acc. to the authentic Chu shu ki nien, Ch'ang Yi descended and resided in Jo shuei and was the father of the emperor K'ien Huang, which suggests that Chuan Hū, son of Ch'ang Yi, was also called K'ien Huang.

Some remarks should be made here about the place name K'ung sang or K'ung sang. Tu Yü (3rd c.) in comm. on Tso: Chao 29 says K'ung sang was in the north of Lu (the feudal state in Shantung), and Kao Yu (2nd c.) in comm. on Huai: Pen king likewise says K'ung sang was a place in Lu. Kan Pao (4th c.) says it was »a cave in the mountain Nan shan in Lu«. This agrees with the placing of the K'ung sang mountain in Shan hai king k. 4. But on the other hand Shan hai king k. 3 places »the K'ung sang mountain« in the far north (somewhere in northern Shansi). All such determinations of early localities are really void of value. In reading the western translations of the earliest literature, in which there are thousands of place names, one is agreeably surprised to find that almost every one is well defined and carefully located (see, for instance, Legge, Chinese Classics, Chavannes, Mém. hist., Forke, Mé Ti). The secret of this astonishing precision is simple. These translators have as a rule followed the orthodox »standard« commentaries on each of the works in question. But what are their place identifications really worth?

The pre-Han literature contains no single work on geography, except the Yü kung chapter in the Shu, which deals principally with mountains and rivers and indicates their position only very vaguely (by following the route of Yü through the »nine provinces«). The same is true of Western Han literature, where the fantastic Shan hai king, with its account of mountains and rivers, is just as vague as the Yü kung. Si-ma Ts'ien's Shī ki has no chapter on geography. It is only in Eastern Han time that a really descriptive geography appears, the fundamental document being Pan Ku's Han shu: Ti li chī; and that same work also marks the beginning of historical geography, for a great number of Han time places are identified by Pan with places (mostly with quite different names) in the pre-Han literature. At about the same time came the first great efflorescence of Chinese philology, and the commentators on the Chou-time literature also made frequent notes on historical geography, trying to locate the place names occurring in the early texts. A rich fund of such notes is due to the labours of Eastern Han and San kuo scholars like Hū Shen, Ma Jung, Cheng Hūan, Kao Yu, Wei Chao, Tu Yü and many others of the same epoch. They sometimes agree quite well with each other, often they diverge considerably, sometimes fatally. When, later on, comprehensive geographies appeared, like Li Tao-yüan's Shuei king chu (6th c.) and the Kuo ti chī (early T'ang, now known only from extracts preserved in quotations), and when the great commen-

tators on the Shī ki and the Han shu (P'ei Yin, 5th c., Sī-ma Cheng, Chang Shou-tsie, Yen Shī-ku, all T'ang time) *passim* discuss the localization of the pre-Han place names, their *points d'appui* are, as a rule, not entries in the pre-Han texts (which seldom allow of any exact determinations) but precisely the various pronouncements in Han shu: Ti li chī and in the Eastern Han and Liu ch'ao commentaries just mentioned. When, finally, in the Ts'ing dynasty a row of prominent scholars devoted themselves to the historical geography of the pre-Han era — see, for instance, various extensive geographical treatises in the Huang Ts'ing king kie and Huang Ts'ing king kie sū pien, the copious notes in the new Ts'ing commentaries on the classics, and the Han shu pu chu by Wang Sien-ts'ien — they again had nothing to do but weigh the opinions of the Eastern Han, Liu ch'ao and T'ang writers and try to choose between the divergent theories of these many authors. If we read these comprehensive treatises and commentaries, we shall find it amply evident that the localization of pre-Han place names in the «standard» commentaries is to a deplorably large extent contestable and that in many cases no safe results can ever be attained. Even in the more conscientious of the western translations this fact sometimes emerges (see, for instance, the alternative placings in Chavannes, Mem. Hist. I, pp. 26, 31, 52, 72, 128, 131 and *passim*). The plain fact of which we should never lose sight is that even the position of the places in the periods of the Ch'un ts'iu and the Warring States, eras that are very fully treated in works like Tso, Kyū, Mo, Lü, Ts'ê, are to a large extent quite impossible to determine exactly. There is a framework of fundamental names in these texts, the exact positions of which are certain beyond any doubt: such, for instance, as the state of Lu (though its exact confines are doubtful). With such fundamental places as points of departure the approximate position of a great many others may be gleaned through the context in the Chou literature, but certainly no more; and if we take the trouble to go through the Tso chuan with an open and critical mind, we shall be discouraged by finding how remarkably small the number of quite certain localizations is after all.

It ought to be obvious that the determinations of the Eastern Han and later scholars can be confidently accepted only when it is a question of the fundamental framework: in regard to the position of the principal feudal states and their capitals and a number of famous localities that are, so to speak, household words in the classics; we may expect that the traditions could be kept alive uncorrupted throughout the many centuries from the Ch'un ts'iu and Warring States eras down to Eastern Han. But as soon as it is a question of more modest localities, which play only a secondary part in Chou literature, it is evident that no firm tradition could have survived down to the 1st or 2nd c. A. D. The identifications of Pan Ku *et consortes* are guesses, reconstructive computations and nothing more.¹⁾

There are various reasons why a great many place names of early historical times (Yin, Chou) cannot be localized with any certainty, but two of them are fatal. On the

¹⁾ Ch'un ts'iu: Huan 7 says (705 B. C.): S u e i, prince of Ku 穀伯 came to court (sc. in Lu). Tso adds: He is called by his personal name, showing contempt. Ku, which occurs nowhere else in Ch'un ts'iu and Tso chuan, was an insignificant «state». But Pan Ku (Han shu: Ti li chī, followed by Tu Yü) says about the city Chu-yang 筑陽 (the present Ku ch'eng hien in the prefecture of Siang yang, Hupei): «It is the old country of the prince of Ku». Can we seriously believe Pan's identification? Is it probable that a tradition from 700 B. C. down to the 1st c. A. D. lived on in the region of the present Ku ch'eng hien that this was the «state» of the «prince of Ku» in the Ch'un ts'iu? Obviously not, it is a mere speculation of Pan's. But on his great authority, the T'ang dynasty renamed the place Ku ch'eng «the city of Ku», and the official geography (Yi t'ung chī) of the Ts'ing says that to the north-west of Ku ch'eng there is «the grave of the prince of Ku»(!). This example throws a glaring light on the value of Chinese historical geography.

one hand, a certain place name has often been transferred from one locality to another; such are for instance, the famous Po 亳 of the Yin dynasty, and scores of others.¹⁾ On the other hand there were frequently several places which had the same name; a good example is K'ung t'ung which, according to the account of Huang Ti's conquests in Shī ki: Wu ti pen ki, is clearly a place in the extreme west, and in Tso: Ai 12 is equally unambiguously a place in Sung (Honan); other examples are the two different Po chung (in Kansu and in Shensi, see Chavannes, M. H. I, p. 127) and the two different K'uei k'iu (in Honan and in Shantung, see *ibid.* II, p. 29 and IV, p. 44). There are scores of similar cases.

If then even the geography of the 8th—3rd centuries B. C., in spite of the ample materials about that epoch in contemporaneous sources, must be admitted to be exceedingly poorly known, the identifications of place names made by the scholars of the Christian era being to a large extent contradictory and unreliable (and even, when not contradictory, often mere surmises), it is obvious that nothing could be more futile than to try to define the position of places in the legends about primeval times and the pre-Chou dynasties. The names are mere names and nothing more; we can but rarely connect them with a precise locality. It might be objected that the localizations made by Eastern Han and later scholars may be considered to be plausible when they are supported by local traditions of their time: if the legend has it that an «emperor» X was buried in Y, and the Y is identified by the commentators with a place Z where the people in Han time were proud to possess «the grave of emperor X», we might venture to accept the identification. Unfortunately this is not admissible, for sometimes two places vie with each other for the honour of possessing «the grave of So and so». The Han and post-Han scholars sometimes give us an amusing illustration of the value of such «local traditions». Si-ma Ts'ien, for instance, tells us (Shī ki: Feng shan shu) that «the grave of Ch'ī Yu» is situated in K'an in the eastern P'ing lu district (Shantung) — Ch'ī Yu was the legendary rebel who fought H u a n g T i (see p. 283 below); and he says (Shī ki: Po Yi lie chuan) that he himself has been on the Ki shan and seen the grave of H ü Y u, the sage to whom Yao wanted to cede the throne (see p. 292 below). It is more than probable that even the writers of the Chou-time texts, who record the legends about primeval times, had but vague notions about where ancient places like K'iu n g s a n g or H i e n y ü a n or P a n t s' ü a n were to be located; we shall never be able to ascertain what these names meant to the people in pre-Chou times.

The truth is that many of these place names are mere *clichés*, the stock-in-trade of the early legend-tellers, which crop up again and again in various myths, simply because they have a *nimbus*, which lends glory to the myth in question. A good example is Ming t'iao. Scores of generations of Chinese scholars have assiduously tried to localize Ming t'iao, and in so doing driven to desperation by the impossibility of reconciling the «data», they have sometimes concluded that there were several Ming t'iao, where some of the foremost happenings of pre-Chou China took place; their western disciples have equally assiduously recapitulated the learned conclusions of their

¹⁾ The exact position of the 3 successive Po, as determined by certain authorities, is indicated in Chavannes, M. H. I, p. 176. But Tsiao Sün, in comm. on Meng: T'eng Wen kung, hia, devotes several pages to a review of the many strongly divergent opinions about the localization of the three Po expressed by a series of Eastern Han, Liu ch'ao and T'ang scholars: Pan Ku, Liu Hsiang, Cheng Hsuan, Sie Tsan, Liu Chao, Tu Yü, Huang-fu Mi, Si-ma Piao, Li Tao-yüan, Yen Shī-ku, Chang Shou-tsie, and in the discussions of prominent Ts'ing scholars like Yen Jo-kü, Wang Ming-sheng on this intricate question, adding some extensive critical remarks of his own. Wang Sien-ts'ien (Han shu pu chu: Ti li chī, s. v. Yen shi 偃師) continues the discussion. In fact, in the absence of sufficiently guiding pre-Han sources the problem of the exact position of the three (or two?) P o can never be solved.

Chinese masters. Nothing could be more futile. We might as well try to define in which province and which district in Germany the Schlaraffenland was situated. What has happened in the case of *Ming t'iao* is clear: a venerable legend in the princely house of *Ch'en* (*Shun*'s descendants) had it that the great sage died in *Ming t'iao* (see p. 298 below). *Ming-t'iao* thereby became a sacred and glorious place; what was more natural than that the princely house of *Sung* (descendants of *T'ang*) seized upon the holy place for a leading legend of their own line? When *T'ang* the Achiever founded the famous *Shang-Yin* dynasty, he did so by a victory in *Ming t'iao*!

b). In the ancient texts there sometimes occur two sovereigns called *Kao Yang* and *Kao Sin*. *Kao Yang* (e. g. in *Ch'u: Li sao*, Tso: Wen 18) has traditionally been identified with *Chuan Hū* and *Kao Sin* (e. g. Tso: Wen 18) with *K'u*. The latter can be confirmed by free pre-Han texts, the former can be given a measure of probability.

In *Shi*: Ode 303 a *hūan niao* »black bird«, i. e. a swallow, is sent down from Heaven to give birth to the house of *Shang*. Ode 304 tells us that the lady who bore the founder (i. e. *Sie*) was a daughter of *Yu Sung² shī*, the Lord of *Sung²*. *Lü: Yin ch'u* tells us the legend in detail. There were two young ladies of the house of *Yu Sung² shī* for whom there had been made a (pleasure) tower in nine stocks, where they were regaled with food, wine and music; God sent a swallow to go and look at them, it sang, and the two girls contested in catching it, putting a basket over it; when after a while they lifted the basket, the swallow left two eggs and flew away (they swallowed the eggs, and *Kien Ti* became pregnant). The same legend is referred to in *Ch'u: T'ien wen*, where we find: »*Kien Ti* was on a tower, how *K'u* (sc. the emperor) liked her! The *hūan niao* black bird (swallow) gave its gift, how the girl rejoiced!». Thus the lady *Kien Ti* of the *Sung²* house was the consort of emperor *K'u*. In *Ch'u: Li sao* the poet in his imagination seeks the daughter of *Yu Sung²*, but he finds that he has been forestalled by *Kao Sin*. Consequently *Kao Sin* is = *K'u*. That *Kao Sin* was close in time to *Yao*, i. e. that he was *K'u* is corroborated by Tso: Chao 1: *Kao Sin* had two sons, *Ngo po* and *Shī Ch'en*, the former being placed in *Shang k'iu*; Tso: Siang 9: the *huo cheng* »governor of fire« of *T'ao T'ang² shī* (i. e. *Yao*) *Ngo po* resided in *Shang k'iu*. Therefore *Kuan: Chī mi* also speaks of the time of *K'u²* and *Yao* (this *K'u²* being a variant of the ordinary *K'u*). On the other hand, that *K'u* followed immediately after *Chuan Hū* is attested in *Kyü: Chou, hia*.

The identification of *Kao Yang* = *Chuan Hū* is less strongly documented, but is nevertheless fairly plausible. *Mo: Fei kung, hia* says: *Kao Yang* ordered *Yü* to attack *Yu Miao* (cf. p. 252 below). This would imply that *Kao Yang* was identical with *Shun*. But Tso: Wen 18 says that »*Kao Yang shī* had eight talented sons... for generations they achieved

their goodness. . . when it came to (the time of) Y a o . . . ». Here K a o Y a n g is prior to Y a o. This can only mean that in the Mo passage above S h u n was called by the sovereign appellation of K a o Y a n g because he was a descendant of K a o Y a n g. Now the only ancestor of S h u n who was a »sovereign» was C h u a n H ü (line of descent: C h u a n H ü — M o — X — K u S o u — S h u n, see Tso Chao 8), so that C h u a n H ü must be K a o Y a n g. To this identification Chavannes (M. H. I, p. 76) has objected that in Tso: Wen 18 the two seem to be distinguished in an enumeration: »K a o Y a n g s h ī had eight talented sons. . . K a o S i n s h ī had eight talented sons. . . T i H u n g s h ī had a son devoid of talent. . . S h a o H a o s h ī had a son devoid of talent. . . C h u a n H ü s h ī had a son devoid of talent. . . T s i n Y ü n s h ī had a son devoid of talent. . . » (all prior to Yao). But the fact that one and the same sovereign is called alternately K a o Y a n g and C h u a n H ü is really no obstacle. In quite the same way Tso calls one and the same ruler alternately S h a o H a o (Tso: Wen 18) and K i n T ' i e n s h ī (Tso: Chao 1) — we have seen above (ap. Shī-tsī) that K i n t ' i e n s h ī was S h a o H a o ' s appellation. The identification C h u a n H ü = K a o Y a n g thus seems to be fairly safe.

c). The only one of the above texts which clearly distinguishes between S h e n N u n g and Y e n T i is K u a n - t s ī. Many scholars have insisted that K u a n - t s ī is a spurious work of post-Han date; I have refuted this view in BMFEA vol. 1 (1929). In any case we have strong testimony that this chapter at least is truly ancient, for the passage in which this enumeration of early sovereigns occurs is clearly alluded to in Ch'un ts'iu fan lu 25, a work from the beginning of the Han era. And there are, in fact, free pre-Han texts which confirm K u a n on this fundamental point. In Kyū: Tsin 4 we find this tradition: »S h a o T i e n married a lady of the house of Y u K i a o s h ī and bore H u a n g T i and Y e n T i, the former acquiring the clan name K i from the K i river, the latter the clan name K i a n g from the K i a n g river. These two t i emperors fought with each other». Thus H u a n g T i became sovereign through a victory over hōs brother Y e n T i. (This explains the fact that both Kyū: Chou hia and Lü: Tang ping speak of H u a n g Y e n, i. e. H u a n g T i and Y e n T i; this does not mean that H u a n g T i was prior to Y e n T i but only that H u a n g T i as victor is mentioned before Y e n T i as the vanquished sovereign). Now, if S h e n N u n g and Y e n T i were identical, it would mean that S h e n N u n g was son of S h a o T i e n and brother of H u a n g T i. But Lü: Shen shī tells us that S h e n N u n g was not an individual ruler but a dynasty: »the Divine Husbandmen»: »S h e n N u n g ruled for 17 generations over the world». The passage cannot mean that S h e n N u n g was so long-lived that he personally outlived 17 generations of the people, for Shī-tsī has the same line, adding: »How could it be that each generation (sc. of rulers) was sage? It was because it was easy to guide the people» (hence the dynasty could rule uninterruptedly for so

long). These texts show that the early tradition could not have considered Shen Nung as = Yen Ti = the brother of Huang Ti, both sons of Shao Tien.

In quite the same way the pre-Han tradition indicates that Huang Ti was not an individual but a dynasty: »the Yellow Emperors». The authentic Chu shu ki nien says: »From Huang Ti to Yü there were 30 generations», which reveals the tradition that the Huang Ti »Yellow Emperor» who after 7 years (those of Shao Hao) was succeeded by Chuan Hü was only the last »Yellow Emperor», the final member of a long dynasty. The Chu shu tradition in question reverts in a curiously distorted way in the Wu ti tê, which is connected with the systematizing text Ti hi (chapters 62 and 63 in the Ta Tai li). The systematizer, who wished the ancient sovereigns to be individual rulers, makes Tsai Wo ask Confucius about the ancient tradition that »Huang Ti had 300 years», and lets the Master answer that Huang Ti applied his good virtues for a hundred years, the people revered his spirit for another hundred years and they followed his teachings for yet another hundred years!

The free texts of pre-Han times, as we have seen, reveal a perfectly consistent system of traditions about the line of early »sovereigns»: Fu Hi — Shen Nung (a dynasty) — Yen Ti — Huang Ti (a dynasty) — Shao Hao — Chuan Hü — K'u — Yao — Shun — Yü. This does not mean, of course, that we have any reason to believe that these »sovereigns» were really historical; we shall see below that they had many mythological features which clearly reveal them as legendary figures. But the consistency in the traditions reveals another highly important fact: it was due to a strong and well-established system of cults, maintained all the way down to middle and late Chou time. It was because various noble families traced their origin back to legendary heroes¹⁾ and kept up their cults that the most varying authors, who were aware of these cults, could all refer to one and the same system of legendary rulers. The doctrines about these rulers were *commune bonum* of all the educated nobles of the Chou era.

We may, however, proceed one step further and state that the Chou traditions reveal that there was considered to have existed some kinship between all these rulers from Yen Ti and Huang Ti down to Yü.

We have already seen how at the beginning of the line Yen Ti and Huang Ti were brothers. At the end of the line, both Shun and Yü are definitely stated to have been descendants of Chuan Hü:

As to Yü, see the authentic Chu shu ki nien: »Chuan Hü bore Po Kun, he was Jo Yang». Mo: Shang hien, chung, also states that Po Kun was

¹⁾ In the same way the emperors of Japan trace their lineage back to the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, which testifies to a very ancient cult but certainly not to any historical origin.

«the eldest son of an emperor». *Kun* is well known as the father of the great *Yü* (Shu: Hung fan, Tso: Hi 33, Lü: Hing lun). For *Shun*, on the other hand, Tso:Chao 8 gives the clue, where an annalist tells of the origin of the house of *Ch'en*: «*Ch'en* are the descendants of *Chuan Hü*; ... from *Mo* to *Ku Sou* there were none who disobeyed the laws; *Shun* enhanced it by this bright virtue, and established the virtue (of the family) in *Suei*; the *Suei* kept it for generations down to prince *Hu*; therefore the *Chou* gave them a clan name and made them sacrifice to the *Yü*² 虞 emperor (i. e. *Shun*)». *Ku Sou* is the well-known father of *Shun* (Meng: Li Lou, shang) and *Mo* was evidently the son of *Chuan Hü*, and some generation at least must lie between *Mo* and *Ku Sou*¹). Cf. Kyü: Lu, shang: «*Mo* was the one who was able to follow (in the steps of) *Chuan Hü*, and *Yu Yü*² shi the Lords of *Yü*² made *pao* sacrifices to him». *Mo-tsi* likewise considers *Shun* to be a descendant of *Chuan Hü* (*Kao Yang*, since he calls *Shun* by the name of *Kao Yang*, see p. 211 above).

For the kinship of the emperors *Huang Ti* — *Yü* as a whole we have to turn to a fundamental passage in Kyü: Lu, shang, which recurs, with two divergences, in Li: Tsi fa (these latter are here added in parenthesis). It is a question of four kinds of sacrifices: *ti* 祫, *tsu* 祖, *kiao* 郊 and *tsung* 宗, the *kiao* being performed on the suburban altar, the others in the ancestral temple.

*Yu Yü*² shi: *ti* to *Huang Ti*; *tsu* to *Chuan Hü*; *kiao* to *Yao* (Li: *K'u*); *tsung* to *Shun* (Li: *Yao*).

Hia Hou shi: *ti* to *Huang Ti*; *tsu* to *Chuan Hü*; *kiao* to *Kun*; *tsung* to *Yü*.

Shang: *ti* to *Shun* (Li: *K'u*); *tsu* to *Sie*; *kiao* to *Ming*; *tsung* to *T'ang*.

Chou: *ti* to *K'u*; *tsu* to *Wen wang*; *kiao* to *Tsi*; *tsung* to *Wu wang*.

In each horizontal line, the heroes were necessarily ancestors, belonging to the

¹) There is a striking discrepancy in the number of generations of the *Shun* line and the *Yü* line: on the one hand *Chuan Hü* — *Mo* — *X* — (*X*) — *Ku Sou* — *Shun*, on the other hand *Chuan Hü* — *Kun* — *Yü*. In itself this may not seem absolutely impossible, for it is common in China that a man becomes a father at 15 years of age and then gets sons some 50 years later; thus in China a century may span over 6 generations as well as over 3 or 4. None the less, it seems somewhat hard to believe that *Shun* was a descendant of *Chuan Hü* in at least the 4th, possibly in the 5th or 6th generation, whereas his successor on the throne, *Yü*, was a grandson of *Chuan Hü*. We shall see below how *Pan Ku* in *Han shu* has concluded that these traditions are wrong and that *Kun* was not a son but a descendant in the 5th generation of *Chuan Hü*. But all this labouring of the point is futile, being an attempt at making history out of legend. The long genealogy of *Shun* was the tradition in the house of *Yu Yü*² (*Ch'en*), the short one of *Yü* was the tradition in the *Hia* house (*K'i* and *Tseng*); the traditions belong to different ancient cult-circles, and since they are legends and not history, need not tally; indeed it is precisely discrepancies of this kind that plainly reveal that the stories of the early rulers prior to *Yao* are myths.

families of Yu Y ü², Hia Hou, Shang and Chou respectively, since the gods »did not accept sacrificial gifts from such as were not of their kin» (Tso: Hi 10, Hi 32).¹⁾

The *tsung* sacrifice was evidently offered to the greatest »king» of the line: Wu wang of Chou; T'ang of Shang; Yü of Hia; and Shun of Yu Y ü². In the first line, therefore, evidently the Kyü version is right and the Li version is corrupt — in the Yu Y ü² house Shun could evidently not be left out, in the fashion of the Li text. In the house of Yu Y ü², Shun played the same part of predominating figure as Yü, T'ang and Wu wang in the later dynasties.

The *kiao* sacrifice was more heterogeneous. The Chou house made it to Hou Tsi (this is confirmed in Tso: Siang 7), their ancestor in the time of Yao; the Shang house to Ming, one of the early Shang kings, prior to T'ang; the Hia house to Kun, the father of Yü (this is confirmed in Tso: Chao 7); and the Yu Y ü² house to Yao.²⁾ It would thus seem that Yao was likewise a kinsman of the Yu Y ü² house. His title T'a o T'ang² shi simply refers to his apanage before becoming »emperor» and does not prevent this. It might seem possible that he received sacrifices from the Yu Y ü² house simply because he was the father-in-law of Shun (Shu: Yao tien) and thus a forefather of the later members of the clan. But there are other reasons for including Yao in the line of sovereigns who were all relatives (see pp. 217, 218 below).

The *tsu* sacrifice was offered to Wen wang by the Chou house, as the father of the first Chou king; in the Shang house it was Sie, the ancestor in the time of Yao; in the Hia house it was Chuan Hü, since, as we have seen, he was father of Kun and grandfather of Yü; in the Yu Y ü² house it was likewise Chuan Hü, since via Mo — X — Ku Sou — Shun he was the principal ancestor of that line.

The *ti* sacrifice concerned a more remote ancestor than the *tsu*. The Chou honoured K'u by this sacrifice, which is very interesting. In Shi: Ode 245 it is stated that Kiang Yüan, the mother of Hou Tsi, became pregnant by treading in the foot-prints of *ti* 帝, which certainly only means God (Heaven) — so it was still interpreted in early Han time (Ch'un ts'iu fan lu ch. 23). But later commentators have imagined that the *ti* (»sovereign») in whose foot-prints

¹⁾ This principle is further illustrated in Tso: Hi 31. The prince of Wei (Clan Ki, of the Chou house) sacrificed to Siang, a king of the Hia dynasty (instigated to this by a portentous dream); a dignitary remonstrated: it is only the princes of K'i and Tseng, descendants of the Hia, who can sacrifice to a Hia king — Wei's sacrifice is useless.

²⁾ According to the Li version it was to K'u, which is very unlikely, since he was not a direct ancestor of this family; in either version, however, Yao is included in the number of those sacrificed to by the Yu Y ü² family. — In Chou time the descendants of the Hia, sc. the K'i house, for its *kiao* sacrifice substituted Yü for Kun, as being a more worthy potentate; and the descendants of the Shang-Yin, the Sung house, substituted Sie for Ming — all this acc. to Li: Li yü.

she walked was really the »emperor« K' u, her husband.¹⁾ This is plainly a distortion of the original myth. The true interpretation is quite different. That the emperor K' u was considered to be the father of H o u T s i, by his wife Kiang Yüan, is clearly proved by the sacrificial scheme of the Kyü-Li passage above: otherwise the Chou would not have made their t i sacrifice to K' u as their ancestor. But at the same time it was really God (Heaven) who by the magic foot-prints made Kiang Yüan pregnant: the miraculous conception did not prevent her husband K' u from being considered the formal and lawful father of H o u T s i.

In just the same way the S h a n g house made t i sacrifice to K' u (here evidently the Li version is superior to that of the Kyü, since S h u n was no direct forefather of the Shang). We have already studied above (p. 211) the legend about the birth of S i e, the ancestor of the S h a n g: K' u (= K a o S i n), had, besides Kiang Yüan, also another wife K i e n T i, he was with her on a tower and was very »pleased« with her, when a swallow was sent down from Heaven and gave her the »gift« of an egg which made her pregnant. Here again there is a miraculous conception, but none the less her legal husband, the emperor K' u was considered the father of S i e and hence received t i sacrifice from the Shang. Then too both the H i a house and the Y u Y ü² house made t i sacrifice to H u a n g T i as a remote ancestor. As they were both descendants of C h u a n H ü, this can only mean that C h u a n H ü was a descendant of H u a n g T i.

Finally the C h o u were kinsmen of H u a n g T i. We saw above that H u a n g T i had the clan name K i, and this was the clan name of the Royal C h o u. Consequently K' u, the »remote ancestor« (with t i sacrifice) of the C h o u was a descendant of H u a n g T i. The C h o u did not go further back in the line than to K' u in making their t i sacrifices. But this does not prevent the possibility of the line's being followed back even further, to the first founder of the K i clan, H u a n g T i.

There is a very suggestive fact in this connection. Li: Yü e k i tells us (a narrative which recurs slightly altered in Lü: S h e n t a) that when W u w a n g of C h o u had vanquished the S h a n g - Y i n, before he descended from the war chariot he enfeoffed the descendants of H u a n g T i in K i² (Lü says: in C h u), the descendants of Y a o in C h u² (Lü says: in L i), the descendants of S h u n in C h' e n, the descendants of H i a H o u (i. e. Y ü) in K' i, and placed the descendants of (S h a n g -) Y i n in S u n g. Here W u w a n g attended to those houses which constituted the most prominent branches of one great family: the S h a n g - Y i n and C h o u were both descendants of K' u, and they were connected with H u a n g T i (who had the clan name K i like the Chou) as primary ancestor; and the S h u n house as well as the H i a house

¹⁾ Wang Ch'ung in Lun heng: K i y e n says that she became pregnant by wearing K' u's clothes and sitting at rest in his place.

(Yü) were both descendants of Chuan Hū. We find it confirmed here that kinship existed between Huang Ti — Chuan Hū — K'u. Moreover, the Yao house is then added to those who were enfeoffed, which confirms that Yao was regarded as a kinsman of the rest. It is particularly important to find that even in Chou time there were feudal houses which kept up the sacrifices to Huang Ti, Yao and Shun as their direct ancestors; it was surely to a large extent by the aid of their genealogical trees that the traditions regarding the early rulers were kept alive and currently known.

There remains only the somewhat mysterious Shao Hao who is entirely left out of the sacrificial scheme. Was he a kinsman of the rest? There are two testimonies to the fact that he was. One is Kyü: Cheng yü: »The princes of Ch'u are the descendants of Ch'ung and Li». (The text cannot be translated: »are the descendants of Ch'ung - Li [one person]», for immediately afterwards mention is made of Li separately, and in Kyü: Ch'u yü there is a clear distinction drawn between Ch'ung and Li). From Tso: Chao 29 we know that Ch'ung was a younger brother of Shao Hao and Li a son of Chuan Hū. If the Ch'u princes were »descendants» of them both, it must mean that there was some kinship between Shao Hao and Chuan Hū. (For further discussion of this Kyü passage see p. 235 below). The other passage is a line in the chapter K'ao tê (now lost) of the Yi Chou shu (ap. Han shu: Lü li chī), which says: »Shao Hao, that means 'pure': the pure one, that was Huang Ti's son Ts'ing Yang 青陽» (That Ts'ing Yang was a son of Huang Ti is confirmed by Kyü: Tsin 4). Thus Shao Hao is identified as a son of Huang Ti. The same identification of Shao Hao and Ts'ing Yang recurs, in an abbreviated form, in Yi Chou shu: Ch'ang mai, where he is called Shao Hao Ts'ing 清.

We have thus established that the early traditions indicate kinship between: Yen Ti — Huang Ti — Shao Hao — Chuan Hū — K'u — Yao — Shun — Yü (with the Hia, Shang-Yin and Chou houses), though of course the texts give no information of their detailed pedigree.

It is common in later times to speak of San tai »the three dynasties» (Hia, Shang-Yin and Chou), the ages anterior to Hia having no »dynasty». But that is contrary to the earliest traditions which frequently reckon with four dynasties: Yü², Hia, Shang, Chou. This is directly stated in Li: Ming t'ang wei: »the musical instruments of the sī tai four dynasties», and the »Yü², Hia, Shang, Chou» series appears *passim* in the pre-Han texts: Tso: Chuang 32, Ch'eng 13; Li: T'an kung (bis), Wen wang shī tsī, Kiao t'ê sheng, Nei tsê (bis), Tsi yi; Kyü: Cheng yü; Mo: Ming kuei, hia; Lü: Shen ying. In most of these texts it is quite clear from the context that »Yü²» does not mean simply the reign of Shun but a real »dynasty», an era, characterized by its own rites and customs. Now the house of Yu Yü² continued, even after the rise of the Hia dynasty, as a feudal house (the widow of Siang, an early Hia king, fled to Yu Yü²,

see Tso: Ai 1) , but the above passages refer to the times before the H i a dynasty and indicate a Y u Y ü² dynasty anterior to that. What is meant by this dynasty?

From Kyü: Cheng yü it would appear that the Kyü author meant by »Y ü²« in »Y ü², H i a, S h a n g, C h o u« merely the direct line (C h u a n H ü): M o — X — K u S o u — S h u n. But that does not satisfy all the texts adduced above, which speak of rites and customs of the »Yü²« dynasty prior to the H i a: it must, in fact, have in view a connected line of sovereigns who were all kinsmen of each other, thus forming a dynasty of imperial sovereigns. How far back the tradition counts this »Y ü²« dynasty it is, of course, impossible to tell, but it certainly must include the direct ancestor of S h u n, i. e. C h u a n H ü, and the »Y ü²« dynasty must reasonably mean C h u a n H ü — K ' u — Y a o — S h u n: we have seen from the cult scheme above that Chuan Hü, K ' u and S h u n were shown to be kinsmen, and that Y a o probably belonged to the same kin. Here we find this confirmed, for if Y a o were excluded, as an outsider not a kinsman of the rest, there would be no consecutive »Y ü²« dynasty ending with S h u n, which could be characterized, as in the above texts, as an era with rites and customs of its own.

3) There is, further, a potentate T ' a i H a o who in at least one pre-Han text is styled t i emperor, sovereign: in the systematizing text Li: Yüe ling (same chapter in Lü); he is the t i emperor who represents spring (corresponding to Y e n T i, summer, H u a n g T i, end of summer, S h a o H a o, autumn, C h u a n H ü, winter). In Tso: Hi 27 it is said that the states of J e n, S u, S ü - k ü and C h u a n - y ü had the clan name F e n g and sacrificed to (i. e. were descendants of) T ' a i H a o. In Tso: Chao 17 it is stated that T ' a i H a o had dragons as insignia for his officers, a passage to which we refer under 4 below. Further, certain constellations, and regions in China corresponding to them, are called by the names of ancient heroes (Tso: Chao 17, Ting 4): T ' a i H a o c h i k ' ü 虛, C h u J u n g c h i k ' ü, S h a o H a o c h i k ' ü, C h u a n H ü c h i k ' ü. But there is no pre-Han text which could either identify T ' a i H a o with anybody in the general list of »emperors« (from the text just adduced it is clear that he is not identical with Y e n T i, H u a n g T i, S h a o H a o or C h u a n H ü), or place him chronologically in that sequence. From Sün: Cheng lun: »All from T ' a i H a o and S u e i J e n all have had it« it would seem that he was considered anterior not only to F u H i but also to S u e i J e n, the »Fire-drillers« cf. p. 206.

4. We must insert here a note about another potentate, K u n g K u n g, who is often mentioned as a powerful »hegemon«, sometimes on a par with the t i »sovereigns«. In the pre-Han texts he crops up in two connections.

a. On the one hand, he is the protagonist in a deluge theme, akin to that which later recurs in the myths of K u n and Y ü (see pp. 250, 301 below). He is then placed in the times before H u a n g T i. K u a n: K ' u e i to narrates: »After the time of

Suei Jen (see p. 206 above) when Kung Kung was wang king, the waters occupied 7 tenths and the dry land 3 tenths (sc. of the earth); he availed himself of the natural conditions and in the constrained space ruled the empire; when it came to Huang Ti's being king...; when it came to Yao's and Shun's being kings...» Similarly, in Kyü: Lu, shang we find: When Kung Kung shi was hegemon over the 9 possessions...; Huang Ti was able to...; Chuan Hü was able to...; Ti K'u was able to...; Yao was able to...; Shun was able to...;» etc.¹⁾ Here a chronological sequence is evidently intended, and Kung Kung is again placed prior to Huang Ti. In Kyü: Chou, hia the theme is further elaborated: »Kung Kung wished to dam up the hundred rivers and streams, he overthrew the heights and obstructed the lowlands and so damaged the whole realm; but high Heaven did not give him luck, the people did not help him, disaster and disorder both arose and Kung Kung was thus annihilated». Again, in Tso: Chao 17 it is told how various potentates had different insignia for their officers: Huang Ti had clouds as insignia, Yen Ti had fire, Kung Kung had water and T'ai Hao had dragons, whereas in more recent times Shao Hao had birds. As pointed out by Pan Ku (Han shu: Lü li chi), the text purports a regressive chronology for the first four: Huang Ti »took over» from Yen Ti, he took over from Kung Kung, and he took over from T'ai Hao, which again (as in Kuan and Kyü above) shows that Kung Kung was considered prior to Yen Ti and Huang Ti.

b. On the other hand, Kung Kung appears in the Shu. In Yao tien he is first praised as a meritorious dignitary under Yao, but later in the same chapter (now separate: Shun tien) he is one of the miscreants punished by Shun and banished to Yu chou. The commentators have concluded that Kung Kung was not a name but the title of an office: »the furnisher of work», minister of works, and probably the Yao tien author held that opinion, for he makes Shun say to Ch'uei: ju kung kung 汝共工 »you shall attend to the works». Further the commentators conclude that the Kung Kung of Yao's time was a different man from the primeval one. It is easy to realize how fictitious this interpretation is. What has happened is this. The Shu author, who must have written in a fairly early part of the Chou era, seized upon the age of Yao, Shun and Yü as the golden age and panegyricized these three rulers; he started with the chapter on Yao and excluded everything in the traditions that was anterior to them (there is one single item in the whole of the Shu pointing to something prior to Yao: in Lü hing it is said that Ch'i Yu was the first rebel, alluding to a myth connected with Huang Ti). Now, as evidenced above, the legend of Kung Kung as an usurper and a hegemon was a widespread and favourite tradition. Consequently the figure of Kung

¹⁾ Li: Tsi fa likewise speaks of the time when Kung Kung was »hegemon over the 9 provinces».

K u n g was seized upon and used *ad maiorem Yao gloriam*: he was made into a dignitary who first played an important part under the first golden-age emperor Y a o but then mismanaged his duties and was banished. Thus the appearance of K u n g K u n g under Y a o is a result of the deliberate trick of the Shu author to let everything begin with Y a o. We shall find a parallel to this on p. 236 below.

5). Besides the above-mentioned more prominent and central »rulers«, the pre-Han texts abound in names of legendary early »rulers«, of whom little or nothing is known beyond the bare names.

Kuan: Feng shan places at the beginning of his list of rulers who sacrificed to T'ai shan a W u H u a i s h ī (followed by F u H i, S h e n N u n g, Y e n T i etc. as on p. 207 above). Chuang: K'ie k'ie speaks of the age of the »highest virtue«, that of the rulers: J u n g C h ' e n g s h ī, T a T ' i n g s h ī (also mentioned in Tso: Chao 18), P o H u a n g s h ī, C h u n g Y a n g s h ī, L i L u s h ī, L i H ü s h ī, H i e n Y ü a n s h ī, H o S ü s h ī, T s u n L u s h ī, C h u J u n g s h ī, F u H i s h ī, S h e n N u n g s h ī. Observe that the list ends with the first two sovereigns of the orthodox list (Yi king), F u H i and S h e n N u n g. Immediately before them comes a C h u J u n g s h ī — the same name as the god C h u J u n g; this is an interesting point to which we shall revert on p. 240 below. Observe further that H i e n Y ü a n s h ī comes several steps before F u H i and S h e n N u n g. This H i e n Y ü a n occurs also in Hanfei: Kie Lao as a miraculous person who, like Heaven and Earth, the four seasons etc. and another genius C h ' i S u n g, had got t a o, the highest norm. The J u n g C h ' e n g s h ī, who heads Chuang's list, recurs in Chuang: Tsê yang as a sage who pronounced himself on time-reckoning, and in Lü: W u k u n g as the creator of the calendar. H o S ü s h ī recurs in Chuang: M a t ' i, where he is a primeval ruler under whom the people lived in a happy, primitive stage. Another early potentate anterior to F u H i and H u a n g T i is H i W e i s h ī, who in Chuang: T a t s u n g s h ī is said to have attained to t a o and thereby »lifted Heaven and Earth«, and who in Chuang: C h i p e i y u is said to have had a paradisiac garden, like H u a n g T i. In Tso: Chao 29 a certain potentate L i e S h a n s h ī had a son C h u ³, who became T s i god of the grain; in Li: T s i f a he is called L i S h a n s h ī (sound variation: lie 烈 < *liat, li 厲 < *liad) and is stated to have y u t ' i e n h i a possessed the empire, and who had a son N u n g (»the Husbandman«), who became T s i, god of the grain. No pre-Han text permits us to place him in the series. Again, in Tso: Wen 18, an emperor T i H u n g s h ī had a degenerate son, and T s i n Y ü n s h ī another bad son, to both of whom we shall revert p. 247 below. Neither of those rulers are mentioned in any other pre-Han text. The same is true of Y i K ' i s h ī, who in Li: K i a o t ' ê s h e n g is said to be the creator of the c h a 蜡 sacrifices, and in Li: M i n g t ' a n g w e i is the inventor of simple musical instruments. Finally, in Lü: K u y ü e there are C h u S i a n g s h ī, who c h i t ' i e n h i a

»governed the empire», Ko T'ien shī and Yin K'ang shī, likewise some early »rulers», and in Chuang: Tsê yang a Jan Siang shī and in Shang-tsī: Hua ts'ê a Hao Ying shī — all entirely unknown in other pre-Han texts. — All these names tell us little in themselves, but they underline a very important fact: in Chou-time China there must have existed any number of myths concerning primeval heroes, of which only a few have been preserved through more detailed accounts in pre-Han texts.

I B.

From the traditions of the free pre-Han texts about the early sovereigns registered above, let us now pass on to the systematizing texts and the texts of the Han scholars in order to study how they have handled the traditions about the sovereigns anterior to Yao and fabricated a detailed pedigree. Throughout their speculations there is a tendency to reduce the number of early »sovereigns» by the trick of identifying two or several names as referring to one and the same person. To a certain extent they have been encouraged in this traffic by authentic phenomena of this kind, e. g. the identity of Kao Yang = Chuan Hū, of Kao Sin = K'u, and of Shao Hao = Kin T'ien, see p. 211 above.

1. There is first the identification of T'ai Hao with Fu Hi and of Shen Nung with Yen Ti: the series of the Yi: Hi ts'i: P'ao Hi (Fu Hi) — Shen Nung — Huang Ti is identified with another series: T'ai Hao — Yen Ti — Huang Ti.

As to Shen Nung = Yen Ti, we have seen above (p. 212) that it is decidedly wrong: it conflicts with the pre-Han sources, which clearly indicate Shen Nung as the founder of a dynasty and Yen Ti as a subsequent emperor ousted by his brother Huang Ti. Nonetheless, the idea that Yen Ti is identical with Shen Nung already crops up in early Han time. We find it in Lie: Shuo fu: »Shen Nung had the virtue of yen 炎 flames», i. e. ruled by the virtue of fire, which should be compared with Tso: Ai 9: »Yen Ti was huo shī Master of fire». Similarly Yen Ti, who is alternatively called Ch'i Ti »the Red, Fiery Emperor,»¹⁾ is identified with Shen Nung in Ch'un ts'iu fan lu ch. 22.

Si-ma Ts'ien (Shī ki: Wu ti pen ki) tries to reconcile the opposite views. He knows that Shen Nung founded a dynasty (as proved by the texts p. 212 above), and yet he identifies Yen Ti with Shen Nung by taking him as the last of the Shen Nung dynasty: »At the time of Hien Yüan (i. e. acc. to him Huang Ti) the Shen Nung shī had from generation to generation deteriorated... Yen Ti wanted to encroach upon (the rights of) the feudal lords; the feudal lords all turned to Hien Yüan... Hien Yüan with

¹⁾ Ta Tai: Wu ti tê says that Ch'i Ti warred with Huang Ti in the field of Pan²-ts'üan, which is the same theme as Kyü: Tsin 4: Yen Ti battling with his brother Huang Ti.

Yen Ti fought in the field of P'an-t's'üan... the feudal lords revered Hien Yüan as Son of Heaven; he took the place of Shen Nung shi, he was Huang Ti. This is ingenious, but there is no indication whatever in the pre-Han texts that Yen Ti was of the Shen Nung house. There is in fact a suggestion to the contrary in the texts in Li: Yüe ki and Lü: Shen ta quoted p. 216 above: Wu wang, after his victory over the Shang-Yin, enfeoffed the descendants of Huang Ti, Yao, Shun and Yü, because they were all members of one great family, to which the Chou house also belonged: if Shen Nung had been regarded as the ancestor of Yen Ti and his brother Huang Ti, Wu Wang would have also enfeoffed some special branch for keeping up the sacrifices to Shen Nung. Si-ma Ts'ien has realized this and extricated himself from the difficulty by an amusing trick: in Sh'ki: Chou pen ki he adds that Wu wang enfeoffed the descendants of Shen Nung in Tsiao — but there is no pre-Han support for this, and it goes against the narrative in Li and Lü above.

The identification of T'ai Hao with Fu Hi appears much later — to my knowledge earliest in Han shu: Lü li ch'i. From Tso: Chao 17 and Ting 4 we know that T'ai Hao was different from Yen Ti, Huang Ti, Shao Hao and Chuan Hü, but there is no pre-Han or early Han text in support of his being identical with Fu Hi. How then has this theory originated?

Most probably it is based on the systematizing text Li: Yüe ling (same text also in Lü). There we find the ancient emperors correlated with the seasons of the year and with certain gods; these gods in their turn are correlated with the 5 elements in Tso: Chao 29, and, in a systematizing text (analogous to the Yüe ling) in Huai: T'ien wen, with the cardinal points:

Spring: sovereign T'ai Hao, god Kou Mang (wood, east);
 Summer: sovereign Yen Ti, god Chu Jung (fire, south);
 End of summer: sovereign Huang Ti, god Hou T'u (earth, centre);
 Autumn: sovereign Shao Hao, god Ju Shou (metal, west);
 Winter: sovereign Chuan Hü, god Huan Ming (water, north).

This being entirely a cosmogonic speculation, it has very little value for our problem unless we can show that the series Fu Hi — Shen Nung — Huang Ti was likewise a cosmogonic series, based on the 5 elements and their fixed sequence. But that is not the case. The theory of the 5 elements is very ancient, since it plays an important part in Shu: Hung fan. But the sequence of the elements is not fixed in the pre-Han texts:

Shu: Hung fan: water, fire, wood, metal, earth;
 Tso: Chao 29: wood, fire, metal, water, earth;
 Tso: Wen 7: water, fire, metal, wood, earth;
 Kyü: Cheng yü: (earth), metal, wood, water, fire;

Li: Yüe ling: wood, fire, earth, metal, water;
Lü: K'ü yu: earth, wood, metal, fire, water.¹⁾

Moreover Huang Ti is not invariably connected with a certain element. In Li: Yüe ling and Lü, Ying t'ung he represents earth, in Lü: Tang ping he represents water.

The theory that a certain sovereign represents a certain element is quite early, but nothing like a fixed system is yet to be observed in the free pre-Han texts; on the contrary, the ideas on this point are very confused and contradictory. Yen Ti, it is true, represents fire (as in Li: Yüe ling), see Tso: Chao 17, Ai 9; but the representative of water is sometimes Huang Ti, as stated above (Lü: Tang ping), sometimes Kung Kung (Tso: Chao 17), sometimes Chuan Hü (ibid.). The idea that an element vanquishes another is likewise quite old (Tso: Chao 9 etc.), but the theory that the great rulers supplanted each other by virtue of the successive elements was fully elaborated only in Han time. The nearest approach to it is a chapter (Ying t'ung) in Lü, but the great sovereigns there representing the elements are not at all those of the Li: Yüe ling chapter, and only 4 sovereigns are indicated, the 5th (representing water) being expected to come in future (after the Chou dynasty).²⁾

Moreover, when an orator in Tso; Chao 29 tries to apply the theory of the 5 elements to a certain series of hero-gods, he fails in an amusing way (see p. 240 below).

If, then, the theory that the successive great sovereigns arose by virtue of the 5 elements which succeeded each other is entirely absent in the free pre-Han texts, appearing for the first time in the systematizing text Yüe ling above, not even in Han time was it a universally accepted system. To Sī-ma Ts'ien the sequence was this: Earth = Huang Ti; Wood = Chuan Hü; Metal = K'u; Fire = Yao; Water = Shun (which deviates from the Yüe ling system on all points but one (Cf. Chavannes, M. H. I, p. CXCI, CXCII). To Pan Ku (Han shu: Lü li chī, probably based on speculations advanced by Liu Hiang and Liu Hin) the sequence was: Wood = Fu Hi; Fire = Shen Nung; Earth =

¹⁾ In Han time, the theory of the elements «vanquishing» each other brings in yet another sequence (Huai: Chuei hing): wood vanquishes earth, which vanquishes water, which vanquishes fire, which vanquishes metal, which again vanquishes wood.

²⁾ Huang Ti saw certain big insects, concluded that the force of Earth was victorious and chose yellow as his colour; Yü saw plants and trees that were green in winter, concluded that Wood was victorious and chose green as his colour (this contradicts Li: T'an kung, which says that the Hsia had black as their colour); T'ang saw sharp weapons of metal produced by water, concluded that Metal was victorious and chose white as his colour; Wen wang saw Heaven produce fire etc., concluded that Fire was victorious and chose red as his colour; «when there will be something that supplants the Fire element, it will certainly be Water . . . its colour is black» (i. e. a future dynasty after the Chou will reign by virtue of Water and have black as their colour).

Huang Ti; Metal = Shao Hao; Water = Chuan Hū; Wood = K'u; Fire = Yao; Earth = Shun — here we find the Yüe ling system adopted, Yen Ti being identified with Shen Nung and (for the first time) T'ai Hao with Fu Hi, and augmented by an additional cycle. In short, nothing could be more erroneous than to interpret the pre-Han legends about the early sovereigns as being determined by cosmogonic theories about them representing successive «elements».

Let us sum up: though the identification of Fu Hi = T'ai Hao and Shen Nung = Yen Ti is probably based (in Pan Ku's fashion) on the cosmogonic chapter Yüe ling, this speculation of the systematizers is quite wrong, since there is no cosmogonic foundation for the sequence Fu Hi — Shen Nung — Huang Ti of the same kind as that which is the basis of the series T'ai Hao — Yen Ti — Huang Ti. The identification Shen Nung = Yen Ti can be shown to be wrong (see p. 212 above); and for the identification of T'ai Hao = Fu Hi, which dates only from Eastern Han time, there is not the slightest support.¹⁾

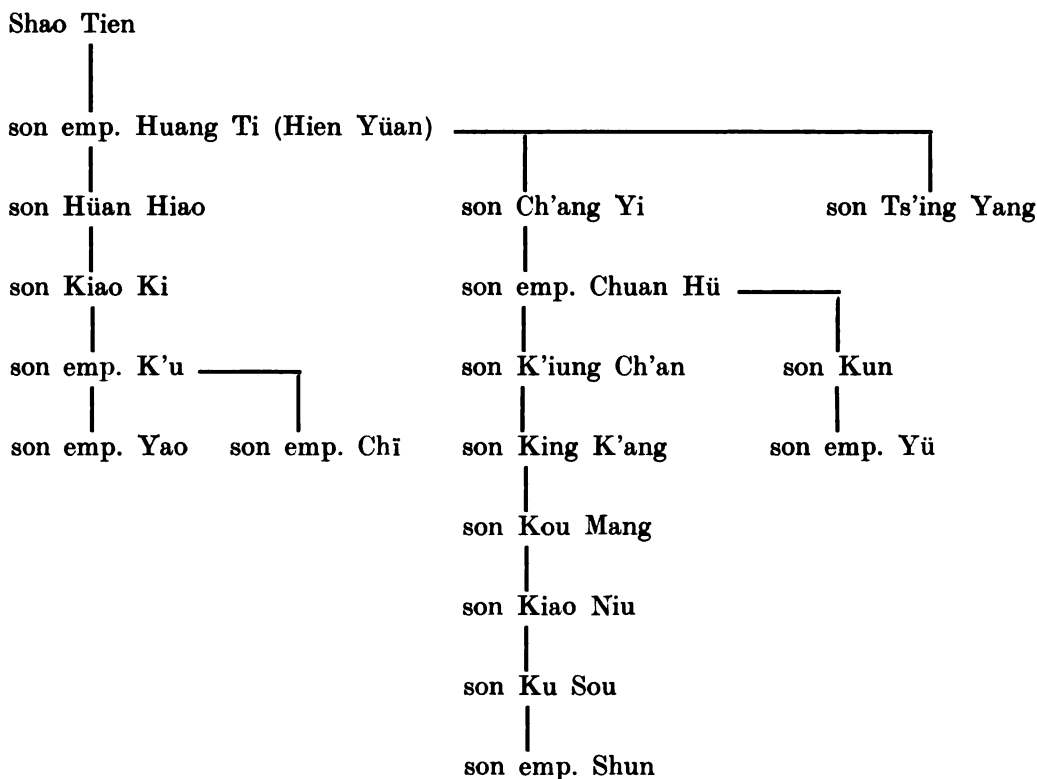
Moreover, though the sequence Fu Hi — Shen Nung — Huang Ti is well established in pre-Han texts, there is, of course, nothing to prove that it is exhaustive (it may represent only the most prominent figures, just as the Yi list Fu Hi — Shen Nung — Huang Ti — Yao — Shun): a «sovereign» ti (Yüe ling) T'ai Hao may have had his place somewhere in between those principal figures: or he may have been considered prior to Fu Hi, just like Yu Ch'ao shī and Suei Jen shī — indeed we have seen above (p. 218) that Sün: Cheng lun places him prior to Suei Jen.

2. We have seen that from Huang Ti onwards the free pre-Han texts gave us this generally accepted list of emperors:

Huang Ti — Shao Hao (Ch' 桀) — Chuan Hū — K'u — Yao — Shun — Yü, and they were all kindred, the degree of kinship, however, being quite undefined as regards the first five. Let us now see what the systematizers have made of this sequence.

Ta Tai li. We start with the chapter Ti hi in Ta Tai li, and the closely allied chapter Wu ti tê (chapters 62 and 63 of that work). Whether these chapters were written in early Han time or in the 3rd c. B. C. is of less consequence than the fact that they represent a typical case of systematization, a conscious effort to construct a genealogy out of the heterogeneous data of the earlier traditions. The pedigree established in the Ti hi is the following:

¹⁾ In Han shu: Lü li ch'ī, Pan Ku says that the enumeration in Tso: Chao 17: Huang Ti — Yen Ti — Kung Kung — T'ai Hao (see p. 219 above) shows a regressive chronology, so that T'ai Hao should be the very earliest, i. e. Fu Hi. But if so, since T'ai Hao has only to be prior to Yen Ti and Huang Ti (of the «emperors»), and since Yen Ti is not = Shen Nung, T'ai Hao might just as well be identical with Shen Nung as with Fu Hi.



There are several points to be observed here, besides the fact that the *Ti hi* gives exact degrees of kinship, whereas the free texts in most cases only suggest undefined relationships.

a) The name *Shao Hao* does not figure in the *Ti hi* list. We have seen that the free texts give us the personal name of *Shao Hao* as *Ch'i*, and that *Ts'ing Yang* was his appellation. But the *Ti hi* does not indicate *Ts'ing Yang* as an «emperor» (for those who became *ti* «emperors», sc. *Huang Ti*, *Chuan Hü*, *K'u*, *Yao*, *Shun*, *Yü*, this is directly indicated in the *Ti hi* text). On the other hand it inserts an «emperor» *Ch'i* 摯 as a son of *K'u*. Thus it deviates from the free pre-Han texts on two points, not recognizing *Ts'ing Yang* as «emperor», and transferring the personal name of *Shao Hao*: *Ch'i* to a later place in the scheme, and making *Ch'i* a son of *K'u*.

b) *Huang Ti* is identified with the *Hien Yüan* who, as we have seen above (p. 220), is entirely undefined in the free texts (placed long before *Fu Hi* and *Shen Nung* in *Chuang*: *K'ie k'ie*). This, after *Ti hi*, has been almost universally accepted in subsequent times; yet not quite without exception, for *Yüe tsüe shu* (a work ascribed to *Yüan K'ang* of Eastern Han time, but probably somewhat later): *Pao kien* says that «in the time of *Hien Yüan*, *Shen*

Nung and Ho Sü one made weapons of stone» — here Hien Yüan, just as in Chuang, is some primeval ruler far earlier than Huang Ti.

c) In the long line from Chuan Hü to Shun, the first descendant of Chuan Hü, sc. Mo, attested in the pre-Han texts above (p. 214) is missing.

d) Kou Mang, the name as a god of Ch'ung, younger brother of Shao Hao according to Tso: Chao 29 (see further p. 239 below), occurs here as the personal name of a great-grandson of Chuan Hü; Shī ki: San tai shī piao here has the variant Kou Wang.

e) Of the members not ti «emperors» in the Ti hi genealogy: Huan Hiao, Kiao Ki, Ch'ang Yi, K'ung Ch'an, King K'ang, Kiao Niu, only one: Ch'ang Yi is known from any free pre-Han text (Chu shu ki nien, see p. 208 above, where he is said to have been the father of K'ien Huang, which must be an appellation of Chuan Hü).

In short, the systematizer has created a genealogy that militates quite strongly on several important points against the testimonies of the free pre-Han texts, and gives various names that never occur in them.

Sī-ma Ts'ien (Shī ki: Wu ti pen ki), in the main follows the Ti hi, but adds several new details: Huang Ti had the clan name Kung-sun (a ridiculous idea) and (in San tai shī piao) the appellation Yu Hiung. After K'u, his son Chī ascended the throne, but he was a bad ruler, and when he died he was succeeded by his brother Yao; thus the position of Chī in the list of rulers is exactly determined, which it was not in the Ti hi (like the Ti hi author, Sī-ma overlooks that Chī should really be Shao Hao). In middle Han time, Wei Hung (ap. Shī ki so yin) asserts that Chī was 9 years on the throne (in this followed by the Ti wang shī ki etc.). On one point, however, Sī-ma deviates from the Ti hi. He identifies Huang Ti's son Huan Hiao with Ts'ing Yang — they are clearly distinguished (in different lines) in the Ti hi. But just as Ti hi does not make Ts'ing Yang an «emperor», so Sī-ma positively states that he never occupied the throne. Moreover Sī-ma is inconsistent, for whereas in Wu ti pen ki he states that Kao Sin = K'u, in his San tai shī piao he says that K'u (there wr. K'u²) was a son of Kao Sin. Again, in the legend of Kien Ti, wife of K'u and mother of Sie, he diverges from the pre-Han myth; according to this it was when Kien Ti was on a pleasure tower that the swallow made her pregnant; Sī-ma says it was when she and her comrade were bathing.

Shī pen 世本, a systematizing text of the 2nd, or possibly the 3rd c. B. C., is lost and known only in part through ancient quotations (these quotations often diverge considerably and are sometimes directly contradictory, so that it is tempting to conclude that there were several manuals called Shī pen current in early Han time). Shī pen differs in its system considerably from the Ti hi

and Sī-ma Ts'ien. On one important point it respects the pre-Han sources better than they: it correctly identifies Shao Hao (Kin T'ien shī) = Ts'ing Yang, thus duly making this Ts'ing Yang a ti emperor (as against Ti hi and Sī-ma); moreover in one quotation it says his personal name was Chī (after Tso: Chao 17) (in another quotation it gives it as 契). In consequence Shī pen has no »emperor Chī», son of K'u (as Ti hi and Sī-ma).

Shan hai king (k. 14) tells us that Shao Hao reared 孺 i. e. was the father of Chuan Yü, which confirms the kinship assumed on p. 217 above. However, on two other important points it deviates from the earlier sources and from Ti hi and Sī-ma Ts'ien. On the one hand it gives a different lineage for Kun, the father of Yü. We have seen that these sources unanimously tell us that Huang Ti begat Ch'ang Yi, Ch'ang Yi begat Chuan Hū, Chuan Hū begat Kun, and Kun begat Yü. *Shan hai king* k. 18 says that »Huang Ti begat Lo Ming, Lo Ming begat Po Ma, this Po Ma being id. with Kun». On the other hand it introduces a mysterious ti emperor Tsün, unknown in other sources. In two passages he is evidently identical with K'u: k. 15: the emperor Tsün begat Ki Li (which should be compared with Tso: Wen 18: »Kao sin shī had 8 talented sons... Ki Li²»); k. 16: »the emperor Tsün begat Hou Tsi». However k. 14 says »the emperor Tsün begat Ti Hung». Now Ti Hung (shī) (see p. 220 above) is known from Tso: Wen 18 as a potentate prior to Shao Hao and Chuan Hū and long before K'u, so that here Tsün cannot be equal to K'u. Again, in k. 15 *Shan hai king* says that the emperor Tsün's wife was Ngo Huang; but we know from Shī-tsī (cf. p. 296 below) that Ngo Huang was a daughter of Yao and wife of Shun; thus here Tsün would be equal to Shun. Altogether the »emperor Tsün» of the *Shan hai king* and the myths therein connected with him cannot be reconciled with the pre-Han legends.

3. Kung Kung. We have seen (p. 218 above) that Kung Kung was primarily a »hegemon» or »king» who was prior to Huang Ti (and his brother Yen Ti), the hero in a deluge theme, and that, on the other hand, the author of some Shu chapters has transferred him to the time of Yao. In the early Han texts the Kung Kung myth is, in contrast to all this, connected with the reign of Chuan Hū. Lie: T'ang Wen: Kung Kung contested with Chuan Hū as to who was to be ti emperor; he became angry and butted the mountain Pu-chou, broke the pillars of heaven and cut off the attachments of the earth; consequently heaven slanted towards the north-west, and sun, moon and stars moved in that direction; the earth did not fill out the south-east, so that all the rivers and rivulets flowed in that direction».

The original deluge theme of Kung Kung is here combined with a cosmogonic theme explaining how so many mighty rivers came to flow eastward in China, and hence Huai-nan-tsī, who in Huai: T'ien wen has the same story

almost word for word, says in Huai: Ping lüe: »Kung Kung caused a water disaster, therefore Chuan Hū killed him». ¹⁾

But the confusion is not yet at an end. In the same Huai-nan-tsī in which (*loc. cit.*) it is said that Kung Kung contested with Chuan Hū and was killed by him, we find (Huai: Yüan tao): One so strong as Kung Kung, who butted the Pu-chou mountain and caused the earth to slant towards the south-east, when he contested with Kao Sin (i. e. K'u!) about being emperor, he had to throw himself into the abyss, his clan was annihilated, his descendants cut off his sacrifices». (This discrepancy is due to Huai-nan-tsī being a work written collectively by many authors; see p. 204 above). Sī-ma Ts'ien, however, *more suo*, tries to reconcile the two versions: Chuan Hū first had a war with Kung Kung and subjected him (Shī ki: Lü shu); but then Kung Kung rebelled under K'u (Shī ki: Ch'u shī kia), who sent Ch'ung-li (cf. p. 238 below) to punish him, though he did not succeed entirely». This last formula is very amusing. Sī-ma here seized upon the last version, which transfers Kung Kung from the primeval times, before Huang Ti, to the time of Chuan Hū and K'u, and thus he can bridge over the gulf between the original deluge theme and that of the Shu (the time of Yao): if Kung Kung were active during Chuan Hū and rebelled against K'u, without being utterly vanquished at the time, he could still play a rôle under Yao and Shun and be punished by them!

We have seen that Huai-nan-tsī contains two datings of Kung Kung, one in Chuan Hū's time (when he was killed by Chuan Hū) and one in K'u's. He has also the third, that of Shu, which places Kung Kung in the time of Yao and Shun. But whereas in the Shu nothing is said about the deeds of Kung Kung — beyond his being first a meritorious »officer» and then a wicked one who was punished — Huai: Pen king places the original deluge story in which Kung Kung »set in motion the inundating waters» in the time of Shun.

Shan hai king has yet another story, a genealogy entirely unknown in pre-Han sources: Yen Ti begat Yen Kü, this one begat Tsie Ping, this one begat Hi K'i, this one begat Chu Jung (cf. III below), this one begat Kung Kung. But since the text immediately goes on to narrate how Kun (sc. in the time of Yao) was attacked by this same Chu Jung and killed on the Yü-shan, this pedigree of Kung Kung seems to be another attempt to reconcile the Kung Kung myth with the story of the Shu (Shun on Yao's order banishing Kung Kung).

¹⁾ The same cosmogonic theme had already occurred in the pre-Han text Ch'u: T'ien wen, but in a form that is very obscure and tells us nothing of the time: »K'ang Huei was very angry; when it fell down, why did it slope towards the south-east?» The commentators, basing themselves on Lie and Huai above, conclude that K'ang Huei was a name of Kung Kung (a proposed emendation Yung Huei i. e. »the perverse one» is certainly no improvement), but this is quite arbitrary.

The uncertainty in the dating of the Kung Kung myth may be due to the »cutting-off of his sacrifices» related in the Huai: Yüan tao passage above: if he was no longer the hero-ancestor of some powerful feudal house in Chou time, his myth was not fixed in time by genealogical traditions.¹⁾ This did not prevent Kung Kung from becoming a god sacrificed to in a more general way (not ancestral worship): in Ch'un ts'iu fan lu (early Han time): K'iu yü it is told how Kung Kung was a god sacrificed to in order to pray for rain.

4. Nü Kua is a name that never occurs as the name of any »ruler» in the earliest literature. In pre-Han texts we find it only twice. Ch'u: T'ien wen says: »The body of Nü Kua, who fashioned it?», which tells us no more than that Nü Kua had some peculiar shape. Li: Ming t'ang wei speaks of »the bells of Ch'uei (artisan under Yao), the musical stones of Shu 叔 and the reed-organ of Nü Kua». It is only when we come down to Han time that this figure occupies a more prominent place. We have it in the myth about the construction of the world in Lie and Huai, closely connected with those about Kung Kung (under 3 above). Huai: Lan ming: »Anciently heaven did not completely cover (the earth), the earth did not all round carry (heaven), fire flamed without being extinguished, water inundated without being stopped... then Nü Kua shi fused stones of five colours and mended the blue heaven, cut off the feet of a great turtle and raised the four cardinal points, killed the black dragon and saved the Ki-chou region, amassed cinders of reeds and stopped the overflowing waters». The same tale much abbreviated recurs in Lie: T'ang wen, and there follows immediately: »Afterwards Kung Kung shi contested with Chuan Hü...» (etc., see p. 227 above), thus placing Nü Kua prior in time to the Kung Kung legend. In these same texts Nü Kua is for the first time placed on a par with the »sovereigns». Huai: Lan ming speaks of »Fu Hi and Nü Kua», and Lie: Huang Ti states that »P'ao Hi shi (= Fu Hi), Nü Kua shi, Shen Nung shi and Hia Hou shi (= Yü) had a serpent's body and a human face, an ox's head and a tiger's nose». It should be observed that in none of all these texts is there any indication of Nü Kua's being a woman. The fact that the name contains nü 'woman' does not necessarily indicate a lady, for if Nü Kua were an early clan name, it could have nü 'woman' forming part of the name just as many other clan names are based on the feminine element: Ki, Kiang etc. (When Shī pen ap. Shī ki: Hia pen ki says that Yü married the lady T'ushan shi, by name Nü Kua, this is merely a slip for Nü Kiao, cf. Ta Tai li: Ti hi). The earliest authors who make Nü Kua a woman are Hü Shen and Wang Ch'ung. Hü in Shuo wen (1st c. A. D.) defines the

¹⁾ In Kyü: Chou, hia, the Sī Yü e who helped the great Yü in regulating the floods and thus got the clan-name Kiang of his ancestor Yen Ti renewed, is called »grandson (or: descendant) of a brother of Kung 其», and Wei Chao proposes that this Kung is equal to Kung Kung. This would entail that Kung Kung was a member of the Kiang clan. But Wei's identification is, of course, far from conclusive.

char. Kua as = ku chī shen sheng nü, hua wan wu chē »an ancient divine and sage woman who transformed all the things». But this last qualification again refers to certain early Han traditions in which Nü Kua is a primeval cosmogonic deity. Huai: Shuo lin says: »Huang Ti (begat =) created Yin and Yang, Shang P'ien created ears and eyes, Sang Lin created arms and hands, that was whereby Nü Kua made 70 transformations». (Here Huang Ti is obviously not the ordinary emperor Huang Ti, and the comm. Kao Yu therefore says that he was »the ancient God of Heaven» who at the time of the first birth of mankind created the Yin and Yang forces; he adds that Shang P'ien and Sang Lin were also shen gods). Hū Shen has thought that these »70 transformations» referred to the creative power of Nü Kua over the wan wu »things», but clearly the meaning is quite different: it is connected with those beliefs enigmatically expressed in the Ch'u: T'ien wen above (»The body of Nü Kua, who fashioned it?») and refers to some transformations in the body of Nü Kua. This is confirmed by Shan hai king 16: »There are shen spirits (gods), 10 men, their name is »the bowels of Nü Kua, Nü Kua chī ch'ang, they were transformed into shen spirits (gods) who dwell in the fields of Li-kuang». Simultaneously with Hū Shen in Shuo wen, Wang Ch'ung in Lun heng: Shu ku says that Nü Kua was sacrificed to in order to avert prolonged rain, and that Nü Kua was represented in popular pictures as a woman; he adds that the idea of N. as a lady and »ruler» in ancient times was first introduced by Tung Chung-shu (early Han time) — Tung's big work Ch'un ts'iu fan lu, however, contains nothing of the kind.

5. In Han shu: Ku kin jen piao, Pan Ku makes a bold attempt to systematize all the data in pre-Han texts about grandees. He places in the head column (that of the »emperors»): 1. T'ai Hao = Fu Hi (unprovable by pre-Han sources, as stated above) 2. Yen Ti = Shen Nung (contrary to the early texts, see above) 3. Huang Ti = Hien Yüan (unprovable by pre-Han texts, see above, and contrary to Chuang: K'ie k'ie) 4. Shao Hao = Kin T'ien shī (correct) 5. Chuan Hū = Kao Yang (correct) 6. K'u = Kao Sin (correct) 7. T'ao T'ang² (Yao) 8. Shun = Yu Yü², 9. Yü = Hia Hou. In a sub-column he disposes of various dignitaries under these successive »reigns», and there we find, under the first (that of T'ai Hao = Fu Hi): a. Nü Kua shī b. Kung Kung shī c. Jung Ch'eng shī d. Ta T'ing shī e. Po Huang shī f. Chung Yang shī g. Li Lu shī h. Li Lien shī i. Ho Sü shī j. Tsun Lu shī k. (T'un Hun shī which is a corruption of:) Hun T'un shī l. Hao Ying shī m. Yu Ch'ao shī n. Chu Siang shī o. Ko T'ien shī p. Yin K'ang shī q. Wu Huaishī r. Tung Hu shī s. Ti Hung shī.

In the sub-column under the second »reign» (that of Yen Ti = Shen Nung) we find: t. Si Chu u. Shao Tien v. Lie Shan shī x. Kuei Tsang shī.

To the remarkable men under the following »reigns» we shall revert later.

This construction of Pan Ku's is interesting on several points:

a. Nü Kua is here for the first time placed in the chronological system, in the time of Fu Hi. b. Kung Kung is placed in accordance with the oldest traditions (see p. 218 above): prior to Yen Ti, as against the early Han ideas (times of Chuan Hü and K'u, see p. 227—228) as well as against the Shu account. The personages c, d, e, f, g, h (with a corruption: Li Lien for Li Hü), i, j are culled directly from Chuang-tsī (see p. 220) and here placed in the time scheme; k. crops up in several connections (Tso: Wen 18, Chuang: T'ien ti); l. is from Shang-tsī, m. from Hanfei (but there a primeval figure, prior to Fu Hi), n, o, p. from Lü — all entirely undated in pre-Han texts: q. is in Kuan placed before Fu Hi; r. refers to a personage in the Tsī sī tsī; s. occurs in Tso, t. (the teacher of Shen Nung) in Lü: Tsun shī; u. in Kyü, v. in Tso; x. alone is not known from any pre-Han text. In the following sections (sub-columns under Huang Ti, Shao Hao, Chuan Hü, K'u, Yao, Shun, Yü) he records more than 100 prominent persons, and all of them occur in earlier texts which we possess today: either pre-Han texts or Shī ki, Lie, Huai, Ti hi.

All this is exceedingly important, for it shows that Pan Ku had no access at all to any pre-Han sources containing names of primeval magnates beyond those which we possess today. It is a serious reminder that we should not sanguinely believe that various data about the earliest eras which crop up in the literature of Eastern Han and later periods are based on pre-Han works now lost: the Han scholars possessed no more pre-Han literature than we possess today, with a few exceptions (e. g. the Shī-tsī). These »traditions» recorded in those late eras are so many speculations of scholasts or elements of late Han and Liu ch'ao lore, uncritically given as true primeval traditions handed down from pre-Han times.

In regard to the later sovereigns, there is one glaring discrepancy between Pan Ku and the earlier sources. Both the pre-Han texts and the systematizers and early Han scholars agree that Yü was the grandson of Chuan Hü (Chuan Hü — Kun — Yü). For the reason discussed on p. 214 above (note), viz. that the lineage seems too short compared with the long lineage from Chuan Hü to Shun, Yü's predecessor (free texts: Chuan Hü — Mo — X — Ku Sou — Shun; systematizers: Chuan Hü — K'iung Ch'an — King K'ang — Kou Mang — Kiao Niu — Ku Sou — Shun), Pan Ku (Han shu: Lü li chī) says: Chuan Hü after five generations begat Yü.¹⁾ This arbitrary »improvement» is indeed quite unnecessary; see our note just quoted.

¹⁾ Pan says that in this he follows the Ti hi, but the now existing Ti hi (in Ta Tai li) clearly says that Kun was the son of Chuan Hü (in accordance with all pre-Han sources), and this is more fully exposed in Ta Tai: Wu ti té, which is closely connected with the Ti hi; hence Pan's assertion is erroneous.

6. If we pass on from Pan Ku to other scholars of the early Christian centuries, we find various identifications and speculations that deviate both from the pre-Han texts and early Han sources and from Pan's system. To discuss them all would be futile; it is sufficient to adduce a few examples.

a) Whereas all authors accept Pan Ku's identification of Fu Hi = T'ai Hao, they are not satisfied with the bare sequence Fu Hi — Shen Nung; in one way or another they want to insert Nü Kua. We have seen above that in the pre-Han texts Nü Kua is barely mentioned, and then never as a «ruler», that in early Han time N. is a cosmogonic personage and for the first time is called (Lie, Huai) Nü Kua shī 氏, indicating that N. was some kind of potentate or «ruler», and that in the 1st c. A. D. (Hü Shen, Wang Ch'ung) N. appears as a woman. Pan Ku (likewise 1st c.), as we have seen, places Nü Kua as a second-column «ruler» (not emperor) in the time of Fu Hi. In the 2nd c. A. D., N. is promoted to a sovereign of the first class: ti («emperor»), but in several different ways. On the one hand, Kao Yu (comm. on Huai: Lan ming) says «Nü Kua was a yin 陰 (womanly) ti (emperor, sovereign) who assisted Fu Hi in governing» (very inconsistently the same Kao Yu, in comm. on Lü: Yung chung, says that the san huang 三皇 three primeval sovereigns were Fu Hi, Shen Nung and Nü Kua, here placing Nü Kua after Shen Nung). On the other hand, Cheng Hüan (comm. on Li: Ming t'ang wei) says: «Nü Kua was san huang one of the three primeval sovereigns and succeeded Fu Hi». And Ying Shao likewise (Feng su t'ung yi: San huang) says the san huang were Fu Hi, Nü Kua, Shen Nung. In the 3rd c. A. D. Huang-fu Mi (Ti wang shī ki) adds that Nü Kua had the clan name Feng, which he ascribes to Fu Hi.

b) The Po hu t'ung: Hao has two other theories for making up san huang three primeval sovereigns: either Fu Hi, Shen Nung, Suei Jen, thus placing Suei Jen after Shen Nung, against the pre-Han texts; or Fu Hi, Shen Nung, Chu Jung, thus raising Chu Jung to the position of an emperor, which again is a violent innovation. And Ying Shao (loc. cit.) quotes two earlier works giving the series Fu Hi, Chu Jung, Shen Nung, and Fu Hi, Suei Jen, Shen Nung respectively.¹⁾

c) We have seen that Yen Ti was for the first time identified with Shen Nung in early Han time (Lie, Ch'un ts'iu fan lu); this conflicts with the pre-Han sources, which caused Sī-ma Ts'ien to try a compromise, making Yen Ti a descendant of Shen Nung (see p. 221). But Pan Ku, as we saw, boldly reverts to the

¹⁾ Various other «systems» occur in the so-called Wei shu 緯書 of middle and late Han times. These works, now lost, are frequently quoted by T'ang-time commentators on the classics. But since we know that these Wei shu passed through many vicissitudes and were particularly persecuted by Yang ti of the Sui dynasty, we cannot at all accept the T'ang-time quotations as being drawn from the authentic Wei shu of the Han dynasty — they are probably, to a large extent at least, spurious. I therefore refrain from citing such quotations.

identification Yen Ti = Shen Nung. In the 2nd c. A. D. this caused several scholars some misgivings, and they tried other identifications, i. e. with some of those little-known and absolutely undatable »rulers» registered p. 220 above and placed by Pan Ku in the era of Fu Hi. Thus Kao Yu (comm. on Lü: Ku yüe) takes Yen Ti as = Chu Siang shī; Cheng Hüan (comm. on Li: Yüe ling) makes Yen Ti = Ta T'ing shī.

d) The tradition that Huang Ti was a son of Shao Tien is well attested both in pre-Han and early Han sources. But Wei Chao (comm. on Kyü: Lu, shang) makes him a »descendant» 裔子 of Shao Tien. The reason for this speculation is obvious. Shao Tien, acc. to the ancient sources, was father of both Yen Ti and Huang Ti. If Wei, with Pan Ku, believed Yen Ti to be identical with Shen Nung, Shao Tien could not be father both of Shen Nung and Huang Ti: *ergo* Huang Ti was only a descendant of Shao Tien.

e) We have found (p. 220) a potentate Lie Shan shī (Tso: Chao 29) or Li Shan shī (Li: Tsi fa) who is quite undated in the early traditions. Pan Ku made him a second-column »ruler» in the time of Shen Nung — Yen Ti, and Tu Yü (comm. on Tso) accepted this; but Kia K'uei (comm. on Tso) and Cheng Hüan (comm. on Li) and Wei Chao (comm. on Kyü) rightly insist that since Li: Tsi fa says: »When Li Shan shī yu t'ien hia possessed the (whole world =) realm», he must have been a ti emperor, and therefore they identify him with Yen Ti; but this identification is, of course, entirely arbitrary.

f) We have seen that Kung Kung shī is placed by Pan Ku as a second-column potentate in the era of Fu Hi, in accordance with the primary myth, though the Kung Kung legend had gone through all kinds of vicissitudes in early Han time (see p. 227). In the early phases Kung Kung was always a hero, sometimes a usurper and hegemon, sometimes a cosmogonic hero. Now in the 2nd c. A. D. Kung Kung was further promoted: Kao Yu (comm. on Huai: Chuei hing) says he was a »heavenly Spirit t'ien shen, with human face and snake's body». (Huang-fu Mi places him »at the end of Nü Kua's reign»).

g) We observed in Tso: Wen 18 (p. 220 above) an undatable potentate Tsin Yün shī. This personage has been entirely skipped by Pan Ku, but the commentators must needs place him, and Kia K'uei and Fu K'ien, followed by Tu Yü, make him one of the officers of Huang Ti (Kia even asserts that he had the clan name Kiang, being a descendant of Yen Ti, by which he means Shen Nung). The reason for this speculation is easily detected. Tso: Chao 17 says that Huang Ti had »clouds» as insignia for his officers, and the word yün 'cloud' forms part of the name Tsin Yün shī. Fu K'ien is even capable of describing 8 catagories of such »cloud» officers of Huang Ti's, one of which is our Tsin Yün shī!

h) In Tso: Wen 18 (see p. 220) we had an undatable early potentate *Ti Hung shi*. The name reverted in an awkward fashion in *Shan hai king* (see p. 227 above). *Pan Ku* placed him as a second-column potentate in the era of *Fu Hi*. But *Kia K'uei* (comm. on Tso) boldly identifies him with *Huang Ti*.

i) We have seen that the pre-Han sources indicate some kind of kinship between all the emperors from *Huang Ti* and onwards, and that the *Ta Tai: Ti hi* elaborated a detailed family tree. But there is a scholar of the 2nd c. A. D., *Wang Fu* (*Ts'ien fu lun: Wu tê*) who boldly deviates from this: he says that *K'u* was a descendant of *Fu Hi*, that *Yao* was a descendant of *Shen Nung* (more precisely: his mother *K'ing Tu*, who was a descendant of *Shen Nung*, gave herself to a dragon and bore *Yao*), and that *Shun* was a descendant of *Huang Ti*.

7. Let us finally examine how *Huang-fu Mi* (*Ti wang shi ki*, 3rd c. A. D.) has tried to establish a great scheme of the early rulers, which diverges strongly from that fabricated by *Pan Ku*. He gives as first-rank rulers (ti emperors, sovereigns): *Fu Hi shi* — *Nü Kua shi* — *Ta T'ing shi* — *Po Huang shi* — *Chung Yang shi* — *Li Lu shi* — *Li lien shi* — *Ho Sü shi* — *Tsun Lu shi* — *Hun T'un shi* — *Hao Ying shi* — *Yu Ch'ao shi* — *Chu Siang shi* — *Ko T'ien shi* — *Yin K'ang shi* — *Wu Huai shi* — *Yen Ti* = *Shen Nung* — *Huang Ti* — *Shao Hao (Chi)* — *Chuan Hü* — *K'u* — *Chi* — *Yao* — *Shun* — *Yü*. Thus he has moved up the second-column rulers of the *Fu Hi* era in *Pan's* scheme into first-rank emperors, though skipping some of them: *Kung Kung shi* (whom he makes a rebel under *Nü Kua*), *Jung Ch'eng shi*, *Tung Hu shi* and *Ti Hung shi*. Moreover in opposition both to the pre-Han sources and *Pan Ku*, who have a *Chi* = *Shao Hao* between *Huang Ti* and *Chuan Hü* but no «emperor *Chi*» between *K'u* and *Yao*, and to the early systematizers (*Ti hi* and *Sî-ma Ts'ien*), who have no *Chi* = *Shao Hao* between *Huang Ti* and *Chuan Hü*, but an additional «emperor *Chi*» between *K'u* and *Yao*, our good *Huang-fu Mi* is generous and has an emperor *Chi* in both places, the first = *Shao Hao*, the second a son of *K'u*!

II A.

From the line of principal «emperors» and other primeval «rulers» we now (in II and III) pass on to certain other personages who are best studied apart, and we start with *Ch'ung* and *Li*.¹⁾

The earliest text on this subject is *Shu: Lü hing*: «The charge was given to *Ch'ung* (and?) *Li tsüe ti t'ien t'ung wang yu kiang ko* to break the communications between earth and heaven, so that there was no

¹⁾ We have to read *Ch'ung* and not (with *Chavannes* and *Granet*) *Chung*, see *King tien shi wen* on *Shu: Lü hing*.

descending or (arriving =) ascending» (at first sight an obscure passage to which we shall revert presently). Here it may be discussed whether Ch'ung Li is one person: Ch'ung-Li, or two: Ch'ung and Li.

In Kyü, Cheng yü it is said: »(The princes of Ch'u) are the descendants of Ch'ung Li». It might seem that Ch'ung Li is here one person, but that is not correct, for immediately afterwards Li is spoken of separately, and other passages (cf. below) clearly reveal that to the Kyü author Ch'ung and Li were two different persons.

The earliest detailed traditions about Ch'ung and Li are in fact given in Tso and Kyü. Tso: Chao 29 says: »Shao Hao had four younger brothers . . . one of which, Ch'ung, was made Kou Mang (Kou Mang was a divinity, see Li: Yüe ling p. 222 above, cf. p. 240 below); they achieved the work of K'iung Sang (i. e. Shao Hao); Chuan Hü had a son Li¹ (variant of Li), who was Chu Jung (likewise a divinity, see *ibid.*)¹ Kyü confirms this. Kyü: Ch'u, hia: When Chuan Hü took over from Shao Hao, under whom the Kiu Li, the Nine Li had caused confusion between men and gods (min shen tsa jou) . . . there being no proper order in the sacrifices (cheng hiang wu tu) and men and gods having the same positions (min shen t'ung wei) . . . he (sc. Chuan Hü) charged the nan-cheng 南正 Governor of the South Ch'ung, to preside over Heaven in order to (attach =) give their proper places to the gods; and he charged the huo-cheng 火正 Governor of Fire Li to preside over the Earth, in order to give their proper places to the people (the men) . . . That was called »to break the communications between Earth and Heaven» (shī wei tsüe ti t'ien t'ung). And then the text continues: »Afterwards, when the San Miao, the Three Miao, renewed the (bad) virtue of the Kiu Li, Yao again elevated the descendants of Ch'ung and Li, such (of them) as had not forgotten the old (rites), and let them again preside over them, this continuing down to the Hia and Shang; therefore the Ch'ung and Li from generation to generation kept the order of Heaven and Earth and distinguished their sacrificial

¹ The expression in Kyü: Cheng yü, that the princes of Ch'u were the »descendants» of Ch'ung (brother of Shao Hao) and Li (son of Chuan Hü) would seem to indicate that Ch'ung was really identical with Ch'ang Yi (brother of Shao Hao = Ts'ing Yang and father of Chuan Hü); but for these details of kinship we have as sources only the systematizing texts (Ti hi etc), and they have little value as evidence. It is not necessary, however, to press the expression so strongly; there may be a simpler explanation. If the text does not say that the princes of Ch'u were the »descendants of Chuan Hü» but »descendants of Ch'ung and Li», it may simply mean that among the early members of the family, from which the Ch'u princes descended, one picked out and mentioned as early heroes those two who had become gods: Ch'ung = Kou Mang, Li = Chu Jung. The Ch'u princes need not have been direct descendants of them both, only scions of the house that comprised both Ch'ung (brother of Shao Hao) and Li (son of Chuan Hü). The other mode of expression, in fact, occurs in Ch'u Li sao: the poet K'ü Yüan, a kinsman of the princes of Ch'u, calls himself »a descendant of the emperor Kao Yang» (i. e. Chuan Hü).

representatives; in the Chou era, P o H i u - f u of C h ' e n g (cf. Shī: Ode 263) was their descendant; in Sūan wang's time he lost his office (sc. that just described) and became s ī - m a; he honoured as gods his ancestors in order to have prestige with the people, and said: C h ' u n g lifted Heaven high, L i kept down the Earth (i. e. he kept them well apart)».

In fact this Kyü passage is the earliest comment upon the Shu: Lū hing account above (p. 234). The context in Shu requires that it was S h u n who (sc. on Y a o ' s order) gave the charge to C h ' u n g and L i to keep distinct the rites of (Heaven and Earth =) gods and men. But the Kyü author maintains that the original charge was given to the C h ' u n g and L i of C h u a n H ü ' s time, their descendants in S h u n ' s time then having the same charges. It is easily seen, however, that this construction forms an exact parallel to the theme of K u n g K u n g above (p. 219). The popular theme of C h ' u n g and L i who became gods was too widespread and important to be left out entirely by the Shu authors; but since these deliberately begin their accounts with the reigns of the golden-age emperors Y a o and S h u n, excluding all legends that were prior to that age, they nimbly transferred C h ' u n g and L i to that golden age and made S h u n give them their charge to »break the communications between Earth and Heaven», i. e. to keep the cults of gods and men well distinguished.¹⁾

In the free texts of Tso and Kyü we get at the original myth: C h ' u n g, a younger brother of S h a o H a o, was n a n - c h e n g and became the god K o u M a n g under his successor C h u a n H ü. L i, who was son of C h u a n H ü, became the h u o - c h e n g and C h u J u n g under that sovereign, and he continued in his charge under his successor K ' u (Kyü: Cheng yü: »L i was the h u o - c h e n g Governor of Fire of K a o S i n s h ī [i. e. K ' u], therefore he had the charge of C h u J u n g, his merits were great»).

It should be pointed out that there is an obscure point in the L i legend. First the K i u L i, the N i n e L i, were rebels under S h a o H a o; then, secondly, a son of C h u a n H ü was called L i and re-established the ritual order disturbed by the rebellious N i n e L i. There seems to be some vague notion that though the good L i was a son of C h u a n H ü, he was still connected in some way with the rebels under S h a o H a o. Were the »N i n e L i» some branch of the Royal house and the name L i therefore given to the son by C h u a n H ü — the legend thus obtaining a moralizing twist: a good L i redeeming the wicked deeds of his earlier kinsmen? Impossible to tell, the texts being so few and exiguous.

It may seem curious that the terms K o u M a n g and C h u J u n g figure on the one hand as some kind of official titles under C h u a n H ü and K ' u,

¹⁾ In the wake of the Shu, Lū: Ch'a ch'uan narrates how C h ' u n g and L i were functionaries under S h u n; they were ordered by him to promote K ' u e i from a humble position to that of Music Master.

and on the other hand as names of gods. We shall revert to this under III A below.

That the Ch'ung and Li legends played such a prominent part in the Chou-time lore was evidently due to their figuring in the ancestral cult of some important houses. We have already witnessed the Kyü account of the grandee house of Ch'eng and the feudal house of Ch'u (clan Mi). But a fuller account is furnished by Kyü: Cheng yü in regard particularly to the descendants of Li. From him descended 8 clans (sing): Ki³, Tung, P'eng, T'u, Yün, Ts'ao, Chen and Mi. To the Ki³ clan belonged the houses of K'un-wu (who were feudal lords in the Hia dynasty, no longer existing in the Chou era, see further p. 319 below), Su², Ku, Wen and Tung (the same char. as, but not to be confounded with, the clan Tung); to the P'eng clan belonged the houses of P'eng Tsu or Ta P'eng (feudal house in the Shang era, destroyed by the Shang), Shī Wei feudal lords in the Shang era, destroyed by the Shang) and Chu Ki (»all the Ki«?) (destroyed by the Shang); to the Tung clan belonged the houses of Tsung Yi and Huan Lung (destroyed by the Hia); to the T'u clan belonged the house of Chou² (destroyed by the Chou); to the Yün clan belonged the houses of Wu², Kuei, Lu² and Pi-yang (that Pi-yang belonged to the Yün clan is confirmed Tso: Siang 10); to the Ts'ao clan belonged the houses of Tsou and Kü; of the clan Chen there were no known descendants; to the Mi clan belonged, (besides the house of Ch'u already described earlier in the text) the houses of K'uei and Yüe. We thus see how a great many prominent houses in Chou time reckoned Li, son of Chuan Hū, as their ancestor and kept alive the legend about him. Several of the names above recur in ancient texts in connection with important legends: for K'un-wu see p. 319; for P'eng Tsu see 274; for Shī Wei see 293; for Tsung Yi see 298; for Huan Lung *ibid.*

II B.

Some systematizing and early Han texts coalesce Ch'ung and Li into one person, whereas others still distinguish between them just as strictly as the free pre-Han texts. But they all diverge widely on some fundamental points from the free pre-Han sources, which, as we have seen, made Ch'ung a brother of Shao Hao and Li a son of Chuan Hū.

Ta Tai: Ti hi gives the genealogy: Chuan Hū by lady Nü Lu shī of the house of T'eng shī begat Lao T'ung, who by lady Kao Kua shī of the house of Kie Shuei shī begat Ch'ung Li and Wu Huei.¹⁾

¹⁾ This Wu Huei, still acc. to the *Ti hi*, begot Lu Chung, who through one of his sons, Ki Lien, became the ancestor of the feudal house of Ch'u (clan Mi).

The rhythm here indicates that Ch'ung Li is meant to be one person, just as the following Wu Huei.

Shan hai king 16, on the contrary, has this genealogy: »Chuan Hū begat Lao T'ung, Lao T'ung begat Ch'ung and (及) Li; the emperor charged Ch'ung to sacrifice to high Heaven and Li to sacrifice to the Earth below».

Shī pen is quoted in several contradictory versions, which makes it probable that there were several genealogical manuals of that name in early Han time. α. *Shī pen* ap. comm. on *Shan hai king* 16: Chuan Hū married lady Nū Lu shī of the house of T'eng Fen shī and she bore Lao T'ung; Lao T'ung married lady Kiao Fu of the house of Ken Shuei shī and she bore Ch'ung and (ki) Li». This version distinguishes Ch'ung and Li; the ladies' names in a minor part agree with the *Ti hi*, in the major part diverge from it. β. *Shī pen* ap. comm. on *Tso*: Chao 29: »Kao Yang (i. e. Chuan Hū) begat Ch'eng², (variant Ch'eng³ in *Shī pen* ap. Lu shī hou ki), Ch'eng² begat Kūan Chang, the latter begat Li». This version again takes Li to be a separate person, but for the rest the genealogy is quite different from the preceding sources. γ *Shī pen* ap. *Tsi kie* on *Shī ki*: Ch'u shī kia: »Lao T'ung begat Ch'ung Li and Wu Huei». This version follows the *Ti hi* above, which coalesces Ch'ung and Li into one.

Sī-ma Ts'ien finally (*Shī ki*: Ch'u shī kia) as usual tries to reconcile the contradictory sources. He accepts the lineage of *Shī pen* β, but tampers with the single person Li of that version and alters him into Ch'ung Li, taking Ch'ung Li to be one person, after the *Ti hi*: »Kao Yang begat Ch'eng², Ch'eng² begat Kūan Chang, Kūan Chang begat Ch'ung Li». And then he goes on to narrate how Ch'ung Li was huo-cheng Governor of Fire under emperor K'u, with the title of Chu Jung, was ordered by him to quell the insurrection of Kung Kung (see p. 228 above) and upon his failure in this was killed by the emperor K'u, who made his brother Wu Huei the successor of the Ch'ung Li family, Governor of Fire and Chu Jung. All this, evidently, in order to reconcile the *Kyū*: Cheng yū passage »(The princes of Ch'u) were the descendants of Ch'ung Li» with the *Ti hi* genealogy which makes the Ch'u house descend from Wu Huei.

And then further (in *Shī ki*: Li shu) *Sī-ma* seizes upon the *Kyū* statement above (p. 235) that the descendants of Ch'ung and Li¹⁾ were reinstated by Yao in the offices of cult-masters to Heaven and Earth, and he identifies these offices with the famous Hi and Ho of the Yao tien, which would then be not proper names but official titles! (For Hi and Ho cf. in detail p. 262 below). This has given the commentator pseudo-K'ung An-kuo (3rd c. A. D.) a welcome opportunity of explaining the unexpected reappearance of the names Ch'ung and Li in

¹⁾ Here in the *Li shu*, *Sī-ma*, in the wake of *Kyū*, treats Ch'ung and Li as two separate persons, and forgets that in the *Ch'u shī kia* he has followed the *Ti hi* and coalesced them into one!

Shu: Lü hing (see p. 234 above): evidently the Ch'ung and Li of Lü hing are identical with the Hi and Ho of the Yao tien.

To sum up, the free pre-Han traditions about Ch'ung and Li are in no way contradictory as regards the distinction between Ch'ung and Li as two persons. Tso and Kyü agree well as to their lineage (brother of Shao Hao and son of Chuan Hü respectively); but the Shu authors have transferred them to the time of Shun.

The systematizers and early Han texts deviate widely from those pre-Han traditions, all making Chuan Hü the grandfather (though by two different lineages) of Ch'ung and Li, two persons, or Ch'ung Li, one person — there being great confusion on this last point.

As to the descendants of Li, the Chu Jung, the Ta Tai: Ti hi on the one hand gives further details, on the other hand diverges from the pre-Han Kyü: Cheng yü on a fundamental point: Wu Huei, brother of Li, the Chu Jung, begat Lu Chung, Lu Chung begot six sons (by a miraculous birth, the children after three years breaking out from the side of the mother, lady Nü T'uei shi); the first was Fan, lord of K'un-Wu; the second was Huei Lien, lord of Ts'an Hu; the third was Tsien, lord of P'eng Tsu; the fourth was Lai Yen, ancestor of the house of Kuei (clan Yün² = Yün); the fifth was An, ancestor of the houses of the Ts'ao clan; the sixth was Ki Lien, ancestor of the houses of the Mi clan. Thus the Ti hi makes all these grandee houses descend not from Li (as Kyü expressly says) but from his brother Wu Huei.

III A.

We have seen above that the systematizers (Li and Lü: Yü ling; Huai) have tried to establish a series of «emperors» corresponding to the 5 elements:

T'ai Hao — Yen Ti — Huang Ti — Shao Hao — Chuan Hü, and that the Han scholars arbitrarily (and wrongly) identified the first three of these with the series of the Yi: Fu Hi — Shen Nung — Huang Ti. The theory of the 5 elements crops up again in regard to certain gods and certain heroes who, for the purpose of the cult of the grandee families, were made to impersonate these gods. Tso: Chao 29 says: »There were the officers of the 5 elements, they were called the 5 officers, they received their several family names and clan names and were appointed shang kung princes of the highest rank; they were sacrificed to as exalted gods, at the altars of the soil and the grain and in the 5 sacrifices; they were honoured and served. The Master of Wood was Kou Mang, the Master of Fire was Chu Jung, the Master of Metal was Ju Shou, the Master of Water was Huan Ming, the Master of Earth was Hou T'u». And then the author goes on to tell how these gods were impersonated by «historical» heroes: »Shao Hao had four younger brothers, Ch'ung, Kai, Siu and Hi², they were capable of (managing) metal, wood and fire.

He charged Ch'ung to be Kou Mang, Kai to be Ju Shou, and Siu and Hi to be (successively?) Hsuan Ming; for generations they never lost their offices and so achieved (the work of) K'ung Sang (= Shao Hao, see p. 208 above). These are three of the sacrifices. Chuan Hsü had a son Li², who was Chu Jung; Kung Kung shi had a son, Kou Lung, who was Hou T'u; these are two of the sacrifices; Hou T'u was Shê god of the Soil; Tsi was Master of the Fields; Lie Shan shi had a son Chu³, who was Tsi, during the Hsia (dynasty) and previously they sacrificed to him; K'i² of the Chou was also Tsi, from the Shang (dynasty) and onwards they sacrificed to him.¹⁾

We witness here a fact that may seem curious: the terms Kou Mang, Chu Jung, Ju Shou, Hsuan Ming, Hou T'u and Tsi are at the same time some kind of official titles and names of gods. This is particularly clear in the case of Hou T'u who is directly stated to be equal to Shê, the god of the Soil. In the other cases the same name has a double meaning. The phenomenon is very typical of ancient China. The gods certainly existed in the popular belief from primeval times: an echo of this is, for instance, Chuang: K'ie k'ie (see p. 220 above) where a long series of potentates of the age of «the highest virtue» is given and where, before Fu Hi, we find Chu Jung shi. But some members of the prominent families, who were remarkable as cult-masters (see Kyü on p. 235 above about the cult functions of Ch'ung and Li) — four (Ch'ung, Kai, Siu or Hi², Li) out of the six belonging to the Shao Hao-Chuan Hsü clan, the remaining two (Kou Lung, Chu³) belonging to the clans who traced their lineage back to the legendary Kung Kung and Lie Shan shi respectively — were recognized as the impersonators of these divinities and obtained as cult-titles the names of Kou Mang etc., thus for ritual purposes being identified with the gods in question. In other words, the Royal house in the four cases, and the Kung Kung and Lie Shan shi clans in the other two, seized upon, for their clan sacrifices, these six popular divinities, identifying with them some prominent cult-masters of their clans, and thus incorporating the cult of these gods in the ancestral cults of their families.

It is important to observe here, as in the case of the «emperors», where the theory of the 5 elements was applied to the sovereign list by the Yüe ling systematizer (see p. 222), that a fairly early systematizer (the speaker in Tso: Chao 29) has tried to force some early, unsystematic cult phenomena to agree with the theory of the 5 elements. He was tempted to do so by the fact that Chu Jung was undoubtedly from primeval times a fire-god, and Hsuan Ming certainly a water-god (cf. p. 244 below). But in trying to force the material and to make out a list of 5 elements and obtain a logical system he has failed in an amusing way: he had necessarily to incorporate Shê, the god of the Soil

¹⁾ The last item, that of Chu³, son of Lie Shan shi = Tsi god of the Grain, succeeded by K'i² = Hou Tsi of Chou, recurs in Kyü: Lu, Shang.

(element: earth) in his list, identifying him with H o u T ' u — but then he could not very well skip T s i, the god of the Grain, who is always a Pollux to Shê as Castor. He must therefore attach, quite loosely, to the 5 gods corresponding to the 5 elements, a 6th god, T s i, who falls entirely outside that system of elements!

This inadequacy has not troubled the systematizer who wrote the Yüe ling: he silently leaves out (see p. 222) the troublesome T s i, who does not fit into the system of 5, and he correlates the first 5 gods with the seasons: K o u M a n g presides over the spring; C h u J u n g over the summer; H o u T ' u over the end of summer; J u S h o u over the autumn and H ü a n M i n g over the winter — we observe how he has had difficulty in reconciling 5 gods with 4 seasons: he solves his problem by placing two gods in the summer!

The same Yüe ling author combines the first 5 gods with the 5 »domestic» sacrifices: K o u M a n g corresponds to the sacrifice to the h u Door, C h u J u n g to that of the t s a o Hearth, H o u T ' u to that of the c h u n g - l i u Central Roof-opening (dripping-place), J u S h o u to that of the m e n Gate and H ü a n M i n g to that of the h i n g Road; the last is really a mistake; another text version has t s i n g Well, and Kia K'uei (1st c. A. D.) rightly maintains that this is the best reading, fitting in better with the series of house sacrifices (the ancient graphs for h i n g and t s i n g were similar and easily confused). These sacrifices, the Yüe ling author says, were the w u s i 五祀, evidently meaning that the »five sacrifices» in the Tso passage above refers to them. Whether this is a mere systematizer's speculation or represents a true tradition it is impossible to tell, since we have no free texts that describe the sacrifices in the cults of those gods.

In any case, the fact that these gods were annexed to the cult of certain prominent clans through the trick studied above (the identification of some members of these clans with the several gods) causes us to expect that they were also incorporated in the regular a n c e s t r a l cult of certain families. Moreover, at least in the case of C h u J u n g we have this confirmed in Tso: Hi 27, where a prince of K ' u e i is reproached by a prince of C h ' u for not keeping up the sacrifices to C h u J u n g, the ancestor of the feudal houses of C h ' u and K ' u e i (cf. p. 237 above).

We should add some further remarks on those gods-officers. In Kyü: Lu, shang it is told that »when K u n g K u n g s h i was hegemon over the nine possessions, his son was called H o u T ' u, he could tranquillize the nine lands, therefore he was sacrificed to as S h ê, the god of the Soil. The same account recurs in Li: Tsi fa. The Li text says further: »When L i S h a n s h i possessed the realm, his son was called N u n g, the Husbandman, he could sow the hundred kinds of grain; when the H i a (dynasty) declined, K ' i² of C h o u succeeded him, therefore he was sacrificed to as T s i, the god of the Grain». This again agrees, subject to small variations, with the Tso account above: L i e S h a n and L i

Shan are sound variations (see p. 220 above), and Nung, the Husbandman, was evidently an appellation of Chu³. Who the Lie Shan shī was is uncertain, see p. 220.

The last passages in these accounts, to the effect that first the Lie Shan (Li Shan) house had laid hands on the god of the Grain for one of their prominent clans-men, and then later another rising house, that of the Chou, did the same, is highly interesting. The powerful families vied with each other in appropriating the popular gods and attaching them to their ancestral cults. A phenomenon of the same kind occurs in Kuan: Wu hing. This text is again a systematizing effort to correlate some primeval gods-heroes with the 6 cardinal points: Heaven (zenith), Earth (nadir), east, south, west and north, and 4 of them with the 4 seasons. And here these personages are connected with Huang Ti. Huang Ti obtained 6 wise »ministers»: Ch'ī Yu (for the legend of Ch'ī Yu in detail see p. 283 below) understood the norms of Heaven and was therefore made tang shi 當時 »director of time»; Ta Ch'ang understood the advantages of Earth and was made lin 廩 »granary man»; Shê Lung understood the east and was made (t'u shī 土師, probably wrong for:) kung shī 工師 »director of works» (= sī k'ung); Chu Jung understood the south and was made sī t'u »master of the multitude»; Ta Feng understood the west and was made sī ma master of the horse»; Hou T'u understood the north and was made li 李 (judge); therefore spring is kung shī (sī k'ung), summer is sī t'u, autumn is sī ma, winter is li». The figures Ta Ch'ang, Shê Lung and Ta Feng in this myth are not known from other sources. But two of our gods above, Chu Jung and Hou T'u, crop up here again, and in a quite different context from that of Tso. If we peel off the systematizing speculations (cardinal points and seasons) of the Kuan author, we can discern that some other branch of nobles, those who traced their lineage back directly to Huang Ti, were competitors with the Shao Hao - Chuan Hū clan for the honour of identifying the god of Fire, Chu Jung, and the god of Earth, Hou T'u, with their earliest clan heroes and attaching them to their family cult.¹⁾

The curious phenomenon that the positions of Kou Mang, Chu Jung etc. were of a twofold nature: those of officers (cult-masters) and of gods, has *more sinico* led to a further elaboration of the water-god myth. The »office» of such a cult-master-god was considered hereditary in the line. This gave the pious genealogists an opportunity to connect their local cults with the more imposing »imperial» cult of the leading families. We saw above that the emperor Shao Hao gave the charge of Hūan Ming (Master of water, god of water) to two of his sons, Siu and Hi² — this is somewhat obscure and has generally been

¹⁾ Though Shao Hao and Chuan Hū were considered to be kinsmen of Huang Ti, see p. 217 above, there were, of course, family lines parallel with theirs which traced their origin back to Huang Ti without being direct descendants of Shao Hao and Chuan Hū.

interpreted to mean that first the one and then the other held this position. Now in Tso: Chao 1 we find: »Kin T'ien shī (= Shao Hao, see p. 208 above) had a descendant (yi tsī) called Mei, he was Hūan Ming Shī, Master Hūan Ming. He begat Yūn Ko and T'ai T'ai. T'ai T'ai could do meritorious work in that official position, he cleared the (rivers) Fen and T'ao and embanked the great marsh and disposed the great plain; the emperor commended him and enfeoffed him by the Fen river; (the feudal states) Shen, Sī, Ju and Huang keep up sacrifices to him... thus T'ai T'ai is the god of the Fen». What has happened here is evident. In Shansi, in the region of the Fen river, there was a local cult to the water-god T'ai T'ai. By proclaiming him to be a son of Mei, a Hūan Ming Shī, Master-God of water, who was a descendant of Shao Hao, the father of the Hūan Ming Siu and Hi², the local Shansi cult of the god of the river Fen was linked up with the general water-god cult that had been incorporated in the clan-cult system of the family of Shao Hao.

That the theme of the 5 elements is not a fundamental feature of these various nature cults, which were annexed to the ancestral cult of the grandees, was already proved by the Tsi (god of the Grain) cult, which neither the Tso author nor the Li author could press into the system of the 5 elements. This fact is underlined by another, analogous cult, which has nothing to do with the elements but which, in the same manner, was attached to the »imperial» family by being provided with a pedigree. Tso: Chao 1 tells us about this: »Anciently, Kao Sin shī (= K'u, see p. 211) had two sons, the elder called Ngo Po, the younger Shī Ch'en; they lived in K'uang-lin, but could not treat each other well; daily they sought their shields and dagger-axes and attacked each other; the august emperor disapproved of this, he transferred Ngo Po to Shang-k'iu (in Honan), to preside over (the sacrifices to) Ch'en 辰 (a constellation), the people of the Shang dynasty followed this (i. e. kept up the cult), therefore Ch'en was star of the Shang; he transferred Shī Ch'en to Ta-hia (in Shansi), to preside over (the sacrifices to) Shen 參 (another constellation); the T'ang² people (i. e. descendants of Yao) followed this (kept up the cult) and served the Hia and Shang dynasties... Thus Shī Ch'en is the god of the (constellation) Shen.»¹) On this analogy we may add: Ngo Po is the god of the constellation Ch'en.»²)

¹) Kyū: Tsin 4 confirms this: »The region of Shī Ch'en is where the people of Tsin dwell» (i. e. modern Shansi).

²) The story of Ngo Po is also treated in Tso: Siang 9: »The huo-cheng, Master of Fire of T'ao T'ang² shī (i. e. Yao) Ngo Po resided in Shang-k'iu and sacrificed to (the constellation) Ta huo 大火.... Siang T'u (of the Shang dynasty) succeeded him, therefore the Shang presided over Ta huo». Kyū: Tsin 4 likewise says: »Ta huo is the star of Ngo Po, that is Ta Ch'en 大辰. Here we have two stellar cults, one (that of Ch'en) centred in Honan and one (that of Shen) centred in Shansi. They were linked up with the ancestral cult of

That these beliefs in various nature gods, the cults of which were in this fashion incorporated into the cults of the grandee families, were really living beliefs in the minds of the Chou-time Chinese is evidenced by various text passages.

Kou Mang. Mo: Ming kuei: Prince Mu of (Cheng, read:) Ts'in (658—619 B. C.) in clear daylight, in the middle of the day, was in the temple, when a *shen* god (Spirit) entered the door and stood to the left. He had a human face and a bird's body, he was dressed in a white robe . . . his face and bearing were very dignified». The spirit promised the prince prosperity for his state and 19 years of life for himself, and told the prince that he was **Kou Mang**.

Chu Jung. Mo: Fei kung, hia: When Kie, the last king of the *Hia* dynasty, was attacked by *T'ang*, a *shen* god (Spirit) descended and said to *T'ang* that he would give him great force to vanquish his foe, because he (the Spirit) had obtained the charge of Heaven to that effect. And indeed, »Heaven charged **Jung** (= **Chu Jung**, the fire-god) to send down fire to the north-west corner of the wall of the city of *Hia*». Similarly, **Chu Jung** by his appearance inaugurated the *Hia* dynasty: Kyü, Chou, shang: »At the rise of the *Hia* (dynasty), **Chu Jung** descended on the *Ch'ung²-shan*».

Ju Shou. Kyü: Tsin 2: »The prince of Kuo (early Chou time) dreamt he was in the temple; then there was a *shen* god (Spirit) with human face, white hair, and claws of a tiger, who holding a *yüe* battle-axe stood by the western slant (of the roof)». The god warned the prince about an attack from the state of Tsin. When awaking, the prince let a diviner interpret the dream, and he decided that it was **Ju Shou**, »Heaven's god of punishment» *t'ien ch'ing shen*.

Hüan Ming. Tso: Chao 18 describes a great conflagration in Cheng in 524 B. C. and the various measures taken by the authorities to save the city. *Inter alia* »deprecatory sacrifices against the fire were offered to **Hüan Ming** and **Huei Lu**. **Hüan Min**, the water-god, was thus implored to combat the fire (for **Huei Lu**, cf. p. 246 below).

As to the gods **Hou-T'u** and **Tsi**, I am not aware of any analogous accounts.

III B.

In early Han time these legends were further embroidered.

Huai-nan-tsi (Huai: T'ien wen) has a systematizing chapter very similar to the *Yüe ling* discussed above (see p. 222), but he further correlates the »emperors» and the gods with certain stars which are in themselves also *shen*, gods (Spirits) and with magical animals, e. g.: »The East (corresponds to) wood, its emperor is **T'ai Hao**, his coadjutor is **Kou Mang**, he wields a compass and governs spring, the *shen* (Spirit) is the *Suei* star, the animal is the *ts'ang lung*,

the »imperial» house of **Yu Yü** by a tradition which made a son of **K'u**, named **Ngô Po**, the cult-master and personification of this god of the *Ch'en*, and which made another son of **K'u**, named **Shi Ch'en**, the cult-master and personification of the god of the constellation *Shen*.

Blue dragon», etc. The only interesting point is that the god corresponding to the South is called *Chu Ming* (but another early text version, that of *Hü*, has *Chu Jung*, like the *Yü ling*).

Shan hai king, as usual, has all kinds of weird speculations that diverge from the pre-Han lore. As to *Kou Mang* and *Ju Shou*, it adds but little that is new: *Kou Mang* has a bird's body and a human face and rides on two dragons (k. 9); *Ju Shou* at his left ear has a snake, he rides on two dragons (k. 7). But of *Chu Jung* it has some very confused accounts. First, in k. 6, it describes *Chu Jung* as having »an animal's body and a human face and riding on two dragons». Then it has two contradictory pedigrees for *Chu Jung* — which again confirms that the *Shan hai king* is a conglomerate of various sources. On the one hand, it follows partly the ancient sources (Tso, Kyü) in making *Ch'ung* and *Li* two different persons, partly the *Ti hi*, which makes *Ch'ung* *Li* (one person) a son of *Lao T'ung* and grandson of *Chuan Hü*. It says (k. 16): »*Chuan Hü* begat *Lao T'ung*, *Lao T'ung* begat *Chu Jung*» and (*ibid.*): »*Lao T'ung* begat *Ch'ung* and (ki) *Li*» (adding that *Ch'ung* was ordered to sacrifice to Heaven, and *Li* to Earth, in accordance with Kyü). On the other hand, it gives (k. 18) a totally different pedigree: *Yen Ti* by lady *T'ing Yao* of the house of *Ch'i Shuei shi* begat *Yen Kü*, this one begat *Tsie Ping*, this one begat *Hi K'i*, this one begat *Chu Jung* (and this one begat *Kung Kung*). As to *Hou T'u*, it is just as confused. It first bases itself on the ancient Tso and Kyü tradition that *Hou T'u* was a son of *Kung Kung*; but then it muddles the whole story by not recognizing that the *Kung Kung* of Tso and Kyü was an early potentate anterior to *Huang Ti*. In k. 18 it gives the genealogy just quoted (*Yen Ti* — *Yen Kü* — *Tsie Ping* — *Hi K'i* — *Chu Jung* — *Kung Kung*), adding: »*Kung Kung* begat *Hou T'u*». But immediately after it says that *Kun* (in the time of *Yao*) was attacked by *Chu Jung* — the father of *Kung Kung*! — and killed on the *Yü shan*. Thus it identifies *Kung Kung* with the *Kung Kung* of the Shu tradition (contemporary with *Yao* and *Shun*, see p. 219 above) and makes *Hou T'u* a son of this grandee. This contradicts the pre-Han tradition (Kyü: Lu, shang) that *Hou T'u* was the son of the *Kung Kung* who was »hegemon over the nine provinces», i. e. the early usurper in the time prior to *Yen Ti* and *Huang Ti*.

Sī-ma Ts'ien, in regard to *Chu Jung*, has yet another variation of the theme. In *Shi ki*: *Ch'u shi kia* he bases himself on the *Ti hi* (see p. 238 above), taking *Ch'ung Li* to be one person, and saying that he was Master of Fire under the emperor *K'u*, with the title of *Chu Jung*. But then he introduces a quite new idea of his own. The *Ti hi* had said that *Lao T'ung*, son of *Chuan Hü*, had two sons, *Ch'ung Li* and *Wu Huei*, and that it was *Wu Huei* who was the ancestor of the *Ch'u* house; *Wu Huei* should, *Sī-ma* felt, be elevated to a fine position, and he narrates: »The emperor killed *Ch'ung*

Li and made his younger brother Wu Huei instead Chu Jung. This illustration of the speculative mind of an early Chinese scholar is quite instructive; we can easily discern how Si-ma came to concoct this fable of Wu Huei succeeding his brother as Chu Jung. As already attested above, Chu Jung was the fire-god, whereas Huan Ming was the water-god. In Tso: Chao 18, during a conflagration in Cheng, propitiatory sacrifices were offered to Huan Ming, the water-god, and to Huei Lu. The context shows that Huei Lu must have been a fire-god. But the fire-god should be Chu Jung; *ergo* Huei Lu is equal to Chu Jung. How is that possible, when, according to the Ti hi (accepted by Si-ma) it was Ch'ung Li, grandson of Chuan Hü, who was Chu Jung? Very simple: Ch'ung Li had (acc. to the Ti hi) a brother Wu Huei — evidently Huei Lu is the same as Wu Huei! Yes, but it was not Wu Huei but the elder brother Ch'ung Li who was Chu Jung? Very well, evidently Ch'ung Li was eliminated and succeeded as Chu Jung by his brother Wu Huei (= Huei Lu)!

Clever as this may seem, it is none the less a typical scholastic speculation irreconcilable with the early sources. That both names Huei Lu and Wu Huei contain the character huei [E] of course proves nothing. That Huei Lu was a fire-god is shown by the context in the Tso passage, and it is confirmed by the Kyü: Chou, shang; but in that text Huei Lu is not identical with Chu Jung but coordinated with him as a separate divinity of fire: »Anciently, when the Hia dynasty arose, Chu Jung descended on Ch'ung²-shan (the region of the Hia house, Kun, father of the founder Yü, being Ch'ung² hou, prince of Ch'ung²); when it collapsed, Huei Lu sojourned two nights at K'in-suei». The Kyü author would certainly not have called the same god first Chu Jung and then Huei Lu in one and the same passage: Chu Jung and Huei Lu were two kindred gods, both fire-gods.

The scholars of the first centuries A. D. as usual introduce various new datings aberrant from those of the early texts. A few examples will suffice:

Kou Mang: Whereas the pre-Han texts (see p. 239) make him = Ch'ung, a younger brother of Shao Hao, Pan Ku (Han shu: Ku kin jen piao) places him (in the variant Kou Wang of Shī ki) in the time of K'u, which is based on the Ti hi (see p. 225). Kao Yu (2nd c. A. D.) in comm. on Lü: Meng ch'un ki makes him = Ch'ung a descendant (yi tsī) of Shao Hao.

Ju Shou: Whereas the pre-Han sources make him = Kai, younger brother of Shao Hao (Pan Ku places him under Chuan Hü), Kao Yu (comm. on Lü: Meng ts'iu ki) says he was = Kai, a descendant (yi tsī) of Shao Hao (in comm. on Huai: Shī tsé he says = Siu, descendant of Shao Hao — a confusion with Huan Ming below).

Huan Ming: Whereas the pre-Han texts make him = the brothers Siu and Hi², younger brothers of Shao Hao, and then make a descendant of

Shao Hao, called Mei, hold the same position, Kao Yu (comm. on Lü: Meng tung ki) makes him = Sün, a son of Shao Hao; in comm. on Huai: Shī tsê, he makes him = Mei, a first-rank son (ti tsī) of Shao Hao.

Hou T'u: Whereas the pre-Han sources make him = Kou Lung, a son of the »hegemon» Kung Kung (prior to Yen Ti and Huang Ti), Pan Ku places him under Chuan Hū (certainly under the influence of the early Han texts which transfer Kung Kung to the time of Chuan Hū, see p. 227), and the commentators have various speculations. Kao Yu (comm. on Huai: Shī tsê) says that Hou T'u was not identical with Kou Lung, but that Kou Lung had a son called Hou T'u. Wei Chao (3rd c.) in comm. on Kyü: Lu, shang says that Hou T'u = Kou Lung was a descendant (yi tsī) of Kung Kung, who assisted Huang Ti as t'u kuan »officer of Earth». Particularly amusing is the famous scholar Cheng Hūan (2nd c.), who (comm. on Li: Yüé ling) says: Chuan Hū's son Li was (in accordance with Tso) Chu Jung; but this Li was *at the same time* Hou T'u, combining the two offices of Chu Jung and Hou T'u in one person. Here again we can discern how the shrewd mind of the scholast has worked. In forcing 5 emperors and 5 gods to correspond to 4 seasons, the Yüé ling author (commented upon by Cheng) has had to put 2 of each into the summer season: Yen Ti and Chu Jung represent summer, Huang Ti and Hou T'u represent the end of summer (see p. 222). Hence, the good Cheng Hūan reasoned, one and the same man (Li) was simultaneously Chu Jung and Hou T'u!

IV A.

1. Sī hiung »the four ominous ones».

Tso: Wen 18 narrates an important legend: the emperor Ti Hung shī (cf. p. 220 above) had an untalented son (who was thoroughly bad in various ways fully described) . . . the people of all the worlds called him Hun Tun (Chaos); Shao Hao shī had an untalented son . . . the people . . . called him K'iung K'i (Monster); Chuan Hū shī had an untalented son . . . the people . . . called him T'ao Wu (Block); these three families from generation to generation achieved their wickedness and augmented their bad name; in Yao's time, Yao could not eliminate them; Tsin Yün shī (see p. 220) had an untalented son . . . the people called him T'ao T'ie (Glutton); when Shun was minister to Yao . . . he banished the families of the four ominous ones (sī hiung chī tsu) and threw them out to the four border lands to withstand 禦 the ch'ī and mei demons¹⁾. The same theme reverts in Tso: Chao 9, where certain Jung barbarians Yin Jung (of the clan name Yün³⁾) were

¹⁾ Shī ki: Wu ti pen ki has the reading 御, and Chavannes therefore translates: »afin de soumettre à la règle les démons». But this y ū is here only a short-form, as already recognized by the T'ang commentator Chang Shou-tsie. Couvreur's translation: »il les livra aux esprits mauvais» is grossly erroneous.

drawn into a feud between Chinese nobles. A wise man lectured: »The ancient kings placed T'ao Wu on (one of) the four borders, in order to withstand the ch'ī and mei demons; therefore the bandits of the Yü n³ clan live in Ku a - ch ou». The same legend is alluded to in Lü: Shī kūn, where various northern barbarian regions are enumerated, *inter alia* »the lands of T'ao T'ie and K'iu ng K'ī».

There can be no doubt that these four ominous ones, Hun Tun, K'iu ng K'ī, T'ao Wu and T'ao T'ie were conceived as Spirits, in this case bad Spirits, i. e. demons. And it is highly significant that the hated Jung barbarians (here the Yü n³ clan) were considered to be descendants of the »families» of these demons, which were banished by the great Shun to the confines of the Chinese realm: the banished ones were placed there to protect the Chinese world from the onslaught of other demons. The Spirit character of the »ominous ones» is attested in several ways: In Kyü: Chou, shang it is said: »Anciently, when the Hia dynasty arose, (the fire-god) Chu Jung descended on Ch'ung²-shan; when it collapsed, (the fire-god) Huei Lu sojourned two nights at K'in-suei; when the Shang dynasty arose, T'ao Wu sojourned several nights at P'ei-shan; when it collapsed, Yi-yang (a divine sheep, a portentous animal) was in the Mu (ye)». Thus, just as the appearance of the fire-gods signalled the fall of a dynasty and the rise of a new one, so the appearance of T'ao Wu signalled the rise of the Shang-Yin. Lü: Sien shī: »On the Ting tripods of Chou there is represented the T'ao T'ie, he has head but no body, (eating =) devouring people but not yet having swallowed, harm came to his body». Chuang: Ying ti wang makes use of the figure of Hun Tun as a powerful »emperor of the Centre» (as against Hu »emperor of the Northern Sea» and Shu, »emperor of the Southern Sea») in an allegorical tale.

The fact that the legend makes these figures, Hun Tun, K'iu ng K'ī, T'ao Wu and T'ao T'ie at the same time monsters and depraved descendants of the grandee clans may seem curious. That the shen (Spirits, gods) of fire (Chu Jung) and water (Hüan Ming) etc. above were impersonated by prominent cult-masters of these clans and thus drawn into the clan cults is easily conceivable. But why incorporate the monsters of popular belief into the clan schemes? The reason is revealed by the Tso passage above the Yin Jung barbarians being descendants of T'ao Wu. It was always the tendency of the early Chinese traditions to consider the chieftain families of border barbarians as descendants of Chinese families: all civilization came from China, and when those barbarians began to obtain a regular political and social life it was due to Chinese immigrants who became their chiefs. In Chou time, the ruling house of Wu — a state that was originally quite un-Chinese — obtained its Chinese pedigree: the first two Wu princes were uncles of Wen Wang of Chou (Tso: Min 1, Hi 5, Chao 30, Ai 7, Ai 13). The powerful state of Ch'u was likewise originally un-Chinese, though it was drawn into the

Chinese cultural sphere much earlier than Wu; we have seen above (p. 235) that the Ch'u princes were endowed with a fine Chinese pedigree, making them descendants of Chuan Hü. These states were provided with a fine and honourable lineage, since they were willingly and rapidly sinicized and entered into the Chinese confederation of feudal states. But other barbarians — troublesome neighbours and often foes — in the very neighbourhood of the original »central kingdoms» persistently refused to let themselves be converted into Chinese, and were in consequence mistrusted and despised and given pejorative names, such as K'üan Jung »Dog Jung» etc. They must also, as stated above, have their ruling houses derived from Chinese families — otherwise no social order at all could be imagined — but in consequence of their failing to become true civilized Chinese their leaders were considered descendants of decadent members of the Chinese grandee families: therefore, the Yin Jung (clan Yü n³) princes were descendants of Chuan Hü, but only through his worthless son T'ao Wu, who was identified with the popular demon T'ao Wu; a typical example of the workings of the archaic Chinese mind.

2. »The four punished ones». In Shu: Yao tien (now: Shun tien) it is told how Shun punished four miscreants. The following paragraph narrates how Yao died and Shun ascended the throne; thus the punishment took place while Shun was the leading minister of Yao: »He (Shun) banished Kung Kung to Yu-chou, he banished Huan Tou to Ch'ung²-shan, he let the San Miao skulk in San-wei, he killed¹) Kun on the Yü-shan (»Wing Mountain»)). This passage is repeated in Meng, Wan Chang, shang; Kyü: Tsin 5 and Tso: Hi 33 likewise tell us that it was Shun who ki killed Kun. The legend recurs in regard to three of the miscreants in Chuang: Tsai yu, but here it is said that it was Yao himself who acted: »Yao banished Huan Tou² to Ch'ung²-shan, he threw the San Miao into San-wei, he banished Kung Kung to Yu-tu. Ts'ê: Ts'in 1 and Sün: Yi ping have a different version: Yao attacked Huan Tou, Shun attacked San Miao, Yü attacked Kung Kung.

The pre-Han entries about the four miscreants are in some cases few and tell us but little; only in regard to Kun and San Miao are they fairly full.

Kung Kung. We have seen above that the original Kung Kung myth was a deluge theme, centred in a hero Kung Kung in the time prior to Yen Ti and Huang Ti (later on, in Han texts, transferred to the time of Chuan Hü and K'u), but that the Shu authors, who wished all important happenings

¹) Ki 殛. Ma Jung and others have tried to argue that ki here does not mean 'to kill' but only 'to punish', i. e. here 'to banish' (referring *inter alia* to Han shu: Pao Sün chuan: »Yao banished the four miscreants»); but that is to force a meaning into ki which it does not have. The sense 'to kill' is clearly brought out in Shu: Hung fan: Kun tsé ki sî »Kun was then killed», and Ch'u: Li sao says that Kun yao 殛 met a violent death in the wilds of Yü³, i. e. Yü-shan.

to begin with the golden age of Y a o, S h u n and Y ü, have inserted K u n g K u n g in the *entourage* of these rulers. In Shu: Yao tien he was recommended as a meritorious man to Y a o by H u a n T o u, but *ibid.* (now Shun tien) he was banished to Y u - c h o u. In Hanfei: Wai ch'u, yu shang it is said that Y a o desired to cede the throne to S h u n, but K u n g K u n g remonstrated: how could the realm be given to a p' i f u commoner? Yao then raised an army against K u n g K u n g and deported him to Y u - c h o u.

H u a n T o u. In Shu: Yao tien, H u a n T o u recommends K u n g K u n g to Y a o; in Shu: Kao Yao mo, he is spoken of as a man apt to cause the ruler anxiety. Hanfei: Shuo yi tells us that H u a n T o u s h i had a bad adviser, K u N a n. That is all.

K u n. We have seen above that K u n was a son of C h u a n H ü and father of the great Y ü. In Shu: Yao tien it is told how Y a o asked for some competent man to cope with the great floods and was recommended by »all» to employ K u n. Y a o hesitated, because K u n was bad, but he was persuaded, and K u n tried to accomplish the task, but failed after 9 years. Shu: Hung fan narrates how K u n dammed up the inundating waters, thereby disturbing the 5 elements, and hence was killed by the emperor. Tso: Chao 7 again says it was Y a o who killed him (Tso: Hi 33 says it was Shun) and gives a more detailed account: »Anciently, Y a o killed K u n on the Y ü - s h a n (»Wing Mountain»), his s h e n Spirit transformed itself into a yellow bear and entered the Y ü - y ü a n (»Wing Abyss»); he was the one to whom the H i a offered the k i a o sacrifice (see p. 214 above), and the three dynasties (sc. H i a, S h a n g, C h o u) sacrificed to him». The same story recurs in Kyü: Tsin 8.¹⁾

M o: Shang hien, chung, briefly says: »Anciently P o K u n was the eldest son of an emperor; he rejected the virtuous practice of the emperor, and so he was h i n g punished in the outskirts of Y ü³. L ü: Hing lun tells us that K u n was annoyed with the fact that Y a o did not give him the position of one of the s a n k u n g highest princes; he was angrier than a wild beast, he wanted to rebel, he ranged the horns of animals as a wall, raised their tails as banners, refused to come when called and rambled in the wilds, and so caused S h u n anxiety; thereupon they killed him on the Y ü - s h a n and cut him up with a sword from W u. In the Ch'u ts'i the story of Kun occurs in some brief passages. Li sao says simply: »K u n was refractory and lost his body». Ch'u: T'ien wen describes his punishment: »The c h ' i bird and the turtle dragged and took him in their mouths

¹⁾ The Tso text has h u a n g h i u n g 熊 'a yellow bear'; certain Kyü versions have the same (h i u n g), another version has n e n g 能 'bear'. The T'ang scholar Si-ma Cheng, in gloss on Shi ki: Hia pen ki, says that the word should be read not n e n g but n a i and that it means 'a turtle with three legs'. This speculation should clearly be rejected, for the Tso passage is told by an orator as an explanation, when a sick prince of Tsin had dreamt that a h u a n g h i u n g yellow bear had entered his bed-chamber and the significance of this portent was discussed — what kind of Spirit he represented: it was the dissatisfied Spirit of Kun.

(sc. his dead body), how could K u n be willing to this (sc. how could he act so as to incur this); according to his own will he achieved his work, how did the emperor punish him; for long he was kept shut off on the Y ü - s h a n, why for three years was he not thrown away (sc. killed and exposed);¹⁾ P o Y ü (i. e. Y ü, his son) loved K u n, how did he change (sc. and become a sage man, unlike his father)». (This passage has been badly mistranslated by Maspero, J. As. 1924, p. 49).

The legend of K u n's Spirit changing into a bear has given rise to various totemistic speculations, but that is quite unwarranted. It is but one example among many of the folklore belief that a person who feels wronged and injured after death appears as a ghost in the shape of some wild animal to take revenge. Cf. the story in Tso: Chao 8: A prince P'eng Sheng had been punished by death on the order of the prince of Ts'i; a year later the latter during a hunt saw a big boar, whom the attendants declared to be the ghost of P'eng Sheng; the prince shot an arrow at him, and the boar-man rose on his hind legs and wailed; the prince, scared, fell and hurt himself: P'eng Sheng = the boar had taken his revenge. There is, of course, not the slightest reason to conclude that the boar was the »totem» in the family of P'eng Sheng. No more was the bear the »totem» of K u n.

S a n M i a o. The S a n M i a o story is throughout the pre-Han texts a story of rebels. We have seen it briefly mentioned in Shu: Yao tien; there it was stated that it was S h u n who caused the S a n M i a o to skulk in S a n - w e i. Ts'ê: Wei ts'ê tells us that the S a n M i a o lived in the vicinity of the Tung-t'ing lake (Hunan); the S a n - w e i, where they were removed by Shun, was in the far north-west (Kansu). In Shu: Yü kung it is said: »The S a n - w e i (country) became inhabitable and the S a n M i a o were greatly put in order», which suggests that it was Y ü who, on Shun's order, dealt with them. Shu: Kao Yao mo speaks briefly of the deportation of the Y u M i a o, lord of Miao. It is more fully treated in Shu: Lü hing: the people of M i a o (M i a o m i n) used a system of oppressive punishments, and the text embroiders the tale of resultant misrule and disorder; the »august emperor» then stopped and cut off the people of M i a o. Kyü: Ch'u, hia tells us how first the K i u L i caused disorder under S h a o H a o, and how C h u a n H ü let C h' u n g and L i re-establish order (see

¹⁾ There has been much discussion about the true meaning of this phrase: f u h o s a n n i e n p u s h i 施. Ho Yi-hang believes that s h i here means 'to dissolve': »why was he (his body) not dissolved for 3 years» (he is here influenced by a different story in the Kuei tsang k'i shi, see p. 254), but s h i has no such meaning. Conrady translates: »Warum liess er drei Jahre nicht ab (von seiner Missetat)». But the correct interpretation is given by Chu Tsün-sheng (Shuo wen t'ung hün ting sheng): s h i means 'to throw away', as a culprit who has been killed and is thrown into the market-place, as proved by the good parallel in Tso: Chao 14: s h i s h e n g l u s i »to kill and throw away (expose) the living and to (punish =) mutilate the dead»; and (ibid.) s h i H i n g h o u »they killed and threw away the prince of Hing», cf. Kyü: Tsin 8: »Those who followed Luan shi were t a l u s h i greatly punished and killed».

p. 235 above); it continues: »Afterwards, when the San Miao renewed the (bad) virtue of the Kiu Li, Yao again elevated the descendants of Ch'ung and Li...», thus describing the Miao as having already been rebels under Yao. And in Kyü: Chou, hia a prince is admonished: »Should you not mirror yourself in (the fate of) the kings of the Li and the Miao». Tso: Chao 1 says that Shun had the San Miao as rebels. Mo-tsi repeatedly discusses the San Miao, most fully in Fei kung, hia. According to him, again, it was not Shun himself but Yü who attacked the Miao: »Anciently, the San Miao greatly rebelled. Heaven ordered to annihilate them; a sun portent appeared in the night, there rained blood three mornings, a dragon was born in the temple, the dogs howled in the market, there was ice in summer and the earth cracked down to the springs, the five kinds of grain were changed, the people were greatly shaken; Kao Yang (i. e. Shun, the descendant of Kao Yang, see p. 212) then charged Yü in the huan kung Dark Hall; Yü himself held the sceptre of Heaven and went to attack Yu Miao, the lord of Miao;... there was a shen Spirit with human face and bird's body... (the text here corrupted); the Miao army became greatly disordered and afterwards was nearly destroyed». The legend about the portents signalling the catastrophe of the Miao recurs in the authentic Chu shu ki nien: »When the San Miao were about to be destroyed, Heaven rained down blood, in summer there was ice, the earth cracked to the springs, a blue dragon was born in the temple, the sun came out in the night, and in the day no sun came out». Hanfei: Shuo yi tells us that the San Miao had a bad councillor, Ch'eng Kü, and in Hanfei: Wu ku we find a curious, moralizing account: In the time of Shun, the lord of Miao rebelled and Yü wanted to attack him, but Shun disagreed; he »instructed» the Miao for 3 years, and then, when he »seized shield and axe and danced, the lord of Miao submitted». This legend is also alluded to in Ts'ê: Chao 2: »Shun danced the Yu Miao (dance)». Sün: Ch'eng siang likewise says that »without use of shield and dagger-axe, the San Miao submitted». There is really no reason for reading anything supernatural into this legendary theme, in the sense of a magical force of Shun's dance; it means simply that the warlike expedition was initiated by a solemn war dance, and the lord of Miao was so overawed by this threatening first step that he gave in. For the war dance as a preparation for warfare, see Tso: Chuang 28.

IV B.

The two sets of legends under IV: 1 and 2 above, those of the four »ominous ones» who, though descendants of Chinese grandees, were really monsters, demons, and those of the four bad »officers» who were punished by Yao, Shun and Yü, are kept clearly apart in the early Han texts.

Sî-ma Ts'ien (Shi ki: Wu ti pen ki) relates first the one set and then, after

inserting various other things, the other set, recounting the data of the ancient texts without any essential additions.

Shan hai king, more *suo*, describes personages of both sets as supernatural beings,¹⁾ but in no way identifies the two series.

Hun Tun: K. 2: »There is a *shen* Spirit, his shape is like a yellow sack, with red as vermilion fire, he has six feet and four wings, Hun Tun, he has no face or eyes, that one can sing and dance, he is *Ti Kiang*, »emperor Kiang» (the last evidently a variant for *Ti Hung shi*, who according to Tso was the father of Hun Tun, see p. 247).

K'ung K'i: K. 2: »On the *Kuei-shan* there is an animal, its shape is like an ox, with a porcupine's (hair =) bristles, its name is *K'ung K'i*, its sound is like a howling dog, it eats people». K. 12: »The *K'ung K'i* has a shape like a tiger and it has wings; when eating people, it starts with the head».

Neither *T'ao Wu* nor *T'ao T'ie* occurs in the *Shan hai king*. But the *Shen yi king* 神異經, a Western Han work quoted by *Fu K'ien* (comm. on Tso: Wen 18) says: »*T'ao Wu* has a shape like a tiger, its hair is two feet long, it has a human face, a tiger's feet, a hog's teeth, its tail has a length of one *chang* and eight *ch'i*, it can fight without retreating». And the same *Shen yi king*, as quoted by *Chang Shou-tsie* (comm. on *Shi ki*: *Wu ti pen ki*) says: »In the southwest there are people who have on the body much hair, on the heads they carry hogs, their nature is very wicked and lazy, they amass wealth and do not spend it, they are prone to robbing people's grain and goods, the strong men rob the old, the weak ones fear a crowd but attack the single, their name is *T'ao T'ie* (Gluttons)».

Kung Kung: *Shan hai king* does not describe *Kung Kung* as any strange figure; it is the *Kuei tsang k'i shi* (Eastern Han time) which first gives this description: (ap. comm. on *Shan hai king* 16): *Kung Kung* has a human face and a snake's body and vermilion-coloured hair». *Kao Yu* (comm. on *Huai*: *Chuei hing*) likewise says that *Kung Kung* had a human face and a snake's body.

Huan Tou: *Shan hai king*: »In the *Ta-huang* Great Wild there is a man called *Huan T'ou*; *Kun*'s wife was *Shi King*; *Shi King*'s son was *Yen Jung*, *Yen Jung* begat *Huan T'ou*; *Huan T'ou* has a human face and a bird's beak, and he has wings; he eats the fish of the sea; relying on his wings he moves» (this lineage brings down *Huan Tou* in an impossible way, and in k. 17 *Shan hai king* gives another genealogy: *Chuan Hu* bore *Huan T'ou*). *Shen yi king* (ap. *Chang Shou-tsie*, *loc. cit.*) has a similar account, adding: »He is a very wicked man; without fearing wind or rain or wild beasts, he does not stop without defying death, his name is *Huan Tou*». *Kuo P'o*

¹⁾ Cf. the way in which *Lie* describes not only *Fu Hi*, *Nü Kua* and *Shen Nung* but also *Hia Hou* i. e. *Yü* as having »human face and snake's body, ox's head and tiger's nose» see p. 229 above.

(3rd c. A. D., in comm. on Shan hai king 6) adds a story: »Huan T'ou was a minister of Yao's who committed a crime and threw himself into the southern sea and died; the sovereign pitied him and let his sons dwell by the southern sea and sacrifice to him.»

Kun: Shen yi king (*loc. cit.*) says: »In the east there is a man, he has a human face but the body has much hair; he understands well water and land and knows where there are passages and blockings, he is self-reliant». Thus Kun is not considered as a monster. Shan hai king does not describe him, but embroiders the tale of his deeds and punishment: Kun stole the swelling mould (earth)¹⁾ of the emperor's and with it dammed up the flooding waters, without waiting for the emperor's orders; the emperor charged Chu Jung to kill Kun in the outskirts of Yü³ (the appearance of Chu Jung in this connection resembles the introduction of Chu Jung as the punisher of Kung Kung by Sî-ma Ts'ien, see p. 238 above). The Kuei tsang k'i shî varies the story further: »When Kun died, for 3 years his body did not rot; they cut it open with a sword from Wu (cf. Lü on p. 250 above), and he changed into a yellow dragon». ²⁾ Finally, still later, the Shî yi ki declares that he changed into a fish (a speculation based on the name Kun, which means a kind of fish).

San Miao: Shan hai king 17: »Outside the north-western sea, on the Hei shuei Black Water, there are people who have wings, their name is the Miao min, Miao people; Huan T'ou bore the Miao people». Shen yi king (*loc. cit.*) says: »In the western wilds there are people with face and eyes and hands and feet all in human shape, but under the armpits they have wings, yet they cannot fly, they are t'ao-t'ie gluttonous people, licentious and without norms, their name is Miao min, the Miao people.» — Huai: Miu ch'eng repeats Hanfei's story (p. 252) that the rebellious San Miao gave in without battle, after the solemn war dance, but here it is not Shun (as in Hanfei and Ts'ê) who performs but Yü (»Yü seized shield and battle-axe and danced between the two staircases, and the San Miao submitted»); and the same work distinguishes between San Miao and »Wing People»: Huai: Yüan tao: »To be able to correct the San Miao and bring to court (i. e. to submit) the Yü min Wing People, to transform the Lo kuo country of the Naked People and to bring into submission Su-shen...» (Lo kuo in the extreme south and Su-shen in the extreme north were legendary states subdued by Yü).

Thus we see that the pre-Han sources clearly distinguish the two sets: the »four ominous ones» are frankly monsters, derived from the popular demon beliefs; »the four punished ones» are bad »officers» and »rebels» but no supernatural beings. In early and middle Han time the second set is also made more or less supernatural

¹⁾ Magical earth which renewed itself when taken.

²⁾ This version of Kun's body not decomposing has been erroneously adduced for the interpretation of a Ch'u: T'ien wen passage, see p. 251 above.

(just as even the great Yü was made such in Lie), but still there is no identification of the two sets; there is, however, a first suggestion in this direction in the last case, the Shen yi king account of the San Miao, who were t'ao t'ie »gluttonous».

And this has given the Eastern Han scholasts a fruitful idea: the »ominous ones» were four, the »punished ones» were likewise four — were they not identical?

The Eastern Han commentators on Tso chuan, Fu K'ien and Kia K'uei, were the first to elaborate this brilliant idea:

»Ti Hung shi had an untalented son... Hun Tun» — Kia K'uei: an untalented son, that means his descendant Huan Tou.

»Shao Hao had an untalented son... K'iu K'ie» — Fu K'ien: that was Kung Kung.

»Chuan Hü had an untalented son... T'ao Wu» — Kia K'uei: that was Kun.

»Tsin Yün shi had an untalented son... T'ao T'ie» — here Kia and Fu are silent, but Cheng Hün (2nd c. A. D., in comm. on Shu: Yao tien ap. Kiang Sheng's ed.) steps in (possibly influenced by the Shen yi king above): T'ao T'ie, that was the San Miao!

This amusing speculation, it is but fair to say, did not satisfy all the early commentators. Kao Yu (comm. on Huai: Siu wu) has quite a different idea: Hun Tun was a descendant of Ti Hung shi, K'iu K'ie was a descendant of Shao Hao, T'ao T'ie a descendant of Tsin Yün shi, and these three: Hun Tun, K'iu K'ie and T'ao T'ie, were = San Miao »the three Miao», the rebels under Yao! (That leaves out the fourth: T'ao Wu). Wei Chao (3rd c.) in comm. on Kyü: Ch'u hia abandons the idea of the famous scholars of the 1st and 2nd centuries and prosaically assumes that the San Miao, who rebelled under Yao, were the descendants of the Kiu Li, who rebelled under Shao Hao. Nevertheless, the scholastic identification of the »four ominous ones» and the »four punished ones» has been victorious in the commentaries of later ages (and reverently accepted by western repeaters), until it was brusquely — and rightly — swept aside by critical scholars of the Ts'ing dynasty (in the Tung kien tsi lan; also by Liang Yü-sheng and others).

V A.

1. Tso: Wen 18 narrates: »Anciently, Kao Yang shi (= Chuan Hü) had eight talented sons, Ts'ang Shu, T'uei Ai, Ch'ou Yen, Ta Lin, Mang Hiang, T'ing Kien, Chung Jung and Shu Ta, the people of all the world called them Pa k'ai 八愷 »the Eight Felicitous ones»; Kao Sin shi (= K'u) had eight talented sons, Po Fen, Chung K'an, Shu Hien, Ki Chung, Po Hu, Chung Hiung, Shu Pao and

Ki Li.... the people called them Pa yüan 八元 »the Eight Great ones»; these sixteen families from generation to generation achieved their excellence and did not let their (name =) fame fall down; in the time of Yao, Yao could not promote them; when Shun was minister to Yao, he promoted the Eight Felicitous ones and made them preside over the August Earth, to regulate all the affairs, and there was nothing that was not in season and well-ordered, the Earth was regulated and Heaven gave achievement. He promoted the Eight Great ones and made them spread the five instructions in the four quarters...».

2. In Shu there is pleiad of prominent men around the emperors Yao and Shun.

We have already discussed Ch'ung and Li (see p. 234 above), and some other famous personages: Hi and Ho will be discussed later (see p. 262).

In Yao tien there is first a certain dignitary Fang Ts'i consulted by Yao and recommending Yao's son Chu⁴. *Ibid.* (now Shun tien) there is a series of nominations made by Shun: Po Yü (= Yü, son of Kun) is made sī-k'ung master of works; K'i² (son of K'u, see p. 215 above) is made Hou Tsi and hence master of agriculture; Sie (son of K'u, see p. 216) is made sī-t'u master of the multitudes (of instruction); Kao Yao is made shī master of justice; Ch'uei¹) is made kung-kung — this would seem to mean much the same as sī-k'ung master of (public) works, but all the legends describe Ch'uei as a great artisan, and it is better to say: master of the artisans; Yi 益 (*i²ek) is made yü master of forests; Po Yi² 夷 (*d²iər) is made chī-tsung master of rites; K'uei is made tien yüe master of music; Lung is made na yen councillor. Moreover the master of forests humbly (but in vain) recommends in his stead Chu⁴ (Yao's son), Hu², Hiung and P'i; and Ch'uei, the master of artisans, in the same way recommends Shu², Ts'iang (or, with Pan Ku and Cheng Hün, one person: Shu Ts'iang) and Po Yü².

Even inside the Shu this »system» is somewhat shaken, in that Po Yi² 夷 (*d²iər) reverts in Shu: Lü hing not as master of rites but as master of justice creating penal laws; on the other hand, as against this, the Yao tien system is confirmed in Kyü: Cheng yü: »Po Yi² (*d²iər) was one who could perform the rites to the Spirits and thus assist Yao». And that Kao Yao was the proper master of justice is confirmed *passim* (Shi: ode 299: »the good examiners [of the prisoners] are like Kao Yao»; Shu as quoted in Tso: Chao 14: »... those are the punishments of Kao Yao»; the authentic Chu shu ki nien: »The charge was given to Kao Yao to institute the punishments»).

Of these prominent men, the first three: Yü, founder of the Hia dynasty, K'i², ancestor of the Chou, and Sie, ancestor of the Shang-Yin, are famous. To K'i² (= Hou Tsi) is devoted a whole ode (ode 245, Sheng min)

¹) Lu Tê-ming reads the name in even tone, hence Ch'uei; Sü Miao in falling tone, hence Shuei; the name is also written Ch'uei², which in Ts'ie yün is read Ch'uei (even tone), in T'ang yün alternatively Shuei (falling tone).

telling the story of his miraculous birth and his vicissitudes in youth before becoming the great agricultural benefactor and institutor of a fundamental sacrifice.¹⁾

Kyü: Chou, shang tells us that as early as when the Hia were declining, P u C h u, H o u T s i's descendant (his son acc. to the Han scholars, and in any case very early in the line, as revealed by Tso: Wen 2) lost his charge as master of agriculture; but, nonetheless, Tso: Chao 9 asserts that the house (clan K i), because of the merits of the founder H o u T s i, right down from his time to the C h o u era possessed the districts of W e i², T' a i, J u e i, K' i³ and P i as their »western lands».

About S i e, the equally famous founder of the S h a n g house, nothing is known except the story of his miraculous birth, see p. 216 above.²⁾

Kao Yao is likewise very famous, a whole Shu chapter (Kao Yao mo, including the present chapter Yi Tsi) dealing with him; and, as we have just seen, his work as master of justice was universally acknowledged. He was the hero-ancestor of a grandee family which kept up his sacrifices far down into the Chou dynasty (Tso: Wen 6); the small states of L i u and L i a o were extinguished in 622 B. C., and a L u grandee, Tsang Wen-chung, exclaimed: »The sacrifices to K a o Y a o (with the appellation) T' i n g K i e n are extinguished, how brusquely!» — evidently the princes of L i u and L i a o regarded themselves as the descendants of K a o Y a o.

Of the remaining coadjutors of S h u n very little is known from pre-Han texts. C h' u e i is mentioned as a »clever artisan» in L ü: K u e i k u n g; in L ü: K u y ü e it is said that the emperor K' u (Y a o's predecessor) ordered Y u C h' u e i² the lord of C h' u e i² to make drums, bells and musical stones, and L i: M i n g t' a n g w e i speaks of the h o c h u n g set of bells of C h' u e i; in S ü n: K i e p i, C h' u e i is said to have made bows, and in M o: F e i j u, h i a to have made boats.

Y i (*iëk) is known principally from Meng: W a n C h a n g, shang, which gives the tradition that the great Y ü wanted to cede the throne to this Y i instead of to his son K' i⁴ (just as Y a o had ceded the throne to S h u n and S h u n to Y ü, instead of to their sons), but that Y i, after the »three years' mourning» after Y ü's death retired in favour of K' i⁴ to the south of the K i - s h a n mountain and the people all turned t o K' i⁴ (this story is also alluded to in Hanfei: W a i

¹⁾ See BMFEA 17, p. 71. His mother K i a n g Y ü a n trod on the big toe of God's footprint, became pregnant and »without bursting or rendings» bore H o u T s i; »they laid him in a narrow lane, the oxen and sheep between their legs nurtured him; they laid him in a forest of the plain, he was found by those who cut the forest; they laid him on cold ice, birds covered and protected him», etc.

²⁾ The proper graph for S i e was 𠂔, which occurs e. g. in Han shu: K u k i n j e n p i a o. It comes very near to the primeval form of the name occurring in the oracle bone inscriptions. This S i e (*s₁iat / s₁ät / sie) is phonetic in the char 𠂔 (*ts'iat / ts'iet / ts'ie), which confirms the reading. Why the scholars of the Han era, when transcribing the ancient texts into their current script, substituted a 契 (*k'iad, *k'iat) as loan char. for S i e (*s₁iat), a phonetically very unsatisfactory loan, is quite obscure.

ch'u, yu hia). Possibly our Yi is also identical with the Po Yi who in Lü: Wu kung is said to have been the inventor of wells. For Po Yi² (*d̥iər) see above. K'uei is more interesting. The word k'uei 夔 properly designates a fancy animal with only one foot (Chuang: Ts'iu shuei; cf. Kyü: Lu, hia, where Confucius says that K'uei is a »monster of the woods«), and since the »master of music« of Yao was already stated in the Yao tien to have a wonderful and magical command of the music (K'uei there says: »Oh, I strike the musical stones, when I knock on the musical stones, the hundred animals all dance«), the popular imagination of Chou time made him into a magical figure with »one foot«: (K'uei yi tsu 一足). An amusing illustration of this is a story told by Lü: Ch'a chuan: prince Ai of Lu asked Confucius if it were true that K'uei yi tsu »K'uei had only one foot«, but the master explained that Shun considered that K'uei yi tsu »K'uei, one man, was enough« (tsu meaning both 'foot' and 'enough') for the task of music-master, without need of any assistant! (Hanfei: Wai ch'u, tso hia tells the story with slight variations, making Yao the speaker. — The idea that K'uei should have a colleague reverts in Ta Tai: Wu ti tê, which says that Lung and K'uei together taught the [ritual] dancing). The folk-lore theme of the »one-legged music-master K'uei« of course is due to the fact that the ancient hero had as personal name the word for the magical, one-legged animal; it was exceedingly common in ancient China that people had names of animals as personal names — which certainly does not, in itself, reveal any »totemism«, as has often been proposed.¹) K'uei is further discussed in Li: Chung-ni hien kü, where Confucius says that K'uei was a great expert on music but less well versed in the rites. Tso: Chao 28 narrates that the music-master K'uei married a lady of the house of Yu Jeng shi, with unusually glossy black hair and hence called H ü a n T s ' i »the Black Consort«, and by her had a son Po Feng, a worthless fellow nicknamed Feng Shi »the Great Hog« (a pun: the word feng, his personal name, at the same time meaning 'great'); he was killed by Hou Yi³ of Yu K'üing (for whose legend see p. 311 below), which caused the extinction of the sacrifices to K'uei.

About the remaining prominent men: Hu, Hiung, P'i, Shu, Ts'iang, Po Yü² nothing at all is recorded.

In Shu: Yao tien (now Shun tien) there is, further, a much discussed phrase in which Yao requests the advice of Si Yüe »Four Mountains«. That this is the title of one person is clear from several pre-Han texts (though the Han scholars have other opinions, see B below). Tradition has a grandee T'ai Yüe »Great Mountain«, who is = the Si Yüe. This personage is identical with the Po Yi² 夷 (*d̥iər) above (p. 256), for Tso: Chuang 22 says: »(the clan) Kiang

¹) Particularly by Conrady. The son of Confucius had the personal name Li »Carp«; the carp was certainly not a »totem« of the K'ung family. — Observe that the small feudal state of K'uei had nothing to do with Shun's music-master; its feudal house was kindred to the Ch'u house, descendants of Chuan Hü, see p. 237 above.

are the descendants of T' ai Y ü e», whereas Kyü: Cheng yü says: »The clan K i a n g are the descendants of P o Y i²». This implies that this P o Y i² was a descendant of Y e n T i, for Tso: Ai 9 says: »Y e n T i was the Master of Fire, the clan K i a n g are his descendants». The identity of T' ai Y ü e and S i Y ü e is well established, on the one hand by Kyü: Chou, hia, which describes in detail how, after the troubles of K u n g K u n g and P o K u n (who caused and mismanaged the floods), Y ü regulated the floods aided by S i Y ü e, and how Heaven rewarded the S i Y ü e and gave him the clan name K i a n g (i. e. restored to him the clan name of his ancestors) and made him prince of L ü; on the other hand by Tso: Siang 14, which says that the J u n g (clan K i a n g) were descendants of S i Y ü e. Evidently the sacrifices to P o Y i² (= S i Y ü e = T' ai Y ü e) were kept up by the feudal houses of the clan K i a n g, sc. T s' i (clan K i a n g acc. to Tso: Yin 3, Kyü: Chou, hia), S h e n² (Tso: Yin 1), H i a n g (Tso: Yin 2), H ü (Tso: Yin 11) and K i⁴ (Tso: Huan 9). Kyü: Cheng yü expressly says: »His descendants never ceased his sacrifices, though he did not rise» (sc. to great prominence himself).

It should be pointed out, however, that in the Shu itself S i Y ü e is not identical with P o Y i², for the emperor S h u n says in Yao tien (Shun tien): »Oh, you S i Y ü e, is there anybody who can regulate my three kinds of rites? All (those present) said: there is P o Y i²». Chavannes concludes that the phrase »all said» shows that already to the Shu author S i Y ü e meant 4 persons, not one. But that is quite excluded, for the emperor sums up his deliberation with his coadjutors thus: »Oh, you 22 men», resuming the preceding paragraphs in which he successively addresses the S i Y ü e (1 person), the 12 Pastors, and the ministers Y ü, K' i², S i e, K a o Y a o, C h' u e i, Y i, P o Y i², K' u e i, L u n g (9 persons) — together 22 men (when Ma Jung believes that S i Y ü e were four, he calculates thus: K' i², S i e and K a o Y a o had already been nominated earlier and are not included in the figure 22 — a funny idea). Thus the Shu and the Tso-Kyü traditions diverge as to the identity of the S i Y ü e, though both clearly conceive him as one person.

To those grandees of the Shu in the entourage of S h u n should be added another: P o Y i³ 翳 (*iär) — different from the P o Y i 益 (*iëk) and P o Y i² 夷 (*diär) above; he is described in Kyü: Cheng Yü: »P o Y i³ (*iär) was one who could properly arrange all things and assist S h u n... the Y i n g house (feudal house of Ts'in) were his descendants... they never ceased his sacrifices, though he did not rise» (sc. he did not personally attain to great prominence).

V B.

The systematizing and early Han texts add some further items about the prominent men who »assisted» Shun.

S i - m a T s' i e n (Shi ki: Ts'in pen ki) further elaborates the Kyü theme of P o Y i³ 翳 (*iär) as the ancestor of the T s' i n house: Emperor C h u a n H ü

had a grand-daughter Nü Siu; when she was weaving, a swallow dropped an egg and she swallowed it and became pregnant and bore Ta Ye. This Ta Ye married a daughter of Shao Tien, called Nü Hua and begat Ta Fei, who assisted Yü in regulating the floods and helped Shun in domesticating birds and beasts; this Ta Fei was identical with Po Yi³; Shun gave him the clan name Ying and he became the ancestor of the Ts'in house. — Sī-ma has here even more than usual confused the ancient legendary themes. The theme of the swallow's egg is a clumsy plagiarism on the story of Kien Ti, mother of Sie (see p. 211). Shao Tien was the father of Yen Ti and Huang Ti, but Sī-ma makes a great-grandson of Chuan Hü marry a daughter of Shao Tien. Furthermore, a pre-Han text (Kuan: K'ing chung) has a certain Nü Hua who was one of the fatal ladies of Kie, the last Hia king (see p. 327 below); it would seem that Sī-ma has confused two different sets of legends.

Huai-nan-tsi adds another remarkable man to the set of great men around Shun, and he diverges from the list of «officers» of the Shu text (Huai: Ts'isu): in Yao's time, Shun was si-t'u (acc. to the Shu, Sie was si-t'u), Sie was si-ma master of the horse (a charge which does not figure in the Shu list), Yü was si-k'ung, Hou Tsi was ta-t'ien (master of the fields), Hi² Chung was kung (master of artisans) — the remaining officers not being mentioned. Thus Hi² Chung takes the place of Ch'uei of the Shu. The oldest entry about this Hi² Chung is Tso: Ting I, where he is stated to have been an ancestor of the princes of Sie² (since the Sie² house had the clan name Jen and were descendants of Huang Ti, see p. 278, Hi² Chung would then be a descendant of Huang Ti), and he was kü cheng «master of the war chariots» of the Hia¹); if we suppose Hia here to refer to the founder of the Hia, the great Yü, Hi² Chung could barely have been an official under Yao. Tso tells us that Hi² Chung first resided in Sie² and then moved to P'ei, and that a descendant of his was the famous Chung Huei (a coadjutor of T'ang, the first Shang king), who moved back to Sie². Evidently the legend of Hi² Chung was preserved and his sacrifices kept up in Chou time by the princes of Sie². But there is nothing in the pre-Han sources to connect Hi² Chung with Yao.

The Eastern Han scholars have speculated further on the two lists of grandees discussed under V A 1 and 2 above.

a) On the one hand, it has troubled the commentators that Kyü has a dignitary Po Yi³ 翳 (*iär) who does not figure in the Shu, the ancestor of the clan Ying, feudal house of Ts'in. Sī-ma Ts'ien, as we have seen, followed Kyü on this point, calling Po Yi³ (*iär) also Ta Fei and making him son of Ta Ye, great-grandson of Chuan Hü. Now Pan Ku (Han shu: Ti li chi) says: «The

¹) Mo: Fei ju, hia and Lü: Kün shou even say he was the inventor of carriages, and Kuan: Hing shi describes his skill.

ancestor of the Ts'in was P o Y i 益 (*iək) — thus identifying the P o Y i³ 翳 (*iər) of Kyü with the P o Y i (*iək) of the Shu (Wei Chao in comm. on Kyü follows this). And Pan's famous sister, Pan Chao, in comm. on Lie nü chuan, where Liu Hiang had it that »(K a o) Y a o's son assisted Y ü», asserts that K a o Y a o's son was = P o Y i (*iək). Thus, if all these identifications made by the Pan family scholars were correct, the system of persons would be greatly simplified: C h u a n H ü's great-grandson T a Y e = K a o Y a o, the latter's son T a F e i = P o Y i 益 (*iək) = P o Y i³ 翳 (*iər). But there is, as we have seen, not the slightest support for all this in the pre-Han sources.

b) Various picturesque details have been added to the tales of some of these worthies. One example may suffice. About K a o Y a o, the sage judge, W a n g C h' u n g (Lun heng: Shī ying) narrates: »At present, in the public offices, K a o Y a o and the (animal) k i e - c h a i are painted; the scholars explain that the k i e - c h a i is a ram with one horn, it has the nature that it knows the guilty; when K a o Y a o, deciding litigations, was in doubt, he ordered the ram to butt: the guilty one he butted, the innocent he did not butt». This is merely an application to K a o Y a o, the famous judge, of a well-known anecdote from the time of prince C h u a n g of Ts'i, narrated by Mo: Ming kuei, hia.

c) We saw that S i Y üe »Four Mountains» (= T' a i Y üe »Great Mountain») was the title of P o Y i² 夷 (*diər). That in spite of the »four» in the phrase he was one person, not four, was still realized in the 3rd c. A. D. by Wei Chao (comm. on Kyü: Chou, hia): »S i Y üe was an official title, he presided over the sacrifices to the Four (sacred) Mountains and was the leader (p o) of the feudal lords». But some Han-time scholars had already set off in a new speculative direction. Fu Sheng in Shang shu ta chuan (2nd c. B. C.) says: »In the first year he (the emperor) made an inspection tour to the eight leaders of the four (sacred) mountains» (s i y üe p a p o), and he enumerates them: Y a n g P o, Y i P o, H i a P o, H i P o, T s' i u P o, H o P o, T u n g P o (= 7; the 8th is skipped in the preserved text). Cheng Hün comments: Y a n g P o is = C h' u n P o (Spring leader), that was P o Y i² (*diər); Y i P o, that was a descendant of H i C h u n g (see p. 262 below); H i a P o (Summer leader), that was K' i² (H o u T s i); H i P o, that was a descendant of H i S h u (see p. 262); T s' i u P o (Autumn leader), that was K a o Y a o; H o P o, that was a descendant of H o C h u n g (see p. 262); T u n g P o (Winter leader), that was C h' u e i». But in his comm. on Shu: Yao tien the same Cheng Hün has a different speculation: »First, in the time of H i and H o (see p. 262) those who presided over the four mountains (s i y üe) were called s i p o »the four leaders» (i. e. H i C h u n g, H o C h u n g, H i S h u, H o S h u); when they died, one divided the tasks of the Mountains and instituted eight leaders p a p o; H u a n T o u, K u n g K u n g, F a n g T s' i and K u n were four of them; as to the remaining four, there are no documents from which they can be known».

This is a very instructive example of the value of Cheng Hsün's reconstructive speculations.

d) Just as in the cases studied in IV above: the «four ominous ones» which the commentators (arbitrarily and wrongly) identified with the «four punished ones», so here the scholars have been quick to connect our list under 1: «the eight felicitous ones» and «the eight great ones» acc. to Tso, with our list 2: the prominent men in the entourage of Yao, Shun and Yü acc. to the Shu. Thus, in comm. on Tso: Wen 18, Fu K'ien says: «The eight felicitous ones, that means such as Yü and Ch'uei», and Tu Yü (3rd c.) says more fully: «The eight felicitous ones, those are the category of Ch'uei, Yi 益 (*iék), Yü, Kao Yao... the eight great ones, those are the category of Tsi (Hou Tsi), Sie, Chu,⁴ Hu², Hiung and P'ie». In this case the commentators have better reasons than in regard to those studied under IV above, for here the lists have in fact some names in common. In group 1, among the «felicitous ones», sons of Chuan Hsü acc. to Tso, there figures T'ing Kien, which we have seen (p. 257) was the appellation of Kao Yao, one of the foremost coadjutors of Shun acc. to the Shu list. And among the «great ones», sons of K'u acc. to Tso, there are Po Hu and Chung Hiung, who may correspond to the Hu² and Hiung of the Shu list. Tu Yü has felt that the distance from Chuan Hsü to Shun was too long, and so he interprets the tsi «sons» of the Tso text as = «descendants», but that is quite arbitrary. Just as in the case of Yü's father Kun, contemporary of Yao and Shun, who was, according to all the ancient sources «son of Chuan Hsü», there is nothing to prevent Kao Yao (T'ing Kien) from being a «son of Kao Yang (Chuan Hsü)» — chronological improbabilities do not (as pointed out p. 214 above) worry the ancient legend-tellers: that Kao Yao was a son of Chuan Hsü may have been the tradition among the descendants of Kao Yao (*inter alia* the houses of Liu and Liao, see p. 257) who had him as the hero-founder of their line, and they troubled little about the question how this could be reconcilable with the long line from Chuan Hsü to Shun, which the descendants of Shun upheld as the tradition of their house.

VI A.

The venerable Shu: Yao tien starts with the famous passage about the dignitaries Hi and Ho. First we have the simple Hi — Ho, whom Yao charged to calculate and delineate (the movements of) the sun, the moon, the stars and the constellations. The orthodox interpretation (all from Shang shu ta chuan, 2nd c. B. C.) has always been that Hi — Ho were two: the eldest brothers in two families. Then, in the following lines, their younger brothers: Hi Chung, Hi Shu, Ho Chung, Ho Shu were charged to go to places in the east, south, west and north and there pin «receive as guest», i. e. receive and welcome, the rising etc. sun. In this long later passage there are various

astronomical data which have given rise to a whole body of literature,¹⁾ but we have no reason for going into it here. The important thing is that the author of the Shu chapter makes H i and H o a whole family of grandees, cult-masters who carried out the rites in the cult of the sun, moon and stars.²⁾

Undoubtedly this is the very reason why the whole book commences with the H i and H o: their sacral functions were of prime importance in the eyes of the author, and they should therefore have precedence of all the dignitaries of a more secular order, who come afterwards. Curiously enough, the voluminous pre-Han literature is otherwise almost entirely silent about the H i — H o. There are but a few and comparatively late references. Shī-tsī ap. Yi wen lei tsü 5, says: »The calendar was created by H i H o t s ī 羲和子 or, as quoted in T'ai p'ing yü lan 16, H i H o c h ī t s ī 之子, which may be translated in several ways: »the masters H i and H o»; or: »the master H i - H o»; or: »the son(s) of H i and H o»; or: »the son(s) of H i - H o». Thus it is here uncertain whether Shī-tsī took H i — H o as one or several persons. Lü: Wu kung says: H i H o c h a n j ī and if this phrase stood isolated, there would be nothing to prevent our translating: »H i and H o prognosticated (by means of) the sun». But the context is this: T a N a o made the k i a - t s ī (time cycle) . . . J u n g C h ' e n g made the calendar; H i H o prognosticated (by means of) the sun; S h a n g Y i prognosticated (by means of) the moon; H o u Y i prognosticated (by means of) the S u e i star» etc. Here it is quite clear that each functionary is a binominal name and H i H o is to be understood as one person. We might recall the fact that the cult-masters C h ' u n g and L i, originally clearly distinguished as two persons, were later on (in Han time) coalesced into one: C h ' u n g L i (see p. 237 above), and one is tempted to conclude that we meet with the same phenomenon here: some persons distinct in the early tradition (Shu): H i and H o, have been coalesced into one: H i H o, in the Lü text. But that is not in fact the true solution. It is obvious that the Shu passage, such as it is generally understood, is very artificial: H i — H o has been multiplied into 6 (3—3 brothers) in order to supply first two primary dignitaries: H i and H o (the eldest), who created the time-reckoning principles (and, acc. to later expounders, corresponded to Heaven and Earth) and then their younger doubles, who were made to represent the four cardinal points. It seems that this is a scholastic embellishment on the part of the Shu author. And in fact the very formulation of the Shu text shows that the first part about H i — H o who made the calculations did not

¹⁾ Cf. L. de Saussure, *Le texte astronomique du Yao tien*, TP 1907, and his great series *Les origines de l'astronomie chinoise* TP 1909 ff.

²⁾ The existence of such a cult is well established by many early sources; see for instance Tso: Chao 1: »When snow, frost, wind and rain are not timely, one makes the y u n g sacrifice to sun, moon, stars and constellations; other evidences in Kuan: K'ing chung, ki; Chou li: Ta tsung po, etc. (*passim* in the early literature). The sun as a divinity often appears in solemn oaths: »I swear it by the Sun» y u j u j ī (Tso: Siang 18).

originally belong together with the following about Hi Chung etc. The former runs: Nai ming Hi Ho k'in jo hao t'ien li siang ji yüe sing ch'en king shou jen shi »And then he charged Hi Ho reverently to follow the august Heaven and calculate and delineate sun, moon, stars, constellations and respectfully hand the people the seasons». The latter runs: Fen ming Hi Chung...shen ming Hi Shu...fen ming Ho Chung...shen ming Ho Shu...»Separately he charged Hi Chung (the next-eldest Hi)...» etc. If the two passages had originally belonged together, the first would necessarily have had: Nai ming Hi Po 伯 Ho Po »He charged the eldest Hi and the eldest Ho». In other words, if the two parts had originally belonged together, the eldest brothers would have been defined as such by a po 伯 'eldest brother', as distinct from the following Hi Chung, Hi Shu »the second Hi, the third Hi». That the text has nothing of the kind shows conclusively that the two parts did not originally form a consecutive whole. Let us examine the second part more closely; it commences: »Separately he charged Hi Chung, the second brother Hi, to dwell in Yü-yi, (at the place called) Yang-ku and respectfully receive as guest the rising sun and arrange the eastern actions; the day of medium length and the constellation Niao determine the middle spring, the people disperse, birds and beasts breed and copulate» (then follow similar observations regarding south-summer, west-autumn and north-winter). It is quite evident that the Yao tien is made up, by a writer in early Chou time, of several different earlier existing pieces. Immediately before our Hi — Ho section comes a verse (metrically translated by Chavannes MH I, p. 43); after that verse the compiler has placed the primary text about the cult-master of the sun, moon and stars: »And then he charged Hi Ho...» etc.; in the third place he has inserted a peasant calendar: »The day of medium length...» etc. But in order to hook this on to the preceding, this early scholast has hit upon the brilliant idea that there should be dignitaries corresponding to each of the four quarters: he seizes upon the Hi — Ho in the preceding passage and splits this up into two persons: Hi and Ho, and he supplies them each with two younger brothers: Hi Chung and Hi Shu representing east and south, Ho Chung and Ho Shu representing west and north. Once we have seen through this scholastic trick and peeled off the Hi Chung, Hi Shu, Ho Chung and Ho Shu, since they have no Hi Po and Ho Po corresponding to them in the primary text, which says simply: nai ming Hi Ho »and then he charged Hi — Ho», we have no longer any reason for translating this in the orthodox fashion inaugurated by the Shang shu ta chuan: »And then he charged Hi and Ho» (since they need not be two in order to correspond to the four Hi Chung, Hi Shu, Ho Chung, Ho Shu prefixed by the scholast to the calendar passage), but we should translate the original (pre-Yao-tien) text thus: »And then he charged Hi Ho (one person) reverently to follow the august Heaven and calculate and

delineate sun, moon, stars and constellations and respectfully hand the people the seasons». That this is the only correct translation is then confirmed by the Lü passage above: »Hi Ho prognosticated (by means of) the sun». In the Shī-tsī passage we should likewise translate: »The one who created the calendar was Hi Ho tsī master Hi Ho» (in accordance with the Yi wen lei tsü quotation).

We have thus arrived at a pre-Han (and very early attested) legend about a cult-master Hi Ho who observed the heavenly bodies and, as cult-master, prognosticated by means of the sun. At his side we find (though only attested in the 3rd c., Lü) another personage, Shang Yi, who was evidently a cult-master in the moon cult, since he prognosticated by means of the moon.

The master Hi Ho occurs in two more pre-Han texts. In Ch'u: Li sao, the poet in his imagination makes his long journey to the west; the sun is about to set: »I order Hi Ho to slow down the tempo (of the sun)».¹⁾ In other words: the cult-master of the sun, Hi Ho, is prayed to that he might exert his magical power and make the sun move more slowly. Similarly, in Ch'u: T'ien wen we find: »Where does the sun not reach to? What does the torch-dragon illuminate? When Hi Ho has not yet raised (the sun), how can the Jo flower shine?» (Hi Ho chī wei yang 未揚 — yang is a transitive verb (as usual) and the line does not mean, as has often been stated: »when the hi-ho sun has not yet risen»; hi ho is never the name of the sun itself¹⁾).

It should be observed that in these two passages the cult-master Hi Ho is conceived as having the (magical) power of influencing and directing the movements of the sun. This is entirely in accordance with the ancient Chinese ideas. The whole chapter Yüe ling (in Li and Lü), for instance, centres around the idea that the king, by his rites, sets the seasons functioning.

VI B.

In the systematizing and early Han texts the Hi Ho legend has been elaborated in various fashions.

On the one hand, »Hi and Ho» are made into official titles held by successive generations. Shī pen says that Huang Ti already charged Hi (and) Ho to prognosticate by aid of the sun, and Ch'ang Yi² (identical with Shang Yi of Lü above) to prognosticate by aid of the moon. Sī-ma Ts'ien (Shī ki: Li shu) first quotes the Kyü: Ch'u, hia as to the functions in the time of Chuan Hü of Ch'ung and Li (see p. 235) of attending to the rites of Heaven and Earth respectively,²⁾ and the action of Yao when he »again

¹⁾ All from the comm. Wang Yi (2nd c. A. D.) this line has been understood thus: Hi Ho is the coach-driver of the sun, cf. p. 267 below; thus: »I order Hi Ho (the driver) to slow down the speed (of the sun-chariot)». But Chu Hi reverts to the correct idea that this pre-Han text should be interpreted in accordance with the pre-Han ideas: Hi Ho was the cult-master of the sun.

²⁾ It is amusing to observe how Si-ma, who in Ch'u shī kia has made Ch'ung and Li into one: Ch'ung-Li (in the wake of the Ta Tai: Ti hi), here follows Kyü and makes them two distinct persons.

elevated the descendants of Ch'ung and Li, such (of them) as had not forgotten the old (rites) and let them preside over them». Sī-ma then continues: »And then he instituted the offices of Hi and Ho (er li Hi Ho chī kua n)», thus making Hi and Ho the official titles of the descendants of Ch'ung and Li in Yao's time (cf. p. 235 above). Again (in Shī ki: Hia pen ki) Sī-ma tells us that well into the Hia dynasty, »in the reign of Chung K'ang, Hi and Ho plunged into dissipation, neglected the seasons and brought disorder into the days; the prince of Yin 胤 went and punished them, and one made the (Shu chapter) Yin cheng».¹⁾

On the other hand, the Shan hai king, here as in many cases discussed earlier, has seized upon the Hi Ho and Shang Yi (Ch'ang Yi²) legends and attached to them various nature myths current in Han time but entirely unknown to the pre-Han sources. Hi Ho, as we have seen, was the Yao-time cult-master of the sun, and Shang Yi (Ch'ang Yi²) — at an undetermined epoch — the cult-master of the moon, and this has given the key-note. K. 15 says: »Outside the south-eastern sea, in the Sweet Water, is the country of Hi Ho; there is a woman called Hi Ho who bathes the suns in the Sweet Abyss (var.: Sweet Spring); Hi Ho, she is the wife of emperor Tsün, she bore the ten suns»³⁾ (we have seen above that the »emperor Tsün» is quite undeterminable: if the data of the Shan hai king are correlated with those of pre-Han texts, he would sometimes be K'u, sometimes Shun, sometimes a ruler prior to Shao Hao, see p. 227 above). In the same book (k. 15) it is further said: »There is a woman who bathes the moons; Ch'ang Hi, wife of emperor Tsün, bore the twelve moons».³⁾ This Ch'ang Hi 常羲 is obviously identical with the Shang Yi 尚儀 of Lü and Ch'ang Yi² 常儀 of Shī pen (shang and ch'ang, graphically cognate, were both *d^hiang, though in different tones; hi was *xia and yi was *ngia).⁴⁾

¹⁾ In part Sī-ma has here drawn upon the Shu Sū, Preface to the Shu; but that work contains nothing about any »king Chung K'ang», cf. p. 322.

²⁾ The legend of the »ten suns» is well-known from pre-Han sources, but belongs to a totally different cycle of myths, see VII below. Ten suns correspond to the ten days of a sūn primary Chinese week, and to the ten »stems» of the denary cycle.

³⁾ The twelve moons, of course, correspond to the 12 months of the year, and the 12 »branches» of the duodenary cycle.

⁴⁾ Strangely enough, Maspero (J. As. 1924, p. 15) would identify this Shang Yi - Ch'ang Yi² with a person Heng Ngo 姮娥 who in Huai: Lan ming is said to have stolen the drug of immortality and fled to the moon; indeed, there are later variants of the name that seem suggestive: Ch'ang Ngo 常娥 (Sū Han shu) 嫦娥 (pseudo-Kuei tsang ap. Yü lan 984). But the reason adduced by Maspero is curious: in Han time, graphs with the phonetic heng were »taboo» in order to avoid the imperial name Heng 恆 and were replaced by characters ch'ang 常 and derivatives. Hence a correct Heng Ngo (as above) was replaced by the form Ch'ang Ngo (as above), which again, through the influence of the Name Hi Ho (羲和) would have been corrupted into Ch'ang Hi and then Ch'ang Yi (as above). But it is easily seen that the form Heng Ngo appears precisely in a Han text (Huai), whereas the forms with Ch'ang appear in post-Han time,

In Eastern Han time, Wang Yi has added the idea that H i H o was »the coach-driver of the sun» and interpreted a Ch'u: Li sao passage accordingly (see p. 265 above). Probably he has hit upon this bright idea thanks to a beautiful metaphor in Chuang: Sū Wu-kuei: »You should mount the sun chariot and roam in the wilds of Siang-ch'eng». But his interpretation immediately betrays its forced character: H i H o would first be the mother of the ten suns and bathe them in the Sweet Water; and then she would change into their servant: the coach-driver who drives them over heaven; no corresponding double nature is attributed to S h a n g Y i (Ch'ang Yi², Ch'ang Hi), the mother of the twelve moons; the coach-driver of the moon, according to Han time lore, was not their mother Ch'ang Yi² but a personage called Wang Shu (see Wang Yi's comm. on Ch'u: Li sao).

VII A.

There are two myths which are never mixed up in the pre-Han texts, but later on have coalesced: that of the »ten suns» and that of Yi³ the Archer.

1. In Ch'u: Chao hun it is said of the T u n g f a n g Eastern region (of which the soul of the dead is warned): s h ī j ī t a i c h ' u »Ten suns alternately come out, they melt the metal and fuse the stones». Here it is stated that the ten suns (corresponding to the days of a s ū n ten days week) come out one for each day. This conception is alluded to in Lü: K'iu jen, where it is described how Y a o wanted to cede the throne to H ū Y u (see p. 292); Yao said: »When the ten suns come out, if then the torches are not extinguished, is that not (unnecessary) labour» (in other words: when you, a sun, are here, why should I, a mere torch, remain on the throne?). But then there was further the legendary theme of a disturbance in the natural order which presages disaster; there are many such catastrophes in ancient literature, and one of them is that all the suns come out t o g e t h e r, causing great damage. The authentic Chu shu ki nien says: »Heaven had a bad portent: ten suns came out together; that year Yin Kia died» (he was one of the last Hia kings, see p. 315 below). In Chuang: Ts'i wu lun, this theme is used for a metaphor: Y a o discusses with S h u n his wish to attack certain small states, and S h u n says: »Anciently, ten suns came out together and the myriad things all without exception were exposed to the light (there was an excess of brightness); the t ê (virtue, mental power) is even stronger than the sun» (why can you not let those states alone; why must you bring them under your influence?).

2. There is a myth about a certain Yi³ who was a great archer, mentioned *en passant* in many places (Lun: Hien wen, Meng: Kao tsī, Sün: Wang pa, Kuan:

when there was no reason for the taboo. Moreover, the oldest form of the name of the diviner of the moon is S h a n g Y i (Lü, pre-Han), and here certainly the S h a n g 尙 cannot be due to any Han taboo. Altogether, this identification is but an arbitrary and wild speculation, but quite old, as shown by the contamination form Ch'ang Ngo of the Sū Han shu.

Hing shī, etc). When Mo: Fei ju, hia and Lü: Wu kung say that »Y i³ made bows», it would seem that he was a primeval inventor; but that is not necessarily so, for Lü (*ibid.*) says that »Y i T i made spirits», and she was a comparatively late personage (a lady of Yü's, see p. 306 below). The »making of bows» has been ascribed to various persons (by Sün to Ch'uei², Y a o's master of artisans, by Shī pen to M o u K ' u a etc.), and the entries simply mean that he was a famous maker of bows. Indeed, the legend of Y i³, the archer, is well known and full of detail as told in Tso: Ch'eng 4. He was a grandee in the early part of the H i a dynasty, and will be studied p. 311 below. He was a great hunter and a marvellous shot, but he was arrogant and presumptuous and came to a bad end. One feature of his hybris is told in Ch'u: T'ien wen: »Why did Y i³ shoot at the sun, why did the raven shed its feathers» (here the theme that there is a raven in the sun crops up for the first time). For the sacrilegious act of shooting at the sun as an expression of one's hybris, cf. the story of K'ang wang of Sung (328—286 B. C.) who, according to Ts'ê: Sung Wei was so full of hybris that he »shot at Heaven and flogged the Earth, cut down the altars of the Soil and Grain» etc. (for further details see Lü: Kuo li).¹⁾

VII B.

We have seen above that the Shan hai king converts H i H o, the cult-master of the sun in Y a o's time, acc. to the pre-Han traditions, into a woman, wife of the emperor T s ü n, a lady who bore the ten suns and bathed them. Since H i H o was, as all Han-time scholars well knew, connected with the emperor Y a o, and since the emperor T s ü n in several other contexts in the Shan hai king means emperor K ' u (see p. 227), it is evident that here too T s ü n is identical with K ' u. This »dating» at once reveals how loosely the Shan hai king author has hooked on a Han-time nature myth to the pre-Han hero myths: that he attaches such a primeval legend as the creation of the ten suns to such a late potentate as T s ü n = K ' u immediately gives him away; the H i H o myth and the myth of the ten suns originally had nothing to do with each other, they are quite artificially merged together in this Han-time speculation. Now, however, the Han-time writers were familiar with their T'ien wen of pre-Han time, where it was said that Y i³, the archer (of the early Hia dynasty) shot at the sun, and they immediately went on to transpose the Y i³ myth from the H i a dynasty to the time of H i H o, i. e. to the time of Y a o. And since there were ten suns, and normally there is but one, evidently Y i³ shot down nine suns and left only one! Thus Huai: Pen king: »When it came to Y a o's time, ten suns together came out, burned the crops, killed grass and trees, and the people had

¹⁾ Si-ma Ts'ien has transferred this theme of the shooting at Heaven, with many embellishments, to one of K'ang wang's ancestors, W u Y i, one of the last Yin kings, see Chavannes, MH. I p. 198. Wang Ch'ung (Lun hêng: Kan hū) has applied it to K i e, the last H i a king and to C h o u², the last Y i n king.

nothing to eat; (the monsters) Ya Yü, Ts'o Ch'î, Kiu Ying, Ta Feng², Feng Hi, Siu Shê all did harm to the people; Yao then made Yi³ kill Ts'o Ch'î in the wilds of Ch'ou-hua, kill Kiu Ying on the Hiung-shuei river, fetter Ta Feng² in the marsh of Ts'ing-k'iu; above he shot at the ten suns, and below he killed Ya Yü, cut Siu Shê in Tung-t'ing and captured Feng Hi in Sang-lin; all the people rejoiced and made Yao emperor. And in Huai: Fan lun it is added: »Yi³ eliminated the harm of the world; when he died, they made tsung-pu sacrifices (to him)».¹⁾

But we have seen above that the Han-time legend of Hi Ho, wife of Tsün (= K'u) and mother of the ten suns, has a counterpart in Ch'ang Hi, wife of Tsün (= K'u) and mother of the twelve moons; hence, the Huai authors conclude, Yi³ the archer must also be connected with the moon legends, and so we find in Huai: Lan ming: »Yi³ begged for the drug of immortality from Si Wang Mu, but Heng Ngo (see p. 266 above) stole it and fled to the moon»!

The Shan hai king has various other entries bearing upon these Han-time nature myths. The battle of Yi³ with Ts'o Ch'î is described in k. 6. The monsters who acc. to Huai were killed by Yi³ are depicted; but the Ya Yü is described first (k. 3) as a monster of the north (ox's shape with red body, human face and horse's feet), secondly (k. 10) as a monster of the south (having a dragon's head) thirdly (k. 11) as a monster of the west (this illustrates what a frightful *mixtum compositum* the Shan hai king really is). Further, k. 18 says that the emperor Tsün gave Yi³ a red bow with white silk cord in order to help the states below; k. 19 says that »at T'ang-ku (= Yang-ku of the Shu, in the extreme east) there is the tree Fu-sang, that is where the ten suns bathe: to the north of the Hei Ch'î (»Black Teeth» people), out in the water, there is a big tree, nine suns sit on its lower branches, one sun sits on its top branch»; k. 14 adds: »When one sun arrives, another goes out, all of them carry ravens» (Huai: Tsing shen expounds this theme further: »in the sun there is a three-legged raven, in the moon there is a toad»).

Of all these Han-time myths there are no traces to be found in the pre-Han literature.

Needless to say, the Eastern Han scholars have further embroidered these various themes; a few examples will be sufficient. Kao Yu (comm. on Huai): Heng Ngo was the wife of Yi³; the Ya Yü is an animal with a dragon's head, who eats people and lives in the west; Ts'o Ch'î is another animal with teeth 3 feet long, reaching below the chin, who holds dagger-axe and shield; the Siu Shê (»Long Snake») swallows elephants and their bones come out after 3 years, etc.

¹⁾ This directly contradicts the original Yi³ myth, in which he met with an ignominious death, see p. 312.

Already in Middle Han time, however, new variants of the myth crop up. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Shuo ji) discards Y i³ the archer and says: »In the time of Y a o, ten suns came out together and scorched everything, whereupon Y a o shot at them; hence they were never seen together any more on the same day». He varies the details in Lun heng: Twei tso: »Y a o shot arrows at nine of them».

VIII A.

There is a somewhat enigmatic name Si Wang Mu which has given rise to a whole body of literature among sinologues. The earliest sovereign with which Si Wang Mu is connected by the ancient tradition is the emperor Shun: Ta Tai: Shao hien tells us how Shun had an enormous realm; Shuo-fang and Yu-tu in the north came and submitted to him, in the south he conquered Kiao-chi; Si Wang Mu came and presented white (i. e. jade) flutes». In this connection, where Si Wang Mu balances Shuo-fang, Yu-tu and Kiao-chi (names of countries), it is quite clear that the name applies to a state, a people; hence Erya: Shī ti says: Ku-chu, Pei-hu, Si Wang Mu and Jī-hia, those are the four huang 荒 farthest wilds.¹⁾ Still more clearly this is expressed in Sün, Ta lüe, where it is said that Yao studied under the wise Kün Ch'ou, Shun under Wu Ch'eng Chao and Yü under Si Wang Kuo (the prince of) the Si Wang state. This land of Si Wang Mu crops up again in the traditions about much later eras. The Mu t'ien tsī chuan, k. 3, says that »on the auspicious day kia tsī the Son of Heaven (i. e. Mu wang of Chou) was received as a guest by Si Wang Mu; he held a white kuei sceptre and a dark pi jade and saw Si Wang Mu... Si Wang Mu twice bowed and received them;... on the day yi ch'ou the Son of Heaven drank to the health of Si Wang Mu on the Yao-ch'ī Jade pond; Si Wang Mu made a verse to the Son of Heaven, running...». In this passage the tradition is clearly that the Son of Heaven exchanged courtesies with the ruler of the state Si Wang Mu or Si Wang Kuo above. Its position is further determined as being far to the west of Tsung Chou, the Chou capital, the distance reckoned in several very extensive stages (the last of these being: »from the K'ün yü chi shan »mountain of numerous jades» westwards to the Si Wang Mu chi pang state of Si Wang Mu there are 3000 li»: for further details, see Chavannes, MH I, p. 480 ff.). One might object that in these accounts Si Wang Mu is not the name of the state but the title of its ruler (a person), but it is quite clear by reference to the Ta Tai and Erya texts above that Si Wang Mu is the land and its ruler is called by the name of the state, just as in the same Ta Tai passage

¹⁾ Huang fu is the zone or domain farthest away from the royal domain proper, according to Shu: Yü kung.

above it is said that Shuo-fang and Yu-tu lai fu came and submitted» — here the state names serve as denominations for their princes.¹⁾

Another text likewise places Si Wang Mu in the far west. The authentic Chu shu ki nien says, on the one hand, that »He (presumably Mu wang) in the west marched to the K'un-lun mountains and visited Si Wang Mu», on the other hand it says that »(the ruler of) Si Wang Mu came and visited and was received as guest in the temple of Chao (wang)».

Thus, all the pre-Han sources give the tradition of Si Wang Mu as a far-away western state, and at the same time this state name serves as a designation for its ruler.

There is in fact no reason to conclude from the mu 母 »mother» which forms part of the name that ancient tradition made this ruler a lady, a queen; on the contrary the legend about Yü just quoted: that he studied under Si Wang Kuo (the ruler of) the Si Wang state, just as Yao and Shun had studied under two other sage gentlemen, suggests a male ruler (Yü would not have had a female teacher). I am therefore inclined to believe that the character 畝 *mæg / mzu / mu is a short-form for 畝 *mæg / mzu / mu 'acre, farmed field' — if this far-western state was situated (according to the legend) on the border of the »Floating Sands» (the desert, see B below), it would be quite natural to call it »the Acres, farmed lands (the oasis) of the Western Kings».²⁾

VIII B.

In early Han time, Si Wang Mu is still treated as both a country and its ruler in several texts: Lie: Chou Mu wang repeats the story of Mu wang as already related in Mu t'ien ts'i chuan above. Huai: Chuei hing enumerates a series of localities (and countries), e. g. Hien Yüan, Yu Sung, San-wei, Lung-men etc. and in this series we find: Si Wang Mu is situated on the border of the Floating Sands (tsai Liu sha chi pin). But then in another Huai text (Huai, as we know, is a collective work of many authors) and in Shan hai king Si Wang Mu is for the first time presented under quite a new aspect: a lady and demon — the female nature being, of course, suggested by the character mu 母 in the name. Shan hai king k. 2: Yü shan (the Jade Mountain), that is where Si Wang Mu resides; Si Wang Mu's shape is human, with a

¹⁾ This is exceedingly common in ancient texts, e. g. Shī: ode 263: »Sü-fang came to court». We have seen above that Chuang: Ta tsung shī enumerates early potentates who acquired the tao: Huang Ti acquired it and thereby ascended the cloudy heaven; Chuan Hū acquired it and thereby dwelt in the Dark Hall; (the ruler of) Yü K'iang acquired it and thereby took his place at the northern pole; (the ruler of) Si Wang Mu acquired it and thereby dwelt in Shao-kuang. Here Si Wang Mu is the designation of the ruler himself.

²⁾ There is an important corroborating parallel. 畝 'acre' is the same word as 畝 *mæg / mzu / mu 'acre' (variant graphs); observe that in Shu Sü (Preface to Shu) the phrase yi mu 異畝 »different acres» is reproduced as 異母 in Shī ki: Chou kung shī kia, with precisely this short-form: 母 for 畝 = 畝, as in our name Si wang Mu, according to the theory proposed above.

leopard's tail, a tiger's teeth; S. is skilled in howling, has dishevelled hair and carries on the head a sheng 勝 hair-ornament; that person directs the t'ien ch'ili 天之厲 and the wu ts'an 五殘 »(to the meaning of which we shall revert presently). K. 16 has a similar account, adding that Si Wang Mu lives in a cave. It is here the feature of the sheng »hair-ornament« which reveals S. as a woman (cf. Chavannes MH V, p. 483). Similarly Huai: Lan ming says that si lao 老 ch'ê sheng »the old one of the west breaks the hair-ornament«; but, as pointed out by Sun Yi-jiang, lao 'old' here (in view of the lady's ornament) is very probably a short-form for 姦, as often, and the phrase means: »the old woman of the west...«¹⁾

What, then, is the meaning of the t'ien ch'ili and the wu ts'an above? Maspero (J. A. 1924, p. 35) says Si Wang Mu is »the goddess of epidemics«. In fact, li 厲 sometimes (for 癘) serves in this sense (e. g. in Li: T'an kung), but the character has many other meanings, and its sense here is very uncertain; it can mean 'ugly, cruel, noxious, demon', and it is here combined with ts'an which means 'cruel, noxious, to hurt'. It would be more reasonable to think that Si Wang Mu directed the »cruel ones (demons) of Heaven« and the »five noxious ones«, i. e. on the whole the malignant Spirits. On the other hand, Ho Yi-hang (comm. on Shan hai king) argues that Li and Wu ts'an were names of stars, governed by Si Wang Mu; Wu ts'an, sure enough, is a star mentioned in Sh'ki: T'ien kuan shu. But when Ho would identify Li with Mao 昴 (basing himself on a gloss by Cheng Hsün) he is less convincing. In any case Ho is right in stating that Si Wang Mu has some connection with the heavenly bodies. We have seen above that the sun has a three-legged raven; now in the Ta jen fu (Sh'ki k. 117) of Sī-ma Siang-ju (2nd c. B. C.) it is said: »I now see Si Wang Mu; she brilliantly has a white head, on the head she has a hair-ornament and dwells in a cave, she is lucky to have the three-legged raven as her messenger«.²⁾ We further saw above the Han-time connection and parallism between the sun myth and the moon myth (Hi Ho and the 10 suns, Ch'ang Hi and the 12 moons, both wives of emperor Ts'ün), and the two myths come in contact with each other and with the Si Wang Mu legend in Huai: Lan ming: »When Yi³ the archer begged for the drug of immortality from Si Wang Mu (who had a three-legged bird — the sun bird), Heng Ngo stole it and fled to the moon«.

¹⁾ The Mu t'ien ts'ī chuan, as quoted by Kuo P'o in comm. on Shan hai king 2, gives some verses exchanged by Mu wang and Si Wang Mu, and in the latter S. says: »I am ti n'ü 帝女 the daughter of a sovereign (God)«; if this were reliable, the idea of S. being a woman would go back to pre-Han time; but the text of the Mu t'ien ts'ī chuan such as we have it in an early (Sung) edition of the Han Wei ts'ung shu (photogr. repr. by the Commercial Press), has merely: wo wei ti »I am a God«, so that nothing can be based on this passage. On the whole, the text history of the Mu t'ien ts'ī chuan is very obscure and has never been reliably investigated.

²⁾ Shan hai king k. 12: »Si Wang Mu leans on a stool and carries a hair-ornament and staff; to the south there are three blue birds, they bring food to Si Wang Mu.«

IX A.

The pre-Han texts often speak of some *t'u* »drawing» or »map» and *shu* »document» which came out of some sacred rivers and were good auspices. Shu: Ku ming already tells us that the *H o t'u* 河圖 »drawing-tablet of the *H o*» (Yellow River) belonged to the regalia of the earliest Chou. Yi: Hi ts'ī, hia says: »The *H o* brought forth the *t'u* drawing, the *L o* (river) 洛 brought forth the *shu* 書 document». This statement recurs in Kuan: Siao k'uang. Confucius complains (Lun: Tsī han) that »the *H o* does not bring forth any drawing» (gives no more happy portent). Mo: Fei kung, hia says: »The *H o* brought forth a green drawing-tablet». Li: Li yün says: »The *H o* brought forth the horse's drawing (*ma t'u*)». The pre-Han texts that connect the myth with any specific sovereign are few. Shī-tsī says: »When *Y ü* had regulated the floods, and looked into the *H o*, he saw a tall white-faced man with fish body who said: I am the *tsing* essence of the *H o*; he gave *Y ü* the *H o t'u* drawing of the *H o*, and then he returned into the deep». On the other hand Mo: Fei kung, hia refers the event to *Wen wang* of *Chou*: »When Heaven ordered *Wen wang* to attack the state of *Yin*... the *H o* brought out a green drawing» (later on, Huai: Shu chen supplies the detail that the *L o* document was red). Lü: Ying t'ung has another version of the tale: »In *Wen wang*'s time, Heaven first showed fire, and then a red raven carrying a red document (*tan shu*) in its mouth descended on the *Shê* altar of *Chou*».

IX B.

The Han time lore deviates from all this.

Huai-nan-tsī seems to place the events prior to the time of *Yao*, for he says (Huai: Shu chen): »The *L o* brought out a red document, the *H o* brought out a green drawing, therefore *H ü Yu*, *Fang Huei*, *Shan Küan* and *Pei Yi* could perfectly understand the norms» — as we shall see below (p. 292) *H ü Yu* was *Yao*'s teacher and *Pei Yi* was *H ü Yu*'s teacher's teacher's teacher.

In middle Han time, Liu Hin (ap. Han shu: Wu hing chī) declares that it was *Fu Hi* who received the drawing-tablet of the *H o* and by aid of it made the 8 trigrams; and that *Y ü*, having regulated the floods, was given the document of the *L o* and by aid of it made the *H ung fan* »Great rule» (a chapter in Shu)! *Hü Shen*: Shuo wen says that (*Yao*'s mother) *K'ing Tu* went out and looked at the *H o* (river) and then a red dragon carried on its back a drawing and presented it; it was called »the drawing conferring the empire». Kao Yu (comm. on Huai: Siu wu) likewise says it was *K'ing Tu* who received the *H o* drawing. Cheng Hün (2nd c.) adds in comm. on Shu that it was a dragon who brought the *H o* drawing and a turtle who brought the *L o* document; whereas in comm. on Li: Li yün, which speaks of a »horse's drawing», Cheng has to say that it was a »dragon-horse» who carried the drawing on its back.

Huang-fu Mi (Ti wang shī ki, 3rd c. A. D.) associates the legend in the first place with Huang Ti: In Huang Ti's 50th year, 7th month, on the day keng shen(!), Heaven made a great mist for three days and nights; after it was gone, the emperor promenaded on the bank of the Lo river; he saw a great fish which carried on its back a drawing and a document; he killed three victims and sacrificed to it; Heaven then rained for nine days and nights, and the fish swam to the sea, and thus he got the drawing and the document». On the other hand, the same Huang-fu Mi (Ti wang shī ki) connects the legend with Yao: »Yao led the feudal princes and ministers and threw a pi jade into the Ho; he received the drawing and the document; those were the present treatises Shang shu chung hou and Wo ho ki».

X A.

On p. 237 above we saw that Chuan Hū's son Li, the Chu Jung, had various descendants, among them the lord of P'eng Tsu, belonging to the P'eng clan (the systematizing text Ta Tai: Ti hi, giving him the personal name of Tsien, made him a son, not of Li but of Li's brother Wu Huei). Certain grandees of the P'eng clan have played an important part in the legends.

On the one hand, (the lord of) P'eng Tsu has become a Chinese Methusaleh. Chuang: Ta tsung shī tells us that »P'eng Tsu obtained it (the tao) and thereby upwards reached to the time of Yu Yü² (the Yu Yü² dynasty, last emperor Shun), downwards reached to (the time of) the Five Hegemons (7th c. B. C.), i. e. lived for a great number of centuries. It should be observed that Yu Yü² here does not, as is usually supposed, mean Shun but only the dynasty prior to the Hia (see p. 218 above). In Ch'u: T'ien wen there is a passage about a person P'eng K'eng obscure in its first part but in its latter part clearly referring to an extreme old age: »P'eng K'eng served pheasant (soup), how did the sovereign enjoy it? He received a longevity that was very great, how was it extended?» Evidently the P'eng Tsu of Chuang and the P'eng K'eng of Ch'u are identical.

On the other hand, a certain Lao P'eng occurs in three texts. Ta Tai: Yü tai tê states that »anciently, Lao P'eng and Chung Huei² taught the dignitaries the art of government» etc. Since Chung Huei² was the famous minister of T'ang, the first Shang king (see p. 329 below), the passage might suggest that Lao P'eng was his contemporary and colleague. There is, in fact, an early text which seems to support this. Mo: Kuei yi narrates: »When T'ang went to see Yi Yin, he ordered the gentleman of the house of P'eng (P'eng shī chī tsī) to drive his chariot» (a great distinction), and a conversation between them is recorded. Again, Confucius (Lun: Shu er) says that in his love for antiquity he is an equal of Lao P'eng's. — There is really nothing definite to connect the P'eng Tsu or P'eng K'eng

of Kyü, Chuang and Ch'u above with the Lao P'eng of Ta Tai, Mo and Lun — except for the bare fact that the latter name contains the word lao 'old' and refers to a man »loving antiquity», which might seem appropriate to a Methusaleh.

X B.

The systematizers and Han-time scholars have been greatly troubled about P'eng Tsu and Lao P'eng.

The Shī pen is the first to add some concrete details. Under clan Fang (evidently a variant for P'eng) it says that a man with the family name of Tsien (cf. Ta Tai in A above) and the personal name of K'eng (cf. Ch'u above) in the Shang dynasty was keeper of the archives (shou tsang li) and in the Chou dynasty was palace scribe (chu hia shī) and lived 800 years, which suggests that its author already identified P'eng K'eng (P'eng Tsu) the Methusaleh with Lao P'eng (who was then presumably the archivist of T'ang's time). Ta Tai: Wu ti tê (which is closely connected with the following systematizing chapter Ti hi) tries to define the exact time of P'eng Tsu's appearance: »(Yao) promoted Shun and P'eng Tsu». Sī-ma Ts'ien seized upon this (Shī ki: Wu ti pen ki): »When Shun became emperor, Yü, Kao Yao etc. . . and P'eng Tsu, who had already been in service under Yao, got their functions more precisely determined»(!). This dating of P'eng Tsu by the Ta Tai author and Sī-ma is highly typical of the methods of the systematizers. We saw that Chuang: Ta tsung shī said in a general way that P'eng Tsu, the Methusaleh, lived from the time of Yu Yü² (the Yu Yü² dynasty, i. e. pre-Hia times) and down to the age of the 5 Hegemons. But the Ta Tai author and Sī-ma prefer to take Yu Yü² in the sense of Shun (who is often called Yu Yü² the lord of Yü²) in order to nail P'eng Tsu down more exactly, and moreover make him a functionary under Yao promoted to minister under Shun!

The Eastern Han scholars have divergent opinions. Cheng Hsüan in comm. on Lun: Shu er refuses to regard Lao P'eng as the name of one man: he says Lao is = Lao-tsī and P'eng is = P'eng Tsu; this, of course, is clearly vetoed by the Ta Tai text above. Kao Yu (comm. on Lü: Ts'ing yü) on the other hand accepts Shī pen's idea that P'eng Tsu and Lao P'eng are one and the same man, for he says: »P'eng Tsu was a wise minister of Yin (Shang)».¹⁾

XI.

In the preceding paragraphs we have studied certain legends that span over several »reigns» or for other reasons were best studied in special paragraphs. We shall now take up in a more chronological fashion the legends of various »rulers»

¹⁾ As a curiosity we might mention that the T'ang commentator on Lun: Shu er, Hing Ping, says that P'eng Tsu in Yao's time got the fief P'eng Ch'eng and that he is identical with Lao-tsī (!), who therefore could also be called Lao P'eng.

and heroes, and, in the case of such as have already been treated cursorily above, fill in the features pertaining by legend to their persons.

1 A. Fu Hi (see pp. 207, 220 above) plays a rather modest part in the ancient beliefs. He occurs often, *en passant*, as a primeval ruler and sage (e. g. Chuang: Jen kien shī, Ta tsung po, T'ien tsī fang, K'ie k'ie; Sün: Ch'eng siang; Ts'è: Chao 2), but mostly without any concrete details. He has obtained his revered position through the sacred Yi king (Hi ts'ī), where he is stated to have invented the p a k u a eight trigrams, fundament of the prognostication by achillea stems, and also fishing and hunting nets. Shī-tsī, on the other hand, says it was S u e i J e n who taught the people to fish, whereas Fu Hi taught them to hunt. Kuan: Feng shan records Fu Hi as one of the early sovereigns who performed the sacrifice to the T' a i s h a n mountain.

1 B. The early Han texts likewise know little about Fu Hi. Lie: Huang Ti says that Fu Hi (like N ü K u a, S h e n N u n g and Y ü) had a human face and a snake's body an ox's head and a tiger's nose. In middle Han time Liu Hin attributed the myth of the H o t' u drawing of the H o, to Fu Hi, see p. 273 above. In the 2nd c. Wang Fu (Ts'ien fu lun: Wu tê lun) says that in the L e i - t s ê marsh there were foot-prints of a giant and that a lady of the H u a S ü s h ī (the country H u a S ü occurs as a far-off imaginary kingdom of fairies in Lie: Huang Ti) trod on them, became pregnant and bore Fu Hi (a plagiarizm of the legend of Kiang Yüan, see p. 215 above), who had his capital in C h' e n. In the 3rd c. Huang-fu Mi adds that Fu Hi's clan name was F e n g,¹⁾ and that he also was called H i u n g H u a n g s h ī and that he reigned 120 (var. 110) years and was buried in Nan-kün, or, as some say, to the west of Kao-p'ing in Shan-yang.

A note should here be added about a personage Fu Fei, who occurs in Ch'u: Li sao and in Huai: Shu chen, together with various Spirits or gods. Pan Ku (1st c. A. D.) does not enter F. in his gallery of remarkable early persons, and the 2nd-century commentator Wang Yi simply says: Fu Fei was »a divine woman» (s h e n n ü). But the 3rd-century scholar Ju Ch'un (comm. on Wsüan: Shang lin fu) says: »Fu Fei was a daughter of Fu Hi who was drowned in the L o river and then became the goddess of the L o».

2 A. S h e n N u n g (see pp. 207, 212, 220 above), like Fu Hi, is frequently referred to *en passant* in pre-Han texts as a primeval ruler and sage (Meng: T'eng Wen kung, shang; Lü: Ts'ing yü, Ch'eng lien; Hanfei: Liu fan), and in a few passages some meagre concrete data are given. Kuan: Feng shan says he was one of the early rulers who sacrificed to the T'ai shan mountain; Kuan: K'uei to says Shen Nung cultivated the 5 kinds of grain on the south of the K' i - s h a n; Lü: Tsun shī says he had a wise teacher S i C h u, and Chuang: Chī pei yu that he studied

¹⁾ The T'ang commentator Sī-ma Cheng (cf. Chavannes MH I, p. 3) asserts that this statement originates from the Kyü, which is entirely unfounded; neither Fu Hi nor T' ai H a o are ever mentioned in the Kyü.

under *Lao Lung Ki*; Lü: Yung min narrates that the people of *Su-sha* revolted against their ruler and gave themselves to Shen Nung. Here, as in the case of *Fu Hi*, it is the sacred *Yi king* (*Hi ts'ī*) which has brought *Shen Nung* into prominence: he invented the plough and instituted markets.

2 B. The early Han texts add little about *Shen Nung*. For his peculiar shape acc. to *Lie see* under *Fu Hi* (1 B above). *Sī-ma Ts'ien* (*Shī ki*: *Chou pen ki*) says that *Wu wang* enfeoffed *Shen Nung*'s descendants in *Tsiao* (cf. p. 222 above), but that has no foundation in pre-Han texts. In *Shan hai king* the name *Shen Nung* does not occur, but we have seen that *Shen Nung* and *Yen Ti* were identified from early Han time, and *Yen Ti* often crops up in the *Shan hai king*. In k. 3 it is said that »*Yen Ti*'s youngest daughter *Nü Kie* roamed by the eastern sea and did not return» (and became a Spirit). Later authors have generally identified this *Nü Kie* with the *Nü Kua* of p. 229 above, but that is phonetically unlikely: *Nü Kua* was **kua* / *kua* / *kua*, and *Nü Kie* was **k'g* / *kai* / *k'ie*¹). K. 16 says that a grandson of *Yen Ti* called *Ling K'i* begat *Hu Jen* »who could ascend to and descend from heaven». K. 18 says that *Yen Ti* had a grandson *Po Ling* who had an affair with the wife of *Wu K'üan*, called *Ngō Nü Yüan Fu*; she was pregnant for 3 years and bore *Ku Yen* and *Shu*²; this *Shu*² was the first to make targets, and *Ku Yen* the first to make bells and melodies. — *Shu*² might be compared with the *Shu*² of *Shu king*, see p. 256 above. A *Po Ling* of *Feng*² is mentioned in *Tso*: *Chao 20* as possessing the territory of the later *Ts'ī* in *Shantung*, but that was first in the hands of the *Shuang Kiu shī* house of *Shao Hao*'s time, then of the *Ki Shī* house and was then held by the *Po Ling* house, so that he must be placed if not in *Shang-Yin*, at least in *Hia* time; it is impossible to tell whether the *Shan hai king* and the *Tso* stories represent two independent legends, or whether the *Shan hai king* author has simply confused the pre-Han traditions.

From Eastern Han onwards the details multiply. *Wang Fu* (*Ts'ien fu lun*: *Wu tê lun*) says that a divine dragon with his head »moved» lady *Jen Sī* into pregnancy and she bore *Ch'ī Ti* (= *Yen Ti*), who was also called *K'uei Wei shī*. *Huang-fu Mi* has a biography as if of an emperor of the 19th century. *Yen Ti*'s mother *Jen Sī*² (var *Jen Sī*³) was a daughter of *Yu Kiao shī* (cf. p. 212 above), and had the personal name *Nü Teng*; she was the first-rank wife of *Shao Tien*. When she was roaming on the south of the *Hua-shan* mountain, there was a dragon who with his head touched *Nü Teng* in *Ch'ang-yang* (var. *Shang-yang*), and she bore *Yen Ti*; he originally came from *Lie-shan* and was therefore also called *Lie Shan shī*. He invented medicine against various sicknesses, and wrote a *pen ts'ao*

¹) On the strength of this false identification, the *Ts'ie yün* reads 媧 in *Nü Kua* as **k'g* / *kai* / *k'ie*, which is vetoed by the phonetic of the character. *Lu Tê-ming* (*Shiwen on Li*) and *Kuang yün* give the reading **kua* / *kua* / *kua*, which tallies with the phonetic series.

Materia Medica in 4 books(!). The people of Su-sha rebelled against their prince, who had killed his remonstrating adviser Ki Wen; Yen Ti then retired and cultivated the virtues, and the people of Su-sha attacked their lord and gave themselves to Yen Ti. He moved his capital from Ch'en to K'ü-fu in Lu. He augmented the 8 trigrams into 64 hexagrams. He was on the throne 120 years and was buried in Ch'ang-sha. He married a daughter of Pen Shuei shi called T'ing Yao (cf. Shan hai king p. 245 above, which has a totally different story), who bore emperor Ch'eng⁴, who begat emperor Ming², who begat emperor Ch'ü², who begat emperor Li³ (var. Lai) who begat emperor Ai, who begat emperor Yü Wang — the eight generations ruling for 530 years.¹)

The San Huang pen ki by the T'ang author Si-ma Cheng has several more details and deviates from the Ti wang shi ki on some points, see Chavannes MH I, p. 12 ff.

3 A. Huang Ti is a far more central and prominent figure in the ancient legends than the preceding two; he occurs *passim* in the pre-Han texts as an early ruler and sage, and the taoist writers in particular love to set him up as the founder of the doctrines later expounded by Lao-tsi and his followers.

We have already seen (p. 212) the legend told in Kyü: Tsin 4 about the potentate Shao Tien who begat by a lady of the house Yu Kiao shi the brothers Yen Ti (grown up near the river Kiang and hence taking the clan name Kiang) and Huang Ti (grown up near the river Ki, clan name Ki) and how they fought and Huang Ti vanquished his brother Yen Ti and took the realm. Tso: Hi 25 tells us that Huang Ti consulted the milfoil oracle before the battle of Pan-ts'üan, but it is only the systematizing and early Han texts (Ta Tai and Lie, cf. B below) that have identified this battle with that between Yen Ti and Huang Ti. Kyü (*loc. cit.*) further tells us that Huang Ti had 25 sons, of whom it mentions 3: Ts'ing Yang (= Shao Hao, see p. 217) who was son-in-law of Fang Lei shi, Yi Ku who was son-in-law of T'ung Yü shi, and Ts'ang Lin, and it enumerates no less than 12 clans descending from sons of Huang Ti, several of which, besides the clan Ki, were prominent among the feudal houses of the Chou era. This is important, for it shows that the sacrifices to Huang Ti must have been wide-spread in the feudal courts and were not confined to the Royal Chou house; and this, again, explains why the lore about Huang Ti and his kin assumes a much more important place than that of Fu Hi and Shen Nung.

There are two such clans descending from sons of Huang Ti which deserve special mention. The clan Jen was represented by the house of Sie², the most famous ancestors of which were Hi² Chung and Chung Huei, see p. 260:

¹) This is a very good and typical example of the work Ti wang shi ki; many data of this work, which are not known from earlier sources, have been solemnly adduced by Maspero and Granet as materials for reconstructing the primeval legends of China.

in the latest part of the Shāng-Yin dynasty the clan Jen possessed the state of Chī, and the lady T'ai Jen of Chī was the famous mother of Wen wang of Chou (Shī: ode 236). The clan Ki⁵ was represented by the house of Yen, and Tso: Sūan 3 tells us that the first-rank wife of Hou Tsi (K' i²), son of emperor K'u and first ancestor of the Chou house, was a lady of the Ki⁵ clan. Thus the Royal Chou house counted its descent from Huang Ti in triple fashion: Itself having the clan name Ki, descending from Huang Ti, the consort of its first ancestor was of the clan Ki⁵, and the grandmother of its first king, Wu wang, was of the clan Jen — both these clans descending from Huang Ti.

Besides that of the battle of Huang Ti and Yen Ti, there is another legend which holds the most important place in the Huang Ti myth cycle: the legend of Ch' i Yu, which is treated in a separate paragraph (4) below.

Various stray features of the lore about Huang Ti are preserved in the pre-Han texts. Yi: Hi ts' i tells us in general terms how Huang Ti, Yao and Shun had a transforming influence over the people and how they invented boats and oars(!). We have seen above (p. 242) how Kuan: Wu hing gives a list of remarkable men: Ch' i Yu (see 4 below), Ta Ch' ang, Shê Lung, Chu Jung, Ta Feng and Hou T' u, who assisted him in his government. Kuan: Feng shan says he was one of the early rulers who sacrificed to the T'ai-shan mountain. Kuan: K' uei to says that he burned the forests on the hills, cleared the bush, burned the marshes and drove out the wild beasts, thus making cattle-breeding possible; further that he invented the fire-drill (otherwise ascribed to Suei Jen shī, see p. 206). Chuang: Tsai yu lets Huang Ti »in his 19th year as emperor» have a discussion with the sage Kuang Ch' eng ts' i, and Chuang: T' ien yün gives a similar discussion with Pei Men Ch' eng. In Chuang: Sū Wu kei he goes, accompanied by various wise men (Fang Ming, Ch' ang Yü, Chang Jo, Si P' eng, K' un Hun, Ku Ki), to see the sage Ta Wei on the mountain Kū - ts' i. Kuan: Huan kung wen says he deliberated on the Ming-t'ai »Bright Terrace», consulting with sages. Lü: Tsun shī says he had a wise teacher Ta Nao (who, acc. to Lü: Jen shu was the inventor of the kia - ts' i cycle). Lü: Ku yüe says that the ordered Ling Lun to make the musical pitch-pipes (their creation is described in detail) and that he ordered the same Ling Lun and Jung Tsiang to make a set of 12 bells »to harmonize the 5 sounds» and to make the music called Hien - ch' i. Kuan: Ti shu gives a dialogue between Huang Ti and a sage Po Kao. There is, further, the tale of the ugly woman Mo Mu (also alluded to in Sün: Fu p' ien) whom Huang Ti liked and lectured: if she was careful of her womanly virtues, her ugliness was no disadvantage to her. Shī-ts' i says that of the barbarians on the four frontiers there were those who had holes through the breast, those who had deep-lying eyes, and those who had long arms, and Huang Ti by his

virtue brought them to allegiance. Hanfei: Shī kuo shows us H u a n g T i as a mighty potentate commanding both men and Spirits; he lets the music-master Shī Kuang (6th c.) narrate: »Anciently when H u a n g T i assembled the Spirits on the T'ai-shan, he rode in an ivory chariot drawn by six dragons, (the Spirit) P i F a n g was abreast with the wheel-naves, C h ' i Y u (see 4 below) was in front, F e n g P o, the god of Wind, went forward and swept, Y ü S h i, the god of Rain sprinkled the road, tigers and wolves were in front, Spirits were behind, reptiles crouched on the earth and phoenixes soared overhead».

3 B. The systematizing and early Han texts, while adding a great many more details unheard of in the free pre-Han texts, on the other hand try to make a more consistent entity of H u a n g T i's *vita*.

Lie: T'ang wen and Ta Tai: Wu ti tê embroider with details the famous battle of P a n - t s ' ü a n. Lie: »When H u a n g T i battled with Y e n T i in the field of P a n - t s ' ü a n, he led bears, wolves, leopards and small and great tigers to go in front, eagles, fighting-pheasants, falcons and kites were his war-banners». Ta Tai: »H u a n g T i trained bears, leopards and tigers and fought... after three encounters he was victorious». — In various ancient texts a certain L i L o u (Meng: L i L o u, shang; Lü: Yung chung) or L i C h u (Chuang: P'ien mu, Hanfei: Kuan hing) is praised as a man of supernaturally sharp eye-sight, and now Huai: Jen kien says that when H u a n g T i lost his black pearl, he made L i C h u search for it, thus dating this remarkable man. Lie: Huang Ti tells us that H u a n g T i had several wise coadjutors: T'ien Lao, L i M u and T'ai Shan Ki; the last two are likewise mentioned in Huai: Lan ming. And in Lie: T'ang wen yet another remarkable man, J u n g C h ' e n g t s i is placed in H u a n g T i's time. We have seen above (p. 220) that Chuang: K'ie k'ie makes J u n g C h ' e n g s h i a primeval ruler long before F u H i and S h e n N u n g (but that Pan Ku in the 1st c. A. D. placed him in the time of F u H i); Lü: Wu kung informs us that J u n g C h ' e n g invented the calendar. Now Lie narrates: »H u a n g T i and J u n g C h ' e n g dwelt on the K ' u n g - t ' u n g mountain (in the extreme west) and together fasted for three months.»

The principal data given by Ta Tai: Ti hi about the parents of H u a n g T i and of his sons and descendants have already been adduced above (p. 225); we may add here that it says that »When H u a n g T i lived on the hill of H i e n Y ü a n, he married lady L e i T s u s h i, daughter of the lord of S i L i n g s h i, and she bore T s ' i n g Y a n g and C h ' a n g Y i», which disagrees with Kyü, which gives H u a n g T i's father-in-law as F a n g L e i s h i (see p. 278), whose daughter bore T s ' i n g Y a n g.

Si-ma Ts'ien gives a connected biography of H u a n g T i (Shī ki: Wu ti pen ki), with various details unknown in pre-Han texts (Chavannes MH I, p. 25 ff.). *Inter alia*, H u a n g T i subdued an enormous realm: in the east he went to the sea, in the west to the K ' u n g - t ' u n g mountain, in the south to the K i a n g

(Yang-tsī), in the north he expelled the H ü n - y ü.¹⁾ Further, H u a n g T i promoted four dignitaries to help him in »governing the people»: F e n g H o u, L i M u, C h ' a n g S i e n and T a H u n g (the last one in Shī ki: F e n g s h a n s h u called K u e i Y ü K ' ü) — entirely unknown in pre-Han texts. Other prominent assistants were (see F e n g s h a n s h u, Chavannes III, 516) F e n g K ü and K ' i P o. In the Shī k i *passim* there are entries which show how the taoistic charlatans of the Han era invested H u a n g T i ' s person with various features belonging to their stock in trade: H u a n g T i never died (Lü shu, Chav. III, 330). L i S h a o - k ü n, lecturing the emperor Wu, asserts that H u a n g T i, having seen the immortals on the P'eng-lai islands and offered the f e n g and s h a n sacrifices, became an immortal (F e n g s h a n s h u, Chav. III, 465). H u a n g T i took the copper of the Shou-shan mountain and cast a Ting cauldron below mount King-shan; then a dragon with hanging beard and mustaches descended to meet him; he mounted on him, and ministers and harem ladies mounted with him, more than 70; the dragon ascended etc. (*ibid.*, Chav. III, 488). When H u a n g T i had made the Ts'ing-ling terrace, on the 12th day it burned; H. then made the Ming-t'ing, which was the same as the Kan-ts'üan (*ibid.*, Chav. 513). For various such themes, which obviously have no pre-Han origin, see Chavannes *passim*.

In *Shan hai king* H u a n g T i crops up in many places. We have witnessed above the ancient Chinese predilection for tracing the origin of border barbarians back to Chinese potentates. *Shan hai king* here furnishes several examples. K. 16 says that H u a n g T i ' s grandson was called Shī K ü n, who bore the P e i T i Northern Ti barbarians. K. 17 tells us how by a long series of descendants (M i a o L u n g — J u n g W u — N e n g M i n g — P o K ' ü a n — a son and a daughter) H u a n g T i was an ancestor of the K ' ü a n J u n g, »Dog-Jung» barbarians. K. 14 says that H u a n g T i begat Y ü H u, who begat Y ü K i n g; the former, god of the Eastern sea, had a human face, a bird's body and yellow snakes hanging at his ears, and he stood on two yellow snakes (k. 17 says blue snakes); the latter was the god of the Northern sea; in k. 8 he is called Y ü K ' i a n g and described: human face, bird's body and blue snakes hanging at the ears, standing on two blue snakes (k. 17 says: red snakes). Lie: T'ang wen says that God (ti) ordered Y ü K ' i a n g to make 15 enormous turtles carry on their heads 5 big mountains that were floating in the ocean.

We should compare these folk-lore entries with the pre-Han text Lü: K'iu jen, which describes the journeys of the great Yü: he came in the north to the country of K ' ü a n J u n g, the wilds of K ' u a F u and the amassed waters of Y ü K ' i a n g. Here it is quite clear that K ' ü a n J u n g, K ' u a F u and Y ü K ' i a n g are simply the names of regions inhabited by certain tribes. But *Shan*

¹⁾ A tribe earlier only mentioned by Mencius as neighbours of the C h o u in the time of T ' a i w a n g, great-grandfather of W u w a n g; later comm. have arbitrarily identified them with the H i u n g - n u, Huns, cf. BMFEA 17, p. 141.

hai king has made Yü King or Yü K'iang into some demon or »god«, and likewise K'ua Fu, see 4 below.¹⁾

Shan hai king k. 18 gives, as we have seen (p. 227), a totally different genealogy from Huang Ti to Kun, father of Yü, from that of the pre-Han texts. Finally, k. 14 describes the fabulous animal K'uei (see p. 258): shaped like an ox, with blue body, no horns, one foot, causing a great wind when going in and out of the water, shining like sun and moon, with a voice like thunder; and it says that Huang Ti got hold of it and made a drum of its skin.

In Eastern Han time the folk-lore linked up with the figure of Huang Ti is constantly growing and cannot all be retold here. As an example we may adduce *Wang Ch'ung* (1st c. A. D.): Huang Ti's mother carried him 20 months before he was born, and he could speak immediately after birth (Lun heng: Ki yen). Huang Ti sacrificed to expel ghosts: he erected a human figure of peach-wood and painted certain Spirits on the doors and suspended cords from them (Lun heng: Ting kuei, for details see Forke I, p. 243); Huang Ti had a dragon's face (Lun heng: Ku siang), etc. *Pan Ku* (Han shu: Ku kin jen piao) adds various stray items. Ts'ang Hie was Huang Ti's shī scribe (so also Hū Shen: Shuo wen preface); in Lü: Kün shou, Hanfei: Wu tu and Sün: Kie pi it is said that Ts'ang Hie was the inventor of the script, and now he is here placed in the time of Huang Ti. Mu Mu was Huang Ti's wife, who bore Ts'ang Lin (Mu Mu is the same as the Mo Mu p. 279, here determined by Pan as one of Huang Ti's wives; Pan, who found a discrepancy between Kyü, which says that a lady of the Fang Lei shī house bore Ts'ing Yang, and Ti hi, which says that Lei Tsu shī bore both Ts'ing Yang and Ch'ang Yi, tries a middle way: Fang Lei shī bore Ts'ing Yang but Lei Tsu shī bore Ch'ang Yi(!). Ta T'ien (a teacher of Huang Ti's), Feng Hu and K'ung Kia are added as prominent men under Huang Ti.

Wang Fu (Ts'ien fu lun: Wu tê lun) tells us that a big lightning encircled the star (in Ursa Major), illuminating the night and moved the lady Fu Pao to pregnancy, and she bore Huang Ti. *Huang-fu Mi* knows quite a lot more: Fu Pao bore Huang Ti in Shou-k'iu; he domesticated cattle and horses, invented pestles and mortars, bows and arrows, houses, coffins. After 52 battles he subjugated all the »feudal lords«. He instituted various offices, and his foremost dignitaries are enumerated. To those given by Si-ma, Lie and Pan Ku he adds: Wu Sheng and Shen Huang Chī, and (unlike Si-ma) he makes Ta Hung

¹⁾ The state name, as often, figures also as the name of its ruler; thus in Ta Tai: Shao hien it is said that Shuo-fang and Yu-tu »came and submitted« to Shun; and in the same way Chuang: Ta tsung shī enumerates ancient potentates who had got the tao: »Huang Ti got it... Chuan Hū got it... Yü K'iang (= the lord of Yü K'iang) got it... Si Wang Mu (= the lord of Si Wang Mu) got it...«. — In the 3rd c. A. D. Kuo P'o (comm. on Shan hai king 8) identifies Yü K'iang with the Spirit Hūan Ming (see p. 222 above), because the latter in Li: Yüe ling represents the north.

and Kuei Yü K'ü two different persons. As to Huang Ti's sons, Huang-fu deviates from Kyü, Ti hi and Pan Ku in making the sons Yi Ku and Ts'ang Lin one and the same person. Through a portentous dream (told in great detail) he found Feng Hu and Li Mu, and after that he wrote the treatise Chan meng king »Interpretation of dreams» in 11 books. K'ü Po invented medicines and a pen ts'ao Materia medica comes from him; Huang Ti made him investigate the blood circulation and study 81 sicknesses, and then Huang Ti wrote the Nan king »Book of sufferances»; he instituted the cure by acupuncture and wrote the Nei wai shu king in 18 books. Huang Ti was 100 years on the throne and died at the age of 110 (var. 111). He was also called Kuei Tsang shi (this after Cheng Huan: comm. on Chouli: Ta pu; Pan Ku had placed Kuei Tsang as a dignitary in the age of Yen Ti). — These are but a few extracts from the voluminous tales about Huang Ti given by Huang-fu Mi.

4 A. The legend of Ch'ü Yu already crops up in Shu: Lü hing: »Ch'ü Yu was the first to make rebellion», which is remarkable, since in no other instance does the Shu refer to events prior to Yao. Curiously enough, neither Tso, Kyü nor Mo contains any references to the Ch'ü Yu myth. Yi Chou shu: Ch'ang mai narrates: »Heaven . . . charged Ch'ü Ti (= Yen Ti, brother of Huang Ti, see p. 221 above) to institute two separate k'ing ministers, and charged Ch'ü Yu to reside in Shao Hao (i. e. in Shantung, the region corresponding to the celestial region called Shao Hao ch'ü k'ü, see p. 218) . . . Ch'ü Yu then drove away the emperor and battled with him on the Cho-lu River . . . Ch'ü Ti was greatly scared and appealed to Huang Ti; he seized Ch'ü Yu and killed him in Chung Ki». Shih-tsi likewise says that Huang Ti killed Ch'ü Yu in Chung Ki. According to Chuang: Tao Ch'ü it was Huang Ti who fought the famous battle: »Huang Ti battled with Ch'ü Yu in the field of Cho-lu, the blood flowed a hundred li». Ts'ê: Ts'in 1 likewise says: »Huang Ti attacked Cho-lu and caught Ch'ü Yu», and Ts'ê: Wei 2 gives the amusing information that »when Huang Ti battled in the field of Cho-lu, the soldiers of the Western Jung (barbarians) did not come (as auxiliaries)». Another early tradition was that Ch'ü Yu was the first inventor of weapons, alluded to in Lü: Tang ping and amply embroidered with details in Kuan: Ti shu: Huang Ti, after deliberating with Po Kao, cultivated the teaching (of virtue) for ten years, and then the mountain of Ko-lu opened up and water came forth and metal (copper) followed it; Ch'ü Yu took it and worked it and made swords, armour, mao and ki lances; that year he laid under himself 9 feudal lords; the mountain of Yung-hu opened up and water came forth, metal (copper) followed it; Ch'ü Yu took it and worked it and made the ki lances of Yung-hu and the dagger-axes of Juei; that year he laid under himself 12 feudal lords; therefore the ruler of all the world (i. e. Huang Ti) shook his ki lance and had one outburst of wrath, and the fallen

corpses filled the field». The same theme is briefly alluded to by Shī-tsī, who says that Ch'ī Yu invented the art of casting metal.

4 B. In early Han time, Sī-ma Ts'ien still entirely follows the lead of the pre-Han texts in regarding Ch'ī Yu as a rebellious «feudal lord» (though Ta Tai: Yung ping says that «Ch'ī Yu was a common man of the people who was greedy»). This seems to have been the officially accepted theory, for the first Han emperor sacrificed to Huang Ti and Ch'ī Yu together (Chavannes MH II, 335), the latter because he was considered a war god (Chavannes III, 434). On the other hand, Tung Chung-shu (Ch'un ts'iu fan lu: K'iu yü) tells us that Ch'ī Yu was one of the gods (another was Kung Kung, see p. 229 above) sacrificed to for obtaining rain.

This points in the direction of the popular beliefs, and it brings us over to the Shan hai king, which narrates (k. 17): «There is a person dressed in a blue garment, called Huang Ti's daughter Po (Huang Ti nü Po); when Ch'ī Yu made weapons and attacked Huang Ti, Huang Ti ordered Ying Lung (Winged dragon, a water god) to attack him in the fields of Ki-chou; Ying Lung amassed water; then Ch'ī Yu prayed Feng Po (the god of Wind) and Yü Shī (the god of Rain, cf. p. 280 above) to let loose great wind and rain; Huang Ti then sent down the heavenly girl called Po, and the rain ceased, and then he killed Ch'ī Yu; Po could not again ascend, and where she resided there was no rain; Shu Kün told this to the emperor, and afterwards she was placed to the north of the Ch'ī-shuei «Red River» (in the extreme north); Shu Kün then became t'ien tsu «Ancestor of the fields», and Po kept aloof».¹⁾

The demon of drought Po is a very old folk-lore figure, already occurring in the Shī, ode 258, and here in Shan hai king we find how this demon, *more sinico*, was attached to the hero myths (Huang Ti), made into a woman and endowed with the paraphernalia of Han-time folk-lore. Shan hai king k. 14 has a different version of the myth,²⁾ excluding the drought demon Po: «Ying Lung dwelt in the extreme south; he killed Ch'ī Yu and K'ua Fu; he could not rise again, therefore below there was repeatedly drought (i. e. when the rain-creating dragon could not mount in heaven and amass clouds); when there was drought, they (sc. the people) made an image of Ying Lung, and then they obtained great rain».³⁾

¹⁾ The Shen yi king ap. Yi wen lei tsü 100 has a totally different notion about Po: it makes Po a personage of the nan fang south, 2—3 feet tall, with naked body and eyes on the top of the head, soaring upwards as a wind; the countries which Po looks on have great drought, the soil becoming red for a 1000 li.

²⁾ Maspero quite arbitrarily and unnecessarily concludes (J. As. 1924, p. 56) that the text is here corrupt and incomplete.

³⁾ This refers to the popular custom of putting out earthen dragons in order to obtain rain, mentioned in Huai: Chuei hing and Shuo shan, and fully described in Ch'un ts'iu fan lu: K'iu yü. Ying Lung, who directed the flow of rivers and seas, occurs already in the pre-Han text Ch'u: T'ien wen.

The Ch'î Yu myth is here, in Shan hai king, combined with that of K'ua Fu, which is again narrated in k. 8 and 17: K'ua Fu is described as a personage having two yellow snakes pendant from the ears and having two yellow snakes in the hands; Hou T'u (= Kou Lung, son of Kung Kung, see p. 240 above) begat Sin, and Sin begat K'ua Fu; K'ua Fu wanted to pursue and catch the shadow of the sun, and attained it in Yü - ku (the extreme west, where the sun goes down); he became thirsty and drank and exhausted the Ho (Yellow River) and the Wei³ River, and he wanted to go north and drink the Ta tsê »Great Marsh«, but died of thirst on the road; he dropped his staff, which became the Teng - lin forest (similarly, acc. to k. 15, when Ch'î Yu threw away his manacles, before he was killed, they changed into the Feng - mu tree); when Ying Lung had killed Ch'î Yu and K'ua Fu, he went to the south, and therefore there is much rain in the south.

Evidently K'ua Fu is another drought demon, analogous to Po; and just as Po was hooked on to the Huang Ti myth, so K'ua Fu is here attached to the Hou T'u myth, and both drought-demon legends are mixed up with the Ch'î Yu legend, because Ch'î Yu in early Han time was sacrificed to both as a god of war and as a god procuring rain: Huang Ti had first sent the water god Ying Lung to combat Ch'î Yu, but when Ch'î Yu called in the gods of Wind and Rain to withstand him, then *either* (the k. 17 version) Huang Ti instead had to send the drought-demon Po to get the better of Ch'î Yu; *or* (the k. 14 version) Ying Lung, the water god, was in the end victorious and killed both Ch'î Yu, the ally of the gods of Wind and Rain, and the drought demon K'ua Fu.

In accordance with all this, Ch'î Yu had to be made out to be not a human »rebel« but a monster, and the Eastern Han work Kuei tsang k'î shî says: »Ch'î Yu... had eight arms and eight feet and dishevelled hair« (a tendency to make Ch'î Yu a supernatural being is earliest observable in Hanfei: Shî kuo, where he is combined with various other nature Spirits, see p. 280 above). With the exception of Ying Lung, who already occurs in the T'ien wen, all these nature myths are purely Han-time lore, and there is no trace of them in pre-Han sources. They are loosely linked up with the ancient hero myths of Huang Ti and Hou T'u, and the names of pre-Han legends have been appropriated and applied to the leading figures in these nature myths. We saw above (p. 281) that »the wilds of K'ua Fu« were merely the lands of some northern barbarians in Lü: K'iu jen, the name K'ua Fu now appropriated and applied to a drought demon.

The commentators of Eastern Han time rejected all these nature myths and reverted to the idea of Ch'î Yu as a »rebel«. It is amusing to observe how they try to connect him with some of the earliest »rebels« in the ancient traditions: the Kiu Li Nine Li, who, as we have seen p. 235 above, rebelled under Shao Hao (Kyü: Ch'u, hia). Kao Yu (comm. on Lü: Tang ping) and Ma Jung

(comm. on Shu: Lü hing) both say: »Ch' i Yu is the name of the prince of the Nine Li at the end of Shao Hao's reign». Ma's pupil Cheng Hsuan (comm. on the same Shu chapter) realizes that this is chronologically unsatisfactory (Shao Hao being Huang Ti's successor) and modifies it: Ch' i Yu was a hegemon, and the prince of the Nine Li learned from Ch' i Yu how to rebel! In the 3rd century, Huang-fu Mi varies the tale of Huang Ti's victory over Ch' i Yu: he did not go himself but sent Li Mu and Shen Huang Chi, who caught Ch' i Yu in the field of Cho-lu, and then he let Ying Lung kill him on the mountain of Hsiung Li »the ominous Li». In later times, the imagination of the writers has been given still freer rein. The T'ang commentator on Shī ki (Wu ti pen ki), Chang Shou-tsie quotes an earlier work, Lung yü ho t'u, which tells us that »while Huang Ti had the regency (for his brother Yen Ti), there were 81 brothers called Ch' i Yu, who had animal's bodies and human voices, copper heads and iron foreheads, and who ate sand»; they made weapons and terrorized the people; »Heaven then sent down a dark woman, who gave Huang Ti a war badge», and he vanquished Ch' i Yu etc. (see further Chavannes, MH I, p. 27).

5 A. Shao Hao plays a very modest part in the pre-Han traditions, and all essential features have already been registered *passim* above. That he was not, however, a mere theoretical speculation of the genealogists but a reality in the life of the ancestral cults, follows from Tso: Chao 17 (525 B. C.), where the prince of T' an declares that Shao Hao was the great ancestor of his house, which shows that the sacrifices to Shao Hao were kept up by this feudal family.¹⁾ He further says that Shao Hao had bird insignia and titles for his officers, and mentions *inter alia* the Shuang Kiu shi, who were si-k'ou ministers of justice; in Tso: Chao 20 a dignitary in Ts' i says that anciently the Shuang Kiu shi were the first feudal lords possessing the land of Ts' i (in Shantung). As we have seen above (p. 243), there were four small feudal states: Shen, Si, Ju and Huang, the ruling houses of which reckoned themselves as descendants of Shao Hao via Mei and T' ai T' ai and thus certainly kept his legend alive.

5 B. In the Han texts there is very little additional matter about Shao Hao. Shan hai king mentions him in a few entries. K. 15: »Shao Hao begat Pei Fa, who descended and dwelt in the Min Yüan, Min abyss. K. 17: »There are people with only one eye in the middle of the face; some say that is the Wei⁴ clan, [descendants of] a son of Shao Hao's». K. 18: »Shao Hao begat Pan, he was the first to make bows and arrows». Wang Ch' ung (Lun Heng: Tsi yi) identifies Shao Hao with K' i² (Hou Tsi), ancestor of the Chou, which is so curious that one suspects a text corruption. In the 2nd c. Wang Fu (Ts' ien fu lun: Wu tê lun) has a legend about his birth which

¹⁾ Si-ma Ts' ien (Chavannes, MH III, 419) says that prince Siang of Ts' in (died 766 B. C.) sacrificed to the Spirit of Shao Hao; but there is no pre-Han text in support of this.

deviates both from the Kyü account (son of a lady of the Fang Lei shī house) and the Ti Hi (with Shī ki: son of a lady Lei Tsu shī of the Si Ling shī house): a great star like a rainbow descended and came flowing over Hua-tu; the lady Nü Tsie received it and bore emperor Chī = Shao Hao: he resided in K'ü-fu. Huang-fu Mi adds that he was 100 years on the throne, and after his death his Spirit descended on the mountain Ch'ang-liu.

6 A. Chuan Hū. The pre-Han lore about Chuan Hū has largely been adduced *passim* above, and there is little to add. Chuang: Ta tsung shī says that he was one of the early rulers who attained to the tao and dwelt in the Dark Palace (Hüan kung). Lü: Tsun shī says he had a wise teacher Po Yi fu (is this a contamination with the legend of Po Yi² above?), and Lü: Ku yüe says he ordered Fei Lung and Shan Sien to compose music.

6 B. The systematizing and early Han texts add new information about the family relations of Chuan Hū. Ta Tai: Ti hi says that his father Ch'ang Yi (attested in the pre-Han Chu shu ki nien, see p. 208 above) married a lady of the Shu Shan shī house, by name Ch'ang Pu and bore Chuan Hū. The Shī pen correspondingly gives: the Cho Shan shī and Ch'ang Pu². Ta Tai: Wu ti tê (closely connected with the Ti hi) lets Chuan Hū make vast journeys »riding on a dragon» to Yu-ling in the north, to Kiao-chi in the south, to the Liu-sha Floating Sands in the west and to P'an-mu in the east (Sī-ma Ts'ien reproduces this, but cuts out the »riding on a dragon!»); this plagiarizes the pre-Han theme about Yao in Mo: Tsie yung, chung, see p. 292 below.

Shan hai king varies the story of Chuan Hū's mother (k. 18): Ch'ang Yi married a daughter of the house of Nao (so read in the Ts'ie yün) by name Ngo Nü, who bore Chuan Hū; he also had another son (half-brother of Chuan Hū) Han Liu, who had a drawn-out neck, a human face, a pig's snout, a unicorn's body. K. 16 says that the people with three faces (cf. Lü: K'iu jen which says that Yü in the west came to the land of the people with one arm and three faces) descend from a son of Chuan Hū who had three faces and one arm; k. 15 relates other legendary people descending from Chuan Hū.

Han Shī wai chuan 5 says Chuan Hū had as teacher Lu T'u (Han shu: Ku kin jen piao writes Lü T'u). In Eastern Han time, Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Ku siang) (quoting some now unknown Li »Ritual») says that Chuan Hū was born with the character wu 午 on his brow and that he had three sons who were relegated and became demons: one dwelt on the Kiang (Yang-tsi) and was a fever demon, another in Jo-shuei and was a wang-liang;¹ the third dwelt in obscure corners of houses and palaces and scared people and children. Wang Fu (Ts'ien fu lun: Wu tê lun) has a totally aberrant account of

¹) A nature demon common in pre-Han texts, e. g. Kyü: Lu yü; Tso: Sün 3.

Chuan Hū's birth: a flaming light moved the lady Nü Ch'u in the Yu-fang palace and she bore Chuan Hū. Huang-fu Mi, as usual, tries to reconcile the contradictory earlier stories: Chuan Hū's mother, daughter of Shu Shan shī (as above) by name King Pu (deviating from the Ti hi in this name detail) was also called Nü Ch'u. At the end of Shao Hao's reign, the star Yao-kuang shot through the moon and moved Nü Ch'u in the palace of Yu-fang, and she bore Chuan Hū on the Jo-shuei; he had shield and lance on his head. At ten years of age he assisted Shao Hao, at 20 he became emperor; he was 78 years on the throne, and was buried in the Kuang-yang village in Tun-k'iu of the Tung-kün.

7 A. The pre-Han traditions about K'u have likewise nearly all been registered above, and very few additional traits can be gathered. Lü: Tsun shī says he had as teacher Po Chao, and Lü: Ku yüe that he ordered Hien Hei to make songs (we have seen above p. 257 that he ordered Ch'uei to make drums, bells and musical stones). Li: Tsi fa says he determined the course of the stars and constellations.

7 B. The systematizing and early Han texts have various items unknown in the pre-Han texts. Ta Tai: Ti hi tells us of his four wives: the first was of the house of Yu T'ai shī, by name Kiang Yüan, mother of K'i² (see p. 215); the second was of the house of Yu Sung² shī, by name Kien Ti (Huai: Chuei hing var. Kien Ti²), mother of Sie; the third was named (the lady of) the Ch'en Lung shī house, mother of emperor Yao; the fourth was named (the lady of) the Tsü Tsī shī house, mother of emperor Chī (we have seen p. 225 above that this »emperor» is an innovation, contrary to the ancient sources). Here the personal names of the last two are not given, but Shī pen supplies them. The third wife, of the house of Ch'en Feng shī (which diverges from the Ti hi; Sī-ma Ts'ien follows Shī pen, Pan Ku in Han shu: Ku kin jen piao writes Ch'en Feng²) was called K'ing Tu; the fourth wife, of the Tsü Tsī house, was called Ch'ang Yi².

By this last we touch upon the nature folk-lore of the Shan hai king, see p. 266 above.

Another Western Han work, the Han Shī wai chuan 5, tells us that the emperor K'u had as teacher Ch'ī Sung tsī. This personage, who plays a great part in Han-time lore as an immortal (for instance in inscriptions on mirrors) and who is mentioned as an ancient tao adept (undated) in Hanfei: Kie Lao, in Ch'u: Yüan yü (where it is said that he »purified the dust»), and, in the variant Ch'ī Sung² tsī, in Huai: Ts'ī su, is here placed in the chronological scheme (and accordingly inserted under K'u in Han shu: Ku kin jen piao). Post-Han lore attributes to him quite a different origin: the Lie sien chuan (ascribed to Liu Hiang in middle Han time but obviously a much later work) says Ch'ī Sung tsī was the »rain-master» of Shen Nung's, who taught Shen Nung to walk through fire etc. (a long yarn).

Like all the great primeval rulers, K' u should have some remarkable bodily feature, and Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Ku siang) says he had double rows of teeth. Even the Ti wang shī ki has comparatively little to add to the biography of the emperor K' u: at the age of 15 he assisted Chuan Hū, at 30 he came to the throne and resided in P o²; he was 75 years on the throne and was buried in the same village of Kuang-yang as Chuan Hū (see 6 B above).

XII A.

The legends about Y a o take a prominent place in all the pre-Han literature, above all through the Confucian school, which regarded him as the first of the three greatest sages of the Golden Age, basing themselves especially on the Shu as their Bible. The story of Y a o, with the appellation Fang Hūn and (after his appanage before becoming »emperor») T' a o T' a n g² shī or simply T' a n g² (Tso: Ai 6 quotes a now lost Shu chapter in verse: »That T' a o T' a n g², he followed the norms of Heaven and possessed the land of K i» etc.) is most fully recorded in Shu: Yao tien (of which the present Shun tien originally formed a part), which as an introduction praises his virtues and then proceeds to record various themes. First comes the legend of his cult-master H i H o, enlarged by scholastic additions with a view to the representation of the »four quarters» (see p. 262 above). Secondly come the deluge theme and the appointment of K u n (see p. 250 above), who after 9 years failed in the task of coping with the inundations (observe that the Shu author does not make K u n g K u n g, see p. 249 above, a figure connected with the deluge). Thirdly, after 70 years of reign (»I have tsai wei been on the throne 70 years»), Y a o wishes to cede the throne to S i Y ü e (see p. 258 above), who declines; »all» then recommend S h u n (for whose legend see XIII below), who now becomes leading officer; *inter alia* »he received the guests» i. e. the feudal lords »at the four gates». Y a o tried him in various ways: he was sent into the great forest at the foot of the hills, and even violent wind and rain could not make him go astray. Then follows a passage in which Y a o says that he has studied S h u n 's deportment for 3 years, found it good and asks him to ascend the throne. S h u n, after having duly »declined», s h o u c h u n g »receives the end» in the temple, i. e. becomes regent, and from that time (as in the following paragraphs) performs all the ritual and other functions of the emperor (see S h u n in XIII below). After this again comes the passage: in the 28th year, the emperor (Y a o) died (when Meng: Wan Chang says that »S h u n assisted (s i a n g) Y a o for 28 years» he evidently refers to his years of regency), the people mourned for 3 years, and on the 1st day of the 1st month S h u n »went to the temple» i. e. formally took over the throne as emperor. — These figures have given rise to no end of computations, and S i-ma Ts'ien believes that »the 28th year» has to be counted after the year when Y a o says he has »been 70 years on the throne», so that Yao really reigned for 98 years. But, as pointed out by Ts'ai Ch'en (Sung school) this is quite

inadmissible. When Yao had reigned for 70 years, he desired to cede to Sī Yü e, but this led to nothing, and he continued for 3 years, with Shun merely as minister (»receiving the guests at the four gates«), before he made him regent. Yao thus, according to the Shu account, reigned for 70—3 years, and moreover for 28 years as a nominal emperor under Shun's regency, i. e. together 101 years. This is quite conclusive, but the salient point in the legend is not the figure 101 but 100: Yao reigned himself for 73 years, and in the 28th year after that, i. e. in his 101st year on the throne he died; thus he was emperor for 100 complete years.

Some analogous miraculously round figures are found in the career of Shun. Yao tien (Shun tien) says: Shun sheng san shī cheng yung san shī tsai wei wu shī tsai chī fang nai sī. The pseudo-K'ung commentary punctuated and interpreted thus: Shun sheng san shī cheng yung, san shī tsai wei, wu shī tsai chī fang nai sī »Shun at 30 years of age was called into employment, he was 30 years on the throne, sc. as regent (3 years on trial and 27 full years under Yao), after 50 years (i. e. 50 years after Yao's death) he ascended on high and died«.¹⁾ This, however, is obviously impossible: it is inconceivable that the phrase tsai wei »to be on the throne« should apply to Shun's regency, but not to the following time when he *really* tsai wei was on the throne. Long before pseudo-K'ung, Cheng Hūan had realized this and punctuated: Shun sheng san shī, cheng yung san shī,²⁾ tsai wei wu shī tsai, chī fang nai sī. Thus he interprets tsai wei wu shī tsai »he was on the throne 50 years«, which is obviously correct (cf. Yao's utterance earlier: chen tsai wei ts'i shī tsai »I have been on the throne 70 years«, which is exactly the same construction), and the whole passage must mean: »When Shun was 30 years of age, he was called and employed for 30 years (sc. the 3 years of trial and 27 full years of regency under Yao, the latter dying in the 28th), he was on the throne (sc. after Yao's death) for 50 years, and then ascended on high and died«. But even this series of figures: 30 + 30 + 50 will not do full justice to the »balance« intended. We should take into account the complement in Meng: Wan Chang, shang, where it is said: »Shun recommended Yü to Heaven (i. e. gave him the regency), after 17 years Shun died« (further: after 3 years of mourning, Yü wished to cede the throne to Shun's son, but in fact himself ascended the throne). Thus, of Shun's »50 years« tsai wei »on the throne«, he was 3 years in mourning before he formally took full possession, and for 17 years at the end he had Yü as regent = together 20 years. This leaves 30 years of full

¹⁾ The same punctuation, though with various interpretations and computations has been maintained by most T'ang, Sung and later commentators, all down to our time; both Legge and Couvreur follow pseudo-K'ung above.

²⁾ Cheng really reads: cheng yung er shī (»20«), but this is a reading that should be rejected, since it is irreconcilable with the earlier account of the Yao tien.

and real imperial sway, balancing the 30 years of youth and the 30 years of office under Y a o : $30 + 30 + 50 (= 3 + 30 + 17)$ — the sequence contains t h r i c e the figure 30.

It need hardly be pointed out that all these figures have not the slightest historical value; they are just what legendary figures should be: Y a o was emperor for a full period of a 100 years; S h u n was 30 years when called into office, he assisted Y a o for 30 years, and of his 50 years »on the throne» he had full formal and real imperial power for 30 years.¹⁾

The theme of the sovereign who wishes to cede his throne to the most worthy is highly popular in the ancient legends (it recurs, as we shall see, in the cases of S h u n, Y ü, and T ' a n g). In regard to Y a o it crops up in a whole series of variations. The most famous is his cession to S h u n, which really led to some result. It is embroidered with further details in Meng: Wan Chang, shang (where Meng even represents matters as if Y a o had really abdicated and as a subject »with his face towards the north» served S h u n who stood as sovereign »with his face towards the south»). Some further details can be gleaned from other sources. Lü: K'ü sī says that »Y a o had 10 sons, but he did not give (the throne) to a son but gave it to S h u n». Meng, Wan Chang, hia says that Y a o made his 9 sons serve Shun. Here one of the 10 is eliminated. Very likely this is his son C h u⁴ (who occurs among the grandees who in Yao tien are recommended by Fang Ts'i see p. 256); he recurs in Shu: Yi Tsi, where Y ü says: »Do not be arrogant like T a n C h u⁴ (C h u⁴ of T a n). That this C h u⁴ was really a son of Y a o's is confirmed in Kyü: Ch'u, hia: »Y a o had (the son) T a n C h u⁴, S h u n had (the son) S h a n g K ü n». That he took a prominent place among the sons and was evidently the heir-apparent follows from two items which indeed seem to suggest that he rebelled, took the title of t i »emperor» and had to be crushed by Y a o. On the one hand, the authentic Chu shu ki nien says: »H o u T s i (who became one of S h u n's ministers, see p. 256 above) banished t i C h u⁴, the emperor C h u⁴, to T a n - s h u e i (the Tan river)»; on the other hand, Lü: Chao lei: »Y a o battled at T a n - s h u e i and so subdued the southern Man barbarians» (whom C h u⁴ evidently took as his supporters). Chuang: Tao Chī

¹⁾ Later systematizers and commentators have advanced all kinds of computations in order to arrive at correct historical figures for the »reigns» of Y a o, S h u n and Y ü. Si-ma Ts'ien already advanced the following scheme: Y a o had ruled for 70 years when he found S h u n; he continued to rule for another 20 years, and then gave Shun the regency for 8 years, thus formally possessing the throne for 98 years; Shun was 20 years of age when he became renowned for filial piety, he was 30 when called to office, at 50 he became regent, when he was 58 Y a o died, when he was 61 he ascended the throne, and after another 39 years he died (at the age of 100). Various other systems have subsequently been propounded, but it serves no useful purpose to recapitulate them here. See for instance A. Wedemeyer in Asia Major, Introd. vol. 1922, where much of this scholastic discussion is related; Wedemeyer himself treats the »historical» problem of the »years of reign» of Y a o, S h u n and Y ü with the utmost gravity, taking not only the spurious Shu king chapters and the spurious Chu shu ki nien but all kinds of Liu ch'ao, T'ang and Sung authors as »sources» for his reconstructions.

says that Yao killed his eldest son. This son being thus eliminated, Yao could, with Meng above, make his 9 sons serve Shun. Meng, however, has a different story; he tells us that Tan Chu⁴ was not killed, only for the time put aside. In the same chapter he continues: »When the mourning for Yao was at an end after three years, Shun withdrew to the south of the Nan-ho »Southern River» in favour of Yao's son. But all the princes and those who had errands of complaint to the emperor etc. turned, not to Yao's son but to Shun; he found that it was Heaven's will and ascended the throne.

But the sage and modest Yao had, before the cession to Shun, other candidates to whom he desired to cede the throne. One of them was Hū Yu, who according to Chuang: T'ien ti was Yao's »teacher» (Hū Yu was pupil of Nie K'üe, pupil of Wang Yi, pupil of Pei Yi). That Yao would cede the throne to Hū Yu is a legend occurring in Chuang: Siao yao yu, in Hanfei: Shuo lin, hia, and in Lü: K'iu jen. Both Chuang and Lü give long dialogues between Yao and Hū Yu, in which the latter shows a noble contempt for the dignity, and Lü narrates that after the interview in the P'e-i-tsê marsh, he went to the foot of the Ki-shan mountain (cf. p. 257 above), to the north of the Ying-shuei river and lived as a simple farmer. Hanfei says he ran away from Yao and hid in the house of a commoner. — Another candidate was Tsī-chou Chī-fu, who is stated in Lü: Tsun shī to have been Yao's »teacher» (acc. to Sün: Ta lue he had also a teacher Kün Ch'ou, in Han shu: Ku pin jen piao called Yin Shou), and according to both Chuang: Jang wang and Lü: Kuei sheng, Yao desired to cede the throne to him, but he likewise declined. Other sages in the entourage of Yao were, acc. to Lü: Pen wei, Po Yang and Sū Er — Hanfei: Shuo yi, which says that they »declined the throne» writes Po Yang and Sū Ya (so also Shī-tsī, whereas Han shu: Ku kin jen piao has Sū Shen). According to Chuang: T'ien ti and Lü: Ch'ang li, a certain Po Ch'eng Tsī Kao was made a »feudal lord» by Yao, but under Yü abdicated and became a common farmer. Fragments of other Yao legends crop up *passim*. Lü: Ku Yüe says Yao charged Chī³ to make music, and he stretched deer-skin over an earthen jar, using it as a drum, and also used musical stones, whereas Ku Sou, Shun's father, played on a lute with five strings. Lü: Tsī chī says Yao put up a drum to be struck by those who had any remonstrations to make to him, and Kuan: Huan kung wen that he had a special hall, K'ü-shī, where he listened to advice from his subjects. Shī-tsī says that he had a »banner for the promotion of good men».

Yao, however, was also a warrior. In Chuang: Ts'i wu lun, Yao deliberates with Shun, for he wanted to attack the states Tsung, Kuei² and Sū-a-o, and in Chuang: Jen kien shī we find him annihilating the states of Ts'ung-chī and Sū-a-o. Mo: Tsie yung, chung, makes Yao conquer a vast realm: »In the south he pacified Kia-o-chī, in the north he attained Yu-tu, in

the east and west he reached to where the sun goes up and down» (and in spite of all this power he was very simple in his living, eating from earthen vessels, etc.). The same story is told in Hanfei: Shī kuo and in Shī-tsī (the simple mode of Yao's living is further embroidered by Shī-tsī). And Mo: Tsie tsang, hia says: »Anciently, Y a o in the north instructed the eight T i - barbarian tribes, he died on the journey and was buried on the north-side of the K ' i u n g - s h a n mountain» (and was buried with very simple materials and with no tumulus); on the other hand Lü: An sī says Y a o was buried in K u - l i n . — In contrast to all the praise of Y a o ' s prominence and power, there is sometimes a derogatory note. Hanfei: Kung ming says: »When Y a o was a commoner (p ' i f u), he could not govern three families; it was not that he was bad, it was that his position was mean». And Hanfei: Shuo yi says: »S h u n forced Y a o , Y ü forced S h u n », sc. to cede the throne, thus giving a construction to the change of line totally different from the common and orthodox one.

Considering the highly revered position of Y a o in the middle and late Chou literature, it is surprising that his descendants are of such little prominence in the feudal system of the C h o u (whereas S h u n ' s descendants had the important fief of C h ' e n and those of Y ü the states of K ' i and T s e n g). We have seen above that according to the Li: Yüe ki, Wu wang of C h o u enfeoffed the descendants of Y a o in C h u ², but that does not occur at all as the name of a state in the vast thesaurus Tso chuan; Lü: Shen ta, on the contrary, says they were enfeoffed in L i , and this small state occurs in Tso: Süan 15, where it is said that the prince of Tsin reinstated the prince of L i (L i h o u), the term h o u showing that his rank was at least quite high. Presumably this was the house that maintained the sacrifices to Y a o . But more important, perhaps, was the fact that a powerful grandee family in Tsin, the F a n ² house, counted him as their remote ancestor and that their clan traditions localized the fief of T ' a n g ² of Yao in the present province of Shansi.¹⁾ The story is told in Tso: Siang 24 and Chao 29 and in Kyü: Tsin 8: when the house of T ' a o T ' a n g ² s h i (Y a o) was on the decline, one descendant of Y a o called L i u L e i tended the dragons given by Heaven to K ' u n g K i a of the H i a dynasty, and he was given the family name of Y ü L u n g s h i ,²⁾ who in early C h o u time were the

¹⁾ This tradition was also current in other parts of China: in Tso: Siang 29, a dignitary of Wu, on a visit in Lu, the ritual centre, says that the odes of T ' a n g ² (in Shansi) reveal that there are vestiges of the people of T ' a o T ' a n g ² s h i , i. e. Y a o .

²⁾ There is a discrepancy in the texts on one point. In Tso: Siang 24 the grandee of F a n ² says his ancestors were first T ' a o T ' a n g ² s h i , then under the H i a they were Y ü L u n g s h i , then under the Shang they were S h i W e i s h i , then under the C h o u they were T ' a n g ² T u s h i . But in Tso: Chao 29 and Kyü Tsin 8 it is said, on the contrary, that the descendants of Y a o (T ' a o T ' a n g ² s h i) in the H i a dynasty, then called the Y ü L u n g s h i , took the place of the house of S h i W e i , and the members of the (C h o u time) F a n ² house were the descendants of Y ü L u n g s h i (sc. via T ' a n g ² T u s h i). The latter version is evidently correct, the S h i W e i never having been descendants of Y a o : we found (p. 237) that the S h i W e i were descendants of L i , the C h u J u n g , son of emperor C h u a n H ü .

T'ang² Tu shī (lords of T'ang² and Tu), and from them the Fan² house descended. In fact we know from Tso: Chao 1 that it was Ch'eng wang, the second Chou king, who deposed the house of T'ang² (descendants of T'ao T'ang² = Yao, during one period called Yü Lung); its princes were transferred as small princes to Tu, from which the Fan² house descended. Very likely the Yao cult was kept up not only by the princes of Li (see above) but by the grandee house of Fan² as well.

XII B.

The systematizing and early Han texts have surprisingly little to add to the biography of Yao.

Ta Tai: Ti hi says that Yao married a lady of the house of San Yi shī, by name Nü Huang, and Shī pen adds that she bore Tan Chu⁴. Si-ma Ts'ien with slight embellishments in the main reproduces the Shu account (Chavannes MH I, p. 42 ff.). Other small additional features are given e. g. by Shang shu ta chuan, which says that Yao at sixteen years of age, being prince of T'ang², became emperor; further that Yao recommended Shun to the feudal princes, delivered the realm to him in the wilds of Ta-lu and presented him with the chao-hua 昭華 jade (cf. the Chu shu story below p. 327 about Kie of Hia and the 苕華 t'iao-hua jade). In the lore of the Shan hai king Yao does not appear at all. Huai, as we have seen p. 268 above, removed the legend of Yi³, the archer, from the early Hia dynasty to the time of Yao. Further, Huai: Pen king makes the Kung Kung of Yao's time (when Shun was regent) a deluge figure (in accordance with the earliest traditions — in other chapters Huai places him in the times of Chuan Hū and K'u, see p. 228), as against the Shu, which, when appropriating the legendary figure of the deluge hero Kung Kung and transferring him to the time of Yao, had made him first a meritorious officer and then a punished miscreant. Huai further states that Yao (like other early »rulers») had supernatural features (Huai: Siu wu): Yao had eyebrows in eight colours and 9 orifices on the body. Middle Han authors embroider this theme. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Ki yen) says that »Yao's body, when you came close to it, was like the sun, when looked at at a distance it was like a cloud» etc. The same author (Lun heng: K'i kuai) tells us that Yao had a miraculous birth: »Yao's mother K'ing Tu went out during the night, and a red dragon moved her and she bore Yao». In the 2nd c. A. D. Kao Yu (comm. on Huai: Siu wu) knows further details: K'ing Tu was a daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign (天帝) (no longer, as in Ti hi, Shī pen and Si-ma Ts'ien p. 288 above, a lady of the Ch'en Feng or Ch'en Lung house); she dwelt in the house of Yi Ch'ang-ju; at 20 she still had no husband; she was sauntering and looking at the Ho (Yellow River) when a red dragon came out carrying a drawing on its back called »the drawing of the red dragon conferring the realm» (cf. p. 273 above); on it was (depicted) a man

in red garments and shining face, with eyebrows in eight colours and long beard... then it became cloudy and the dragon joined himself with K'ing Tu and she bore Yao. — In the 3rd c. Huang-fu Mi has various additional details: Yao had the clan name K'i⁵ 祁 but the he also, after his mother, had the clan name Yi⁴ shī 伊 (she was a foster-child in the Yi⁵ house, see Kao Yu above).¹⁾ After having mated with the red dragon, K'ing Tu was pregnant for 14 months and bore Yao in Tan-ling. At 15 years of age he assisted emperor Chī (the emperor falsely introduced by Ti hi, see p. 225 above), and was enfeoffed in T'ang²; he was 10 ch'ī tall; he often dreamt that he climbed up to heaven and sat above it; therefore at 20 he ascended the throne; he resided at P'ing-yang; he charged the four Hi Chung, Hi Shu, Ho Chung and Ho Shu to manage the four seasons and the four (sacred) mountains, therefore they were called Sī Yüe »Four Mountains« (here Huang-fu mixes up the legends of Hi Ho and of Sī Yüe, alias Po Yi², see p. 258 above); residing among the southern barbarians there was a feudal lord Miao shī, who did not submit; Yao went and vanquished him on the river Tan-shuei (here Huang-fu mixes up the stories of the San Miao, expelled from the south to the west by Shun and Yü, and Yao's battle at the Tan-shuei, see p. 291 above). Huang-fu goes on to tell a whole series of wonderful happy auspices (too long to be repeated here), how he sacrificed to the Ho and received the Ho drawing (see p. 274) and how he then led the princes and ministers to engrave a pi jade with writing, stating how Heaven had ordered him to cede the throne to Shun, whereupon he threw the jade into the Lo river — this document being »the present treatise Chung hou yün heng«.

Let us add, finally, as a curiosity throwing a glaring light on the historical value of the Eastern Han commentaries, that the sage Po Yang, who according to Lü: Pen wei was found by Yao and (Lü: Tang jan) influenced Shun, is identified by Kao Yu (comm. on Lü: Tang jan) with Lao-tsi — because Sī-ma Ts'ien in his biography of Lao-tsi says his name was Li Po-yang!

XIII A.

Like Yao, Shun, who had the appellation Ch'ung Hua (Ch'u: Li sao) and, after his appanage before becoming emperor was called Yu Yü² shī, is praised *passim* in the pre-Han literature as one of the three greatest sovereigns of China's Golden Age.

We have already seen (p. 214) that Shun was considered a descendant of Chuan Hü by a line: Chuan Hü — Mo — X — (X) — Ku Sou — Shun, thus belonging to the great kin which included all the »emperors« from Yen Ti and his brother Huang Ti down to the Hsia, Shang-Yin

¹⁾ The idea of all this is evidently to identify Yao with the ancient ruler Yi K'i shī 伊祁氏, a figure which in pre-Han texts is quite undatable, see p. 220. The T'ang commentator on Shī ki, Chang Shou-tsie has realized this and frankly says that Yao's clan name was Yi K'i shī.

and Chou dynasties. Meng: Li Lou, hia tells us that he was born in Chufeng, later moving to Fuhia, which tells us nothing, since these place names can in no way be localized. He adds however: »He was a man of the eastern Yi barbarians» (tung Yichien), which, in view of his »imperial» genealogy, can only mean that Chufeng was somewhere in the east, certainly not that he was a »foreigner».¹⁾ The legends are voluble about his difficulties as a young man owing to the wickedness of his parents and younger brother. Fullest is Meng: Wan Chang, shang: »The father and mother sent Shun to repair a granary; they removed the ladder; Kusu (the father) set fire to the granary; they made him dig a well; he got out; but they (believing him to be there) proceeded to fill up the well; (his brother) Siang² said: it was I who made the plan for covering up the fine gentleman,²⁾ his oxen and sheep and granaries (shall be) for father and mother, his shield and lance, lute and bow for me, his two wives I shall let attend to my bed; Siang² went and entered Shun's hall; Shun sat on his bed and played the lute; Siang² said: I was only anxious about you; he was ashamed; Shun said: all my servants — you may govern them in my stead». This kindness of Shun's, however, was no easy matter; Meng (*ibid.*): »When Shun went out in the fields, he cried out and wept towards Heaven». His kindness is also referred to in Ch'u: T'ien wen: »Shun served his younger brother». Afterwards, however, when he came into power, tradition is not unanimous as to his kindness to his family. Meng (*ibid.*), it is true, says he enfeoffed Siang² as lord of Yu Pi, but Chuang: Tao Chi says he banished his younger brother, and Hanfei: Chung hiao says he banished his father and killed his brother Siang².

Shun's filial piety, according to Shu: Yao tien, made his career: »All recommended him to Yao: »There is a bachelor in low position, called Yu² Shun, his father is stupid, his mother garrulous, (his brother) Siang² is arrogant, but he has been able to be concordant and to be grandly filial.» Yao decided to try him and sent his two daughters to the bend of the Kuei³ river to be wives to Shun. Shī-tsī gives further details about these ladies. As he is quoted in Yi wen lei tsü 11, the first-rank wife was Huang² the secondary wife was Ngo; but T'ai p'ing yü lan 135 and 811 quotes Shī-tsī as saying that the first-rank wife was Ngo Huang, the second-rank wife was Nü Ying, and the latter seems to be the more generally accepted version (so Liu Hsiang: Ku lie nü chuan; Shan hai king says that the emperor Tsün, in this case evidently = Shun, had a wife Ngo Huang).

¹⁾ In the same way Meng (*ibid.*) says that Wen wang, father of the first Chou king, was »a man of the western Yi barbarians» (si Yichien), which simply means that he came from a westerly region (Shensi). — E. Erkes has advanced in various papers the extravagant theory that Meng's phrase about Shun as »a man of the eastern Yi barbarians» reveals him to be a representative of some »eastern culture» which came and influenced the earlier Chinese civilization.

²⁾ Chavannes MH I, 74 thinks the phr. tu kün refers to Shun creating a tu 都 city, cf. p. 297 below, but that is far-fetched; tu sometimes, e. g. in the Shī, simply means »fine, elegant».

The tale of Y a o ' s finding S h u n is varied in several ways. All agree that he was originally a man of humble position,¹⁾ who by his capacity made himself prominent. Shī-tsī says: »S h u n, when removing the first time, made a y i city, when removing the second time, made a t u greater city, when removing the third time, made a k u o feudal-state capital» (*id.* in Lū: Kuei yin, Kuan: Chī kuo, Chuang: Sū Wu-kuei), to which he attracted the nobles of the four quarters; Y a o called him from the wilds, discussed rites and music and government with him and as a consequence gave him his daughters. Mo: Shang hien, chung says S h u n farmed on the L i - s h a n² mountain, made pottery on the bank of the H o, fished in the L e i - t s ê marsh (*id.* in Lū: Shen jen, Kuan: Pan fa), and Y a o got hold of him to the south of the F u - t s ê marsh». Hanfei: Nan 1 is even more explicit: »The farmers of the L i - s h a n² encroached upon each other's boundaries, S h u n went there and farmed, and after a year the boundaries were correct; the fishermen on the H o bank quarrelled about the shallows in the river, S h u n went there and fished, after a year they gave way to their elders; the potters of the eastern Y i barbarians (T u n g Y i) made vessels that were coarse and bad, S h u n went there and made pottery; after a year their vessels were solid» (observe that here again there is the theme of S h u n having some connection with the east).

So far Shun's antecedentia before he came into prominence. Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien) gives his career. We have seen above (p. 289) that Y a o, after 70 years on the throne, makes S h u n his minister and after another 3 years gives him the regency, and he takes over all the great functions of an emperor, he performs all the great sacrifices, distributes the tokens of investiture to the feudal lords; he makes every five years great tours of inspection to the four quarters and in this connection offers sacrifices to the sacred mountains, corrects the standards of measurement etc., and receives various tributes; every four years he receives the feudal lords of the four quarters in his capital and examines their works. He divides the realm into 12 provinces, makes 12 sacred mountains their protectors, and he »deepens the rivers». He institutes various penal laws. Then follows his action against the »four punished ones», discussed in detail on p. 249 above. In the 28th year of S h u n ' s regency Y a o dies, and after 3 years of mourning S h u n formally ascends the throne (cf. p. 290 above, where all these data have been discussed). Then comes the section about the promotion of the prominent men: Y ü, K ' i² etc., see p. 256 above (for all this extensive text, see Legge p. 31 ff., Chavannes MH I, p. 52 ff.). Meng: Wan Chang, shang supplies the last item: just as Y a o had ceded the throne to S h u n as regent, so S h u n ceded to Y ü and lived on for another 17 years under Y ü ' s regency (see p. 290).

We have seen above how richly varied the theme of the »ceding» emperor was in regard to Y a o. Here under S h u n we find it recurring almost *ad nauseam*.

¹⁾ We have seen above p. 250 that when Y a o wanted to cede the throne to S h u n, K u n g K u n g remonstrated that he was a commoner p ' i f u.

Meng, as related above, makes Shun cede in favour of Yao's bad son Tan Chu⁴ at the end of the 3 years mourning, though the princes did not accept this. In Lü: Hia hien, Yao very respectfully asks instructions from a wise man Shan K'üan², who is also mentioned as such in Sün: Ch'eng siang (there wr. Shan K'üan), and Chuang: Jang wang says that Shun wished to cede the throne to him, but he refused. Again, in Lü: Li su and Chuang: Jang wang he similarly desires to cede first to his »friend» Shī Hu Chī Nung and then to his »friend» Pei Jen Wu Tsê, with the same result. Finally, just as Yao had found his 10 sons unworthy and preferred Shun, so Shun, who had 9 sons, deemed them inferior and rejected them (the eldest being Shang K'ün, Kyü: Ch'u hia) in favour of Yü (Lü: K'ü sī). — The theme that Yao had ways of distinguishing prominent men has its due counterpart in Shun's having a »banner for proclaiming good men» (Kuan: Huan kung wen) and a »criticising wooden tablet» hung up to proclaim the faults of culprits (Lü: Tsī chī).

A legend connected with Shun is told in Tso: Chao 29: A certain Shu An of Liao² (a dignitary whom Pan Ku in Han shu: Ku kin jen piao, by computing the date from this legend, places in emperor K'u's time) had a descendant Tung Fu, who was an expert in attracting dragons by giving them food that they liked. As a keeper of dragons he served Shun, who gave him the clan name Tung and the family name Huan Lung shī and enfeoffed him in Tsung-ch'uan, and the Tsung Yi shī house were his descendants. We saw on p. 237 above that the Tung clan and the Huan Lung and Tsung Yi houses were descendants of Li, the Chu Jung, son of Chuan Hü, and evidently Shu An was one of the early members of that line.

The pre-Han texts abound in descriptions of Shun's benevolent rule. He attracted wise men: he had as »teacher» the sage Wu Ch'eng Chao (Sün Ta lüe); Shī-tsī enumerates 6 sages in his suit: besides the Po Yang and Sü Ya and Fang Huei who already figured under Yao above (see p. 292), there were Lo T'ao, Tung Pu Shī and Ts'in Pu K'ung. That he himself was a sage of great discernment was revealed by his having double pupils in the eyes (Shī-tsī). The pre-Han texts disagree as to Shun's grave. Li: T'an kung says he was buried in Ts'ang-wu, confirmed by Ch'u: Li sao; Meng, Li Lou, hia, says he was buried in Ming-t'iao, and Lü: An sī says in Ki-shī² — the exact position of these places have, of course, been determined by the commentators, but, as stated on p. 210 above, such identifications have very little value indeed. All agree that Ts'ang-wu was in the south, in the present Hunan, which is supported by Ch'u: Li sao, where the poet visits Shun's grave in Ts'ang-wu. Ming-t'iao, on the other hand, is generally placed in southern Shansi, which is so unreconcilable with the Ts'ang-wu tradition that Cheng Hüan concludes that our Ming-t'iao here must be quite another place among the »southern barbarians»! Again, Kao Yu (comm. on Lü) says that Ki-shī² was in the vicinity of Ts'ang-wu. All this is

very well, but matters are further complicated by a tradition in Mo: Tsié tsang, hia: just as Y a o had gone north and instructed the eight T i - barbarians and »died on the journey», so S h u n went west to instruct the seven J u n g - barbarians and »died on the journey and was buried in the N a n - k i c h i s h i , market-place of N a n - k i » (evidently the same as L ŭ ' s K i - s h i ²). The idea here is evidently that his grave was not in the south but in the far west.

The line of S h u n ' s descendants is very fragmentarily known. In early Hia time we find them as feudal princes. Tso: Ai 1 tells us how king S h a o K ' a n g (the 5th H i a . king) fled to the lord of Y u Y ŭ² and became his (master of kitchen =) major domo; Y ŭ² S i , evidently the prince of Y u Y ŭ² at the time, gave him two girls Y a o² to be his wives. This legend is referred to in Ch'u: Li sao (»I wished to avail myself of S h a o K ' a n g ' s not yet having married, and keep for myself the two Y a o² girls of the house of Y u Y ŭ²»). We remember that emperor Y a o had given S h u n his two daughters to be his wives, and here this theme is repeated. Obviously the S h u n house at this time had Y a o² as its clan name. Tso: Chao 8 tells us that the fief at some long period anterior to Chou was called S u e i (this S u e i was situated in Shantung; it was still a feudal state in C h o u time, and was extinguished by T s ' i in 681 B. C.): »Throughout the time from M o (son of C h u a n H ŭ) down to K u S o u (S h u n ' s father) there were none who transgressed the orders (of Heaven); S h u n enhanced this (merit) by his brilliant virtue, and his virtue was located in S u e i ; the S u e i (house) preserved it from generations to generation, all down to H u K u n g (the first prince of C h ' e n in early Chou time) they were never licentious, therefore the C h o u gave them a clan name and made them sacrifice to the Y ŭ² emperor (sc. S h u n)». About this event further data are given in Tso: Siang 25: N g o F u of the Y ŭ² house was t ' a o c h e n g »Master of pottery» of the C h o u ; on account of his merits and because he was the descendant of a sage (i. e. S h u n), the king (W u w a n g) gave his eldest daughter T ' a i K i to prince H u k u n g and enfeoffed him in C h ' e n . Thus the S h u n house was transferred from S u e i in Shantung to C h ' e n in Honan (probably the rulers in S u e i , which was a feudal state until 681, see above, were still a branch of the S h u n house?). The clan name of the house of C h ' e n , as we know from Tso: Yin 3, was K u e i³. This means that W u w a n g altered the ancient clan name of the house, Y a o², into K u e i³ (after the river K u e i³ where S h u n obtained Y a o ' s daughters in marriage). From the Tso: Siang 25 text it seems evident that it was N g o F u himself who became H u k u n g of C h ' e n .

XIII B.

The systematizing and early Han texts, on the one hand deviate from the pre-Han texts, and on the other provide much additional matter.

Ta Tai: T i h i speaks of S h u n as having only one wife, by name N ŭ Y e n

s h ī (which contradicts the Shu and Shī-tsī accounts above); the Shī pen, on the other hand, like Shu speaks of two girls, calling the first-rank one Meng, also named Ngo Huang (with Shī-tsī) and with the appellation Ngo King, the second-rank one Ying², also called Nü Ying (with Shī-tsī). Ta Tai: Wu ti tē (connected with the Ti hi above) embroiders the theme of Shun's enormous realm: Kia o - c h ī and Ta - k i a o in the south, Si - c h ī, K ' ü - s o u and Ti - k ' i a n g (Ti and K ' i a n g) in the west, Shan Jung and Si - s h e n (= Su - s h e n ?) in the north, Ch ' a n g Y i ³, N i a o Y i and Y ü - m i n in the east — which forms a parallel to the similar themes about Huang Ti and Yao above.

Si-ma Ts'ien on the whole reproduces the Shu and other pre-Han sources adduced under A above, but he has certain features of his own. He tells us that when Shun's mother died, Ku Sou remarried, so that it was only his step-mother who maltreated him and Siang² was only his half-brother (this contradicts the pre-Han tradition; Chuang: Tao Chī says Siang² was Shun's m u t i «brother by the same mother»). And (in contradiction to Mo-tsī above) Si-ma asserts that Shun died and was buried in Ts'ang-wu while «on an inspection tour in the south» (Cheng Hūan in comm. on Li: T'an kung says it was when he went to attack the Yu Miao, which is contrary to all pre-Han traditions).

In regard to the descendants of Shun, the systematizing and early Han texts deviate widely from the older sources. Ta Tai: Shao kien says that Yü transferred the Yao² clan (the house of Shun) — we have seen that in fact they were in Suei, and the transfer to Ch'en only took place under Wu wang of Chou. Si-ma Ts'ien (Ch'en K'ī shī kia) says that the early descendants of Shun had already taken the clan name Kuei³ (after the river Kuei³). Shun's son Shang Kün was enfeoffed, and in the Hia dynasty the fief was sometimes lost, sometimes restored. When it came to Wu wang of Chou, he «sought for» a descendant of Shun and «found» a certain Kuei³ Man, who was now enfeoffed in Ch'en, as Hu kung. This Kuei³ Man is entirely unknown in pre-Han sources, and the commentator Cheng Hūan (in his Shī pu) tries to bridge over the discrepancy by assuming that Kuei³ Man was a son of Ngo Fu (by Cheng wr. Ngo Fu²).

Shan hai king, as usual, hooks some nature myths on to the name of Shun. In Huai: Chuei hing, where a series of localities of legendary states, peoples and personages are determined, it is said: «(The place of) Siao Ming («Night-brightness») and Chu Kuang («Torch-brilliance») is situated in Ho - c h o u, the island in the Ho; the space they illuminate are 1000 li square» — evidently Siao Ming and Chu Kuang were some powerful Spirits of Light. Shan hai king seizes upon this folk-lore theme and says (k. 12): «Shun took as wife the lady Teng Pi shī (later on the Ti wang shī ki alters this into Teng Pei shī), she bore Siao Ming and Chu Kuang, they dwelt in the

great marsh of the Ho (Ho chī ta tsê), the magic force of the two ladies could illuminate this place for 100 li square». We have seen above that the pre-Han lore made Yao's daughters (Ngo Huang and Nü Ying) Shun's wives, and this Teng Pi shī is quite unknown¹⁾ earlier. Shan hai king knows of other «descendants» of Shun (k. 14): Shun bore Hi², and Hi³ bore the Yao-min people, for the legend of which see p. 325 below. In middle Han time, Liu Hsiang (in Ku lie nü chuan) tells us another feature of Ku Sou's wickedness. He tried to make Shun drunk in order then to kill him, but Shun's younger sister Hi⁴ saved him. According to Han shu: Ku kin jen piao her name was K'uo Shou (in Shuo wen wr. K'uo Shou²), and Liu's Hi⁴ 繫 is probably a corruption of Ki 繫, which again is K'uo Shou wrongly coalesced into one character. — Wang Fu (Ts'ien fu lun: Wu tê lun) says that the lady Wu Teng saw a great rainbow, was moved into pregnancy and bore Shun. He also says (Tsan hüe) that Shun had as his teacher Ki Hou. — In the 3rd century, Huang-fu Mi (Ti wang shī ki) adds a good deal more. Ku Sou's wife Wu Teng bore Shun in Yao²-k'ü, therefore he got the clan name Yao². He had a dragon's face and big mouth, was black in colour and 6 ch'ī and one inch tall. He was a pedlar in Tun-k'iu (this after the Shang shu ta chuan). Yao gave him his charge to the south of the Shun-tsê marsh... and gave him a feast in the Er-kung palace, let him sit with his face to the south and asked him about government; he gave him fine silk garments and lutes and built a palace for him and enfeoffed him in Yü²... when Si Wang Mu, admiring Shun's virtue, came and presented white yüan rings and küe tokens, she presented a geographical map to Yi, Shun's master of forests...; when Shun was emperor he constantly went and paid his respects to his old father Ku Sou, therefore he was called «the great Shun»; he resided in Hien-yang...; when he was 83 years old he recommended Yü to Heaven, at 95 made him regent, after 5 years regency, Shun died, etc.

XIV A.

The legend of Yü is one of the most important and most widely spread in the pre-Han literature. We have seen that the tradition in the families descending from Yü reckoned him as grandson of Chuan Hü and son of Kun, for whose legends see p. 250 above. Meng, Wan Chang, shang tells us how after his 17 years' regency Yü (see p. 290 above) wanted to make Shun's son Shang Kün emperor and himself withdrew to Yang-ch'eng, but the people preferred him and made him sovereign.

¹⁾ This has troubled later commentators; but Li: T'an kung says: «Shun was buried in the wilds of Ts'ang-wu, his three wives did not follow him (sc. into the grave)» — very good, says Ho Yi-hang (comm. on Shan hai king), evidently Shun had besides the two daughters of Yao a third wife: the Teng Pi shī of Shan hai king!

The principal theme of the Yü legend is that of his great work in saving the world from the inundations. The fullest account is that of the first Shu chapters. The Yao tien (Shun tien) already tells us how Shun promoted prominent officers (see p. 256) and in the first place made Yü sî-k'ung »Master of works«, in order to p'ing shuei t'u regulate the waters and earth; according to the Shu account, it was thus not until after the death of Yao that Yü became the successor of his worthless father Kun as regulator of the floods (in Yao's time, as we have seen on p. 297, it was Shun himself who had started the regulating work by instituting the 12 provinces and he »deepened the rivers«). In the following chapter (Kao Yao mo, to which originally belonged also the present Yi Tsi) there are mostly solemn moralizing discussions between Shun, Kao Yao and Yü, but also (in the present Yi Tsi) a report of Yü's to Shun about his works: »The flooding waters assailed Heaven, vastly they embraced the mountains and overtopped the hills . . . I mounted my four kinds of conveyances and following the mountains I cut the trees; together with Yi (*îĕk) I procured food for the multitudes; I opened passages for the nine rivers and conducted them to the four seas; I deepened the channels and canals and conducted them to the rivers, and together with Tsi (= Hou Tsi) I sowed . . .». The following long chapter Yü kung then gives a great exposé of the 9 provinces which Yü regulated (observe that Shun, according to Yao tien, had made 12 provinces; Tso: Siang 4, quotes an old document in Shu style, where it is likewise said that Yü »delimited the 9 provinces«) and the enormous engineering works he carried out in them. There are scores of names of rivers, mountains and localities, and the chapter gives in fact a rough geography of the world with which the Chinese had some contact — by sight or hearsay — in the early half of the Chou dynasty.¹⁾ The reader may refer to J. Legge, *The Chinese Classics* III, p. 92—117, and (best) to E. Chavannes, *MH I*, p. 103—149. Mo: Kien ai, chung likewise gives an exposé of the works of Yü, full of geographical names.²⁾ On the other hand, Mencius seems to place the great deeds of Yü in the time when Yao was still living (Meng: T'eng Wen kung, shang): »In the time of Yao, the world was not yet brought into order, flooding waters flowed crosswise and inundated the whole world; the vegetation was luxuriant, the beasts swarmed, the five kinds of grain could not be grown, the beasts pressed upon men . . . Yao alone grieved over this, he raised Shun and he widely regulated it; he let Yi (*îĕk) manage the fire, Yi set fire to mountains and marshes and burned them, and the beasts fled and hid; Yü led off the 9 rivers, he regulated the Tsi and the T'a rivers

¹⁾ Needless to say, the scholars of Eastern Han and later times have identified every single point in this »geography«, as may be gathered from the Western commentaries of Richthofen, Legge, Couvreur, Chavannes; it is obvious however, that these identifications are to a very large extent quite futile, for the reasons stated on p. 208 above.

²⁾ Pi Yüan and Sun Yi-jang have taken great pains to identify all these localities and bring the account into accord with the Yü kung in the Shu.

and led them into the sea; he opened up for the J u and the H a n rivers, ordered the H u a i and S ü rivers and led them into the K i a n g river... during that time Y ü was eight years away from home, 3 times he passed his door but did not enter». Then in Meng: T'eng Wen kung, hia, it is stated: »In the time of Y a o, the waters broke out and inundated the central kingdom; snakes and dragons occupied it, the people had nowhere to settle, in the low grounds they made nests in the trees, in the high grounds they made caves... he let Y ü regulate it, Y ü dug the soil and led (the water) to the sea, he drove out the snakes and dragons and relegated them to the marshes; the waters had their course through the middle of the land, that was the rivers K i a n g, H u a i, H o and H a n; when the obstructions had been removed, the birds and beasts that had hurt people were done away with, and then people obtained ordered land and dwelt there». Other early texts are still less explicit about the time of Y ü's work. Kyü: Chou, hia tells us how Y a o killed Y ü's father K u n on the Y ü-s h a n and continues: »Afterwards, P o Y ü thought of his predecessor's lawlessness» and carried through his great labour (described in detail), assisted by S i Y ü e (*alias* P o Y i² [*d̥iər], thus not the P o Y i [*ičk] stated in Shu and Meng to have been his coadjutor), and »August Heaven», i. e. the emperor, was so pleased with it that he remunerated him with the realm, gave him the clan name S i and the family name Y u H i a». Mo: Kien ai, chung, likewise simply says: »When Y ü regulated the world», and Shī-tsī narrates: »Anciently L u n g - m e n was not yet opened, L ü - l i a n g was not yet bored through, the H o (Yellow River) passed above M e n g - m e n, it greatly swelled and flowed irregularly, even hills and high mounds, it destroyed them all, that was called the flowing waters (the deluge); Y ü leū off the H o and gave vent to the K i a n g, for ten years he did not see his home, on his hands there grew no nails, on his shanks there grew no hair,¹⁾ he contracted a sickness which made him shrivel in half the body, so that in walking he could not carry the one leg past the other, people called this 'the walk of Y ü'. Similar accounts occur in Lü: Ai lei (where it is added that »the lands the lives of which he saved were 1800), Lü: Hing lun, Chuang: T'ien hia, Lie: Yang Chu, Hanfei: Wu tu. Y ü's great deeds are alluded to in Shī: odes 210, 244, 301, 304, they are further praised in Tso: Siang 4, and his achievements are drastically summed up in Tso: Chao 1 by a prince of Liu: »If it were not for Y ü, would we not be fishes!». The great deluge lasted for 5 years according to Kuan: Shan k'üan, 7 years according to Mo: Ts'i huan (quoting a »Book of the H i a»).

It was recognized long ago, indeed already by Ed. Biot (J. As. 1842), that the account of the venerable Shu about the engineering works of Y ü is already a scholastic endeavour to make history out of a deluge legend; but the important point is that here, as in the case of the earlier deluge legends, those about K u n g Kung and K u n (see pp. 218, 250 above), it is above all a *hero* legend: the preponder-

¹⁾ Chuang: Tsai yu similarly says of Y a o and S h u n that they were so active that »their thighs had no white flesh, their shanks had no hair».

ating theme is not so much the catastrophe of the inundation as its connection with a hero who copes with it. This is because most of the early Chinese legends that are known to us have been preserved precisely because they belong to the traditions of grandee houses who reckoned such heroes as their primeval ancestors.

The story of Yü's strenuous work is, of course, often embroidered. Lü: Kin t'ing says that »when Yü took a bath, he thrice had to grip his hair» (hold it together while he attended to some urgent business), etc. But it is important that in his work he had Heaven's support. Shu: Hung fan says that Heaven gave to Yü the Great Plan in 9 divisions, embodying the fundamental principles of a sage government (for transl. see Legge, Ch. Cl. III). And in his extensive travels he came to many strange lands and had various adventures, but he was always equal to the situations. When he entered the Lo-kuo »Land of the naked», he stripped himself naked in order to accord with the native customs (Ts'ê: Chao 2, Lü: Kuei yin); when he passed the Kiang, a dragon lifted the boat on its back, to the terror of all its inmates, but Yü loudly declared that he had Heaven's charge and was afraid of no dragon, whereupon the dragon lowered its tail and fled (Lü: Ch'î fen). Lü: K'iu fen gives a vivid account of the strange regions he visited: »In the east he came to the Fu-mu, the Fu tree (= Fu-sang, see p. 269 above), where the sun goes up at the nine fords, and to the wilds of Ts'ing K'iang, the Blue K'iang people, the place of the dense trees, the mountains that reach heaven, the lands of the Birds' Valleys and the Blue Hills, to the country of the Hei Ch'î, the Black Teeth (cf. p. 269 above); in the south he came to the countries of Kiao-ch'î, Sun-p'u and Sün-men, with red grain and lacquer trees and bubbling hot wells, to Kiu-yang the mountain of the nine Brilliances, to the place of the Yü-m'iu, the Winged people, and the Lo-min, the Naked people, and the land of the immortals; in the west he came to the country of San-wei (cf. p. 249 above), below the Wu-shan, the Wizard's mountain, the people who drink dew and inhale air, the mountain of the accumulated gold, the land of those with one arm and three faces; in the north he came to the Jen Cheng country, the extremes of the Hia-hai, on the Heng-shan mountain, to the countries of the K'üan Jung, the wilds of the K'ua Fu (see p. 281), the amassed waters of the region of the Yü K'iang (see *ibid.* and the mountain of the Heaped stones... he obtained Yao 陶 (= Kao Yao), Hua Yi (= Po Yi), Chen K'uei (Sün: Ch'eng siang for Chen K'uei has Ch'î Ch'eng), and Heng and Ko, those five men assisted Yü».

Yü was also a warrior. Lü: Chao lei says that Yü attacked Ts'a-o-wei, K'ü-a-o and Yu Hu³. About the first two nothing is known, but Yu Hu³ forms quite an interesting theme. There are several entries about Yü's warfare with Yu Hu³, the lord of Hu³. Chuang: Jen kien sh'î likewise says that Yü attacked and devastated Yu Hu³. In the Shu: Kan sh'î it is told how there

was a great battle in *K a n* and how »the king» before the battle made a great declaration about the misdeeds of *Y u H u*³. This chapter is quoted by Mo: *Ming kuei*, *hia*, and there, as Mo has it: »The declaration of *Y ü* says», which shows that he considered the battle of *K a n* as fought by *Y ü*. *Yi Chou shu*: *Shi ki* says that »when the *Hia* (house) had just risen» (*Hia ch i f a n g h i n g*), the lord of *H u*³ was weak but not respectful, he himself died and his state was destroyed». This likewise indicates the time of *Y ü*. On the other hand, the same *Lü*, who said above that *Y ü* attacked *Y u H u*³, in *Lü*: *Sien ki* narrates: »*P o K ' i*⁴ of *Hia* (*Y ü*'s son, the 2nd *Hia* king) battled with *Y u H u*³, the lord of *H u*³, in the marsh of *K a n*, but was not victorious; he blamed himself for his unworthiness, lived frugally for a year, and the *Y u H u*³ submitted». The *Shu sü* (Preface to the *Shu*) has followed this and ascribes the battle of *K a n* to *K ' i*⁴, not to *Y ü*. Moreover *Tso*: *Chao 1* seems to support this, for it says: »*S h u n* had the *S a n M i a o* (rebels), *Hia* had (the rebels) *K u a n* and *H u*³, *S h a n g* had (the rebels) *S h e n*³ and *P ' e i*». Now *K u a n*, as we shall see below, refers to the time of *K ' i*⁴, and *H u*³ here, following after *K u a n*, is evidently carried on to the reign of *K ' i*⁴ by the *Tso* author. Thus the pre-Han sources cannot be reconciled as to *Y ü* or *K ' i*⁴ being the fighter at *K a n*. *Hanfei*: *Shuo yi* adds the detail that the lord of *H u*³ had a wicked councillor *S h i T u*. There must have existed some more detailed legend about the rebellious lord of *H u*³, for it is alluded to in some lines in *Ch'u*: *T'ien wen*, which are untranslatable since the story to which they refer is not known.

Y ü forced a vast realm to submit. *Tso*: *Ai 7* says: »*Y ü* assembled the feudal lords on the *T ' u - s h a n* mountain, those who held jade (insignia of investiture) and silk (as tribute) were 10000 states». He was also a stern overlord. *Hanfei*: *Shi sie* says: *Y ü* brought the feudal lords to audience on the *K u e i - k i* mountain; *F a n g F e n g s h i*, the lord of *F a n g F e n g*, came too late and *Y ü* killed him». The story, however, is more interesting in the version of *Kyü*: *Lu hia*: »Anciently, *Y ü* brought together all the Spirits (*s h e n*) on the *K u e i - k i* mountain; the lord of *F a n g F e n g* came too late and *Y ü* punished him by death; his bones filled a whole carriage». Evidently this was a gathering for bringing sacrifices to nature Spirits, and the feudal lords had to be present and officiate. The author makes Confucius expound the event:¹⁾ *F a n g F e n g s h i* was the sacrificer to the *Y ü*³ - *s h a n*, of the clan *T s ' i*²; under the *Y ü*², *Hia* and *S h a n g* dynasties they were lords of *W a n g M a n g* (*W a n g M a n g s h i*), during the *Chou* they were the *C h ' a n g T i* »Giant *Ti*-barbarians» (hence the enormous skeleton above).

T ' u - s h a n and *K u e i - k i* are the mountains that play a leading part in *Y ü*'s legend. In his report in *Shu*: *Kao Yao mo* (*Yi Tsi*) *Y ü* says: »When I

¹⁾ He is made to explain *s h e n* »Spirit» as = »the divine ones» in the sense of the lords who »guarded» the Spirits of the mountains and rivers. The text would then mean: »*Y ü* assembled all the *s h e n* guardians of the Spirits (i. e. the lords)», which of course is pure scholastics.

married the lady of T'u-shan, it was the days sin, jen, kuei, kia (sc. that I stayed with her); (my son) K'i⁴ cried and wept, but I did not cherish him as a son» (I was so busy). Lü: Yin ch'u narrates how Yü during his work saw the lady of the T'u Shan shi house, but before he had time to »meet her» with due ceremonies (for marriage), had to go south on an inspection tour; the lady brought along her maid and »waited upon» Yü to the south of the T'u-shan, and made a song about it. Ch'u: T'ien wen refers to the same story: »Yü's forces achieved merit, he descended to inspect the (four) regions of the earth: how did he get that girl of T'u-shan, and joined himself with her in T'ai-sang².» To the Kuei-ki mountain we shall revert presently. But the Li-shan² of the Shun legend also crops up in connection with Yü: Kuan: Shan k'üan says that Yü cast money with metal from Li-shan² to redeem such children as had been sold by their starving parents.

The theme of the great men learning from other wise persons that is such a favourite in the legends of the preceding sovereigns of course crops up here as well. We have seen that Sün: Ta lue says Yü studied under Si Wang Kuo »(the lord of) the Si Wang state» (Si Wang Mu). Lü: Tsun shi says his »teacher» was Ta Ch'eng Chi. Shi-tsü says that »Yü had a long neck, (a mouth like) a raven's beak, his face was also ugly; that the whole world followed him and considered him a sage was because he was fond of learning». Ts'ê: Wei 2 tells us a moralizing story: a lady servant of the emperor, called Yi Ti, made some good wine and presented it to Yü; he found it good, sent away Yi Ti and refrained from all wine-drinking, saying: »in future there will surely be such as lose their states because of wine».

Yü resided in Yang-ch'eng and reigned for 45 years, according to the authentic Chu shu ki nien. Again we meet with the usual theme of the ceding of the throne. Meng: Wan Chang, shang says »Yü recommended Yi (Po Yi, *i^{rk}) to Heaven (and he became regent),¹) after 7 years Yü died; at the end of the 3 years' mourning (the same theme as in the legends of Yao and Shun above), Yi withdrew in favour of Yü's son to the north of the Ki-shan mountain (cf. p. 292) and the people turned to K'i⁴. Similarly, Mo: Shang hien, shang says that »Yü raised Yi in the Yin-fang »Dark region») and handed over the government to him, and the 9 provinces became perfected». On the other hand there is a pre-Han tradition that things did not go so smoothly as Meng presumes. Hanfei: Wai ch'u shuo, yu narrates: »Yü loved Yi and charged him with the (government of) the realm, but after all he made K'i's men officers; when he (Yü) became old and considered that K'i⁴ was not worthy of being given the realm, he handed it over to Yi (i. e. made him his successor on the throne); but the power and prestige were all with K'i⁴, and K'i⁴ and his party attacked Yi and took the realm from him». The same account recurs in Ts'ê:

¹) The same term as he employs concerning Shun's »recommending» Yü to Heaven» 17 years before his death: it denotes a regency.

Yen 1, and this same tradition is referred to in Ch'u: T'ien wen: »When K' i⁴ supplanted Y i as ruler, why did he in the end get into difficulties, why did K' i⁴ have worry but was able to hold on and be successful?»; and: »Why did H o u Y i make a (change:) revolt and (the house of) Y ü fall down?» The authentic Chu shu ki nien says briefly: »Y i tried to obtain K' i's throne, but K' i⁴ killed him».

The theme which we have met with under Y a o and S h u n (pp. 293, 299) that the emperor should die when on a journey recurs under Y ü. Mo: Tsie tsang, hia says: »Y ü in the east instructed the 9 Y i-barbarians (k i u Y i), he died on the journey and was buried in K u e i - k i (Lü: An sī likewise gives K u e i - k i as Y ü's grave).

Y ü became the founder of the long and glorious H i a dynasty; the fate of the family during the S h a n g - Y i n dynasty is quite unknown, but the first Chou king enfeoffed the descendants (clan name S ī) of the H i a in K' i (see p. 216 above); that the princes of K' i were the descendants of the H i a is confirmed in Lun: P a y i and Tso: H i 31. Another feudal state with princes of the clan S ī who were also descendants of the H i a was T s e n g, see Tso: H i 31, Kyü: Chou, hia. Among the grandee families who were not feudal lords in C h o u time there were also descendants of the H i a, e. g. a dignitary in T s i n named T u n g - p o², who must have been of this clan, since at a H i a sacrifice he functioned as representative of the dead (Kyü: Tsin 8).¹⁾

XIV B.

The systematizing and early Han texts know a good deal more of Y ü than the free pre-Han sources. Ta Tai: Ti hi tells us that K u n, Y ü's father, married a lady of the Y u S h e n s h ī house, by name N ü C h ī s h ī, and she bore W e n M i n g (i. e. Y ü); Shī pen, on the other hand, says that she was of the Y u S i n s h ī house, named N ü C h ī and she bore K a o M i (another appellation of Y ü). Ti hi says his wife the lady of the T' u S h a n s h ī house had the name N ü K i a o (Shī pen's version N ü K u a is simply a wrong character due to a variant N ü K i a o²) who bore K' i.⁴

Sī-ma Ts'ien in the main simply reproduces the Shu and Meng chapters about Y ü and other stray items of the pre-Han texts cited above, with small variations: thus, for instance, the »8 years» which Meng says Y ü was away from home he improves into »13 years»; he says that Y ü first wanted to cede the government to K a o Y a o, but when the latter unfortunately died, he gave it to Y i; he says that Y ü went to the south of the K i a n g and assembled the feudal lords in order to make them give accounts of their merits, and then he died and was

¹⁾ Sī-ma Ts'ien (Shī ki: Hia pen ki, at the end) enumerates no less than 13 families which were descendants of Y ü; as pointed out by Ts'uei Shu, several of these are obviously wrong, and for most of the others Sī-ma has no support in pre-Han sources.

buried there: the mountain hence was called Kuei-ki («the Rendering of accounts»); he says (in Shī ki: Liu kuo nien piao) that Yü grew up among the Si K'iang, the K'iang tribes of the west.¹⁾ A more important innovation is his theory that the princes of the great state Yüe were descendants of Yü (Shī ki: Yüe wang Kou Tsien shī kia); their ancestor, according to Sī-ma, was a younger son of king Shao K'ang of the Hsia dynasty, who was enfeoffed in Kuei-ki in order to keep up the sacrifices to Yü. This is contrary to the pre-Han tradition. Mo: Fei kung, hia says that king Yi K'uei (of Yüe) came from Yu Kü and settled in Yüe. And when the Chou tradition would connect the barbarian chiefs with the ancient Chinese ruling families, it is not to the house of Yü (Hia) that the Yüe house is annexed but to that of Shao Hao and Chuan Hü via Ch'ung and Li, for Kyü: Cheng yü says that the house of Yüe, just like that of K'uei, had the clan name Mi (and was of the same kin as the house of Ch'u).²⁾ Finally Sī-ma (Shī ki: Feng shan shu, Chavannes III, 483) ascribes the casting of the famous «9 tripods», the regalia of subsequent dynasties, to Yü, whereas the pre-Han tradition connects them with his son K'i,⁴ see p. 316 below.

Lie-tsī (T'ang wen) seizes upon Yü's great travels in order to make him see various wonderful things: the giant fish Kun in the Northern ocean, the giant bird P'eng and the paradise country Chung-pei, «the Utmost North»; and (Lie: Huang Ti) he makes Yü, like Fu Hi, Nü Kua, and Shen Nung, a supernatural being with a snake's body, human face, ox's head and tiger's nose. Huai: Siu wu says Yü's ears had three orifices. Huai: Chuei hing says that Yü in his great works had two assistants: T'ai Chang, who went a stupendous distance from the extreme east to the extreme west, and Shu Hui who went from the extreme north to the extreme south; and the theme of the magical «swelling mould» which Shan hai king connects with the Kun legend (see p. 254 above) is here applied by Huai to Yü: he used the «swelling mould» to dam up the waters. In Huai: Siu wu, Yü, in order to cope with the inundations, devotes his body to the (god of the) Yang-yü river (plagiarizing the theme of T'ang's devotion, see p. 328 below). Another very curious item is found in Huai: Fan lun: Yü laboured for the world, and after his death he became Shê god of the Soil; we have seen that the pre-Han texts invariably make Hou T'u become Shê. Another Han-time¹ addition to the legend of Yü (or K'i?⁴) concerns the rebellion of the lord of Hu³ (Yu Hu³). In pre-Han texts he is regarded as a wicked rebel with a bad councillor (Hanfei, see

¹⁾ Huang-fu Mi (ap. Chang Shou-tsie comm. *ibid.*) quotes Mencius to the effect that Yü was born in Shī-niu and was «a man of the western Yi» barbarians» (si Yi chī jen). Mencius says nothing of the kind, which illustrates the great unreliability of Huang-fu.

²⁾ The idea of Sī-ma's seems to be due to a misunderstanding of a text in Tso: Ai 1, where it is said that «(the prince of) Yüe is greater than Shao K'ang was» — a good example of the historical value of the Shī ki.

p. 305 above). But Huai: Ts'i su tells us that the lord of H u³ fought for a righteous cause but perished (Hü Shen in Shuo wen says he was of the same clan, S i, as the royal H i a), and Kao Yu (comm. on Huai) explains: the lord of H u³ was an elder brother of king K ' i⁴ by a second-rank mother; since Y a o and Sh u n had not made their sons their successors, K ' i⁴ ought not to have become Y ü ' s successor, therefore his brother the lord of H u³ tried to depose him.

Shan hai king follows up one of the versions of the K u n g K u n g legend: that which places K u n g K u n g in the time of Y a o. Since the K u n g K u n g legend (notwithstanding its different treatment in the Shu, which makes K u n g K u n g an officer, first meritorious and then wicked and punished) is fundamentally a deluge myth, Shan hai king hooks on to it another legend of noxious waters and brings the latter into the same chronological scheme by connecting it with the great deluge hero Y ü : K u n g K u n g had a c h ' e n vassal S i a n g L i u (k. 8) or S i a n g Y a o (k. 17) who had 9 heads, snake's body and was blue, who ate on the K i u s h a n »Nine mountains» (k. 8) or ate of the K i u t ' u »Nine soils» (k. 17); what he spat out and deposited became springs and marshes, but if they were not pungent they were bitter, the animals could not endure them (k. 17); what he struck against and dug up became marshes and ravine torrents (k. 8); when Y ü (the deluge hero) dammed up the flooding waters, he killed S i a n g L i u, his blood was rancid, one could not grow the grains there, there was too much water and one could not dwell there; Y ü dammed it up, he thrice made (a wall of) a j e n (a man's height), but thrice it tumbled down, and then he made it into a pond; all the emperors made their look-out towers on it.

In middle Han time the inevitable theme of the supernatural birth crops up. Lun heng: K ' i k u a i says that Y ü ' s mother swallowed lotus-fruits and became pregnant. Wang Fu (Ts'ien fu lun: Wu t ê lun) on the contrary has it that the lady S i u K i saw a comet, she was moved to pregnancy and bore Y ü. Huang-fu M i clumsily reproduces both themes: his mother, S i u K i², walking in the mountains, saw a comet pass through the M a o constellation; she dreamt that she received it and her mind was scared; again she swallowed the divine pearl-lotus fruit, her bosom burst and she bore Y ü, etc.

In Han time a legend was current which in some way connected Y ü ' s wife, mother of K ' i⁴, with a stone. The earliest texts are Huai: S i u w u: Y ü s h e n g y ü s h i 禹生於石 »Yü was born of a stone«, and a proclamation (Han shu: W u t i k i) of emperor W u T i of the year 110 B C. in which he says that on the Hua-shan mountain he has seen »the stone of the mother of H i a H o u K ' i⁴«. Kao Yu (2nd c. A. D.) comments thus on the Huai: S i u w u passage above: »His mother was moved (to pregnancy) by a stone and bore Y ü; breaking her bosom he came out«. But his contemporary Ying Shao (comm. on Han shu: W u t i k i) has another explanation: »When K ' i⁴ was born, his mother was transformed

into a stone».¹⁾ A fuller story, however, is only given by the T'ang commentator Yen Shī-ku (d. 645 A. D.): »His mother was the lady of the T' u S h a n s h ī; when Y ü regulated the flooding waters and perforated the H u a n - y ü a n mountain, he changed himself into a bear; he said to T' u S h a n s h ī: when you want to bring me food, when you hear the sound of the drum, then come; Y ü jumped on a stone and by mistake hit the drum, T' u S h a n s h ī went and looked, and Y ü had just then become a bear; she felt ashamed and went away and came below the S u n g - k a o mountain and changed into a stone; just then she (bore =) was pregnant with K' i⁴; Y ü said: give me my son; the stone burst on the north side and K' i⁴ was born. *For the happening see Huai-nan-tsī* (事 見 H u a i - n a n - t s ī). The formulation of the last clause is significant. Yen Shī-ku, when citing *verbatim*, always introduces the quotation by a: X y ü e »X says». Here he says simply, at the end, that the happening is to be found in Huai-nan-tsī, which means that Yen's passage is not a real quotation. But it is highly interesting to witness how 500 years later the Sung scholar Hung Hing-tsu (comm. on Ch'u: T'ien wen), who knew his Han shu and his Yen Shī-ku, reproduces the text but now boldly heads it with: H u a i - n a n - t s ī y ü e »Huai-nan-tsī says». *Habent sua fata libelli*. In fact, Huai contains nothing of the kind. It is futile to object that Huai originally consisted of 21 chapters »Nei p'ien» and 33 chapters »Wai p'ien» (Han shu: Yi wen chī), of which only the former now remain, and that the quotation might be from the lost chapters, for they were lost long before Yen Shī-ku (Suei shu: King tsi chī knows only the 21 Nei p'ien chapters), and could not have been known to him, still less to Hung Hing-tsu in the 12th century. (Yen Shī-ku's phrase: »For the happening, see Huai-nan-tsī» evidently simply refers to the brief Huai passage in the Siu-wu passage quoted above: »Y ü was born of a stone», which Yen believes refers to this tale; for the carelessness of Hung Hing-tsu in his references see p. 324 below).

Moreover it is very unlikely that this long tale existed in early Han time, for neither Wang Ch'ung nor Huang-fu Mi, who avidly seize upon every supernatural legendary theme (the former to criticize it, the latter to incorporate it in his »history») adduce it. Even more significant, perhaps, is that Liu Hsiang, who in his Ku lie nü chuan diligently brings together all the legends of the early emperors (cf. for instance his full story about S h u n) not only has nothing about the mother changing into a stone but on the contrary describes in detail how she lived and brought up and cared for K' i⁴. Thus, as far as early Han-time lore is concerned, Kao Yu is in all probability right in his interpretation of the Huai and Wu Ti texts (»the stone of the mother of K' i⁴» was the magical stone which caused the miraculous conception), and the long yarn falsely imputed to Huai-nan-tsī by Hung Hing-tsu is an innovation of late Eastern Han and following

¹⁾ There is an obscure line in Ch'u: T'ien wen which Chu Hi believes refers to this change into a stone; but, as pointed out by Wang Fu-chi 王夫之, the line as it stands transmitted is quite unintelligible and can only be invested with such a meaning by a violent forcing of the text.

epochs; its various details indeed tally very well with the style of the writers of the Six Dynasties (Shu yi ki, Sou shen ki, etc.) and it is easy to see where the materials for its concoction have been culled: Yü's father K'un, on being killed, was transformed into a yellow bear (pre-Han theme, see p. 250 above) — so his son in his work in the wilds took the shape of a bear; when Yü's mother bore him, he burst her bosom and came out (Huang-fu Mi, 3rd c. A. D. theme, see p. 309 above) — so his son K' i must have been born by a similar «bursting».

Another striking example of how the post-Han authors improve upon the ancient myths is the story of the lord of Fang Feng, who came too late and was killed (p. 305 above). A work Kuo ti t'u (attributed to Tsin time by the author of the Tsin shu: Yi wen chī) narrates: When Yü had killed Fang Feng shī, the virtue of the Hia house was at its peak, and two dragons descended to him; Yü made Fan shī drive them (before his chariot) and made a tour in the south; when the Spirit of Fang Feng saw Yü, he became angry and shot at him; there was a sudden clap of thunder, the two dragons flew up and went away; the Spirit became afraid and with a pointed weapon pierced his own heart and died; Yü pitied him and cured him with the drug of immortality; this (gave rise to what) was called Ch'uan hiung kuo «the (country =) people of the pierced breasts» (here this Yü legend is hooked on to the Huang Ti legend of the «pierced breasts», see p. 279 above). For another version of the same story in the Po wu chī, see Chavannes, Mission archéologique I, p. 79.

XV A.

1. The Hia dynasty, though considered to have been long and extensive in years: «From Yü to Kie (inclusive) 17 kings and 471 years», according to the authentic Chu shu ki nien (Meng: Tsin sin, hia says: «From Yao and Shun down to T'ang there were more than 500 years»; Tso: Sün 3 rounds if off more generously: «600 years»), has left but a meagre fund of legends. Of the 17 kings, the names of 16 occur in pre-Han texts. A sequence can be ascertained from a few texts.

Six of the early kings can be placed in a sequence by aid of Tso, combined with an entry in the authentic Chu shu. This is an extensive cycle of myths, which is best told in one context. Tso: Siang 4: «When the Hia began to decline, Hou Yi³ (prince Yi³) from Ch'u² moved to K' iung-shī (Tso here quotes a lost Shu chapter mentioning Yu K' iung Hou Yi³, prince Yi³ of Yu K' iung); availing himself of the people of the Hia, he supplanted the Hia in the government; he relied on his (skill in) archery, he neglected the business of the people and went to excess in hunting; he rejected (his good men) Wu Lo, Po Yin, Hiung K'un and Mang Yü and employed Cho of Han; Han Cho was a slanderous young man of the house of Po Ming

shī; Han, prince of Po Ming, rejected him; but Yi Yi¹⁾ received him; Cho flattered inside (in the palace) and bribed outside, he cajoled the people and encouraged (the prince) Yi³ in his fondness for hunting; he laid sly plans for robbing him of his State, and inside and outside all submitted to him (Cho); but Yi³ still did not change; when he returned home from the hunt, his staff of house-men killed and cooked him, in order to give him as food to his sons; his sons could not bear to eat him, they were killed at K'iu ng-men, the Gate of K'iu ng; (a certain) Mi² fled to Yu Ko shī, the lord of Yu Ko; Cho now took Yi's wife and begot Ya o³ (*ngiog)²⁾ and Hi⁵...; he (Cho) sent Yao³ with an army to annihilate the lords of Chen Kuan and Chen Sün, and he placed Ya o³ (as prince) in Ku o and placed Hi⁵ in Ku o². Mi² went from Yu Ko shī and collected the remnants of the two States, annihilated Cho and set Shao K'ang on the throne. This account is filled out by a narrative in Tso: Ai 1: »Anciently, Ya o³ of Ku o killed Chen Kuan and attacked Chen Sün, annihilating Hia Hou Siang. The queen Min was pregnant; she escaped through a hole and returned to Yu Jeng shī (the lord of Yu Jeng,³⁾ her parental home) and bore Shao K'ang; he became director of the shepherds of Jeng...; Ya o³ (who had killed his father Siang) sent (a certain) Tsia o² to seek him (Shao K'ang), and Shao K'ang fled to Yu Yü² (the lord of Yü², descendant of Shun) and became his (master of kitchen =) major domo; Yü² Sī (the prince of Yü², cf. p. 299 above) gave him for wives two girls of the (Shun clan:) Ya o² clan and gave him the city of Lun (a very small city)...; he sent Ju Ai to spy upon Ya o³, and sent Ki Chu⁵ to beguile Hi⁵; then he⁴⁾ annihilated the states of Ku o and Ku o² (belonging to Ya o³ and Hi⁵), reinstated the (vestige =) line of Yü and sacrificed to the sovereigns of Hia (his ancestors).⁵⁾

1) This Yi Yi³ is evidently the same as the afore-mentioned Hou Yi³, as will be seen from the following account: his passion for the hunt and his death at K'iu ng-men. This is confirmed later in the same Tso chapter: »The emperor Yi Yi³ was passionate in hunting; Yi Yi³ is here called ti »emperor«, clearly referring to Hou Yi's »supplanting the Hia in the government« above.

2) This man seems to be identical with a person called Ao (*ngog) in Lun: Hien wen, there stated to have been able to tang chou »turn over a boat«; a line in Ch'u: T'ien wen refers to the same theme: fu chou Chen-sün, but it is untranslatable since the anecdote it refers to is lost. Needless to say, the Han-time and later glossists have supplied several different yarns to explain it, but none of them are known from pre-Han texts.

3) The lords of Yu Jeng were prominent in early Hia time. Tso: Chao 28 (cf. p. 258 above) tells us that Shun's music master K'uei had married a lady of this house, called Hün Ts'i »the Dark Consort«, whose wicked son Po Feng, alias Feng Shī »Great Hog«, was killed by the usurper Hou Yi³; evidently king Siang of Hia married a lady Min of the same house.

4) By aid of Mi², as we have seen above.

5) These legends are referred to in several places in Ch'u ts'i. Li sao: »Yi³ rambled excessively and wasted his time in hunting, he loved to shoot the big foxes; but certainly the disorderly and licentious rarely comes to a (good) end; Cho again was greedy for his (Yi³'s) house; Ya o³'s body was invested with great strength, but he gave free reins to his desires and was callous, daily he

In these accounts only 3 Hia kings are directly mentioned by name: Siang, his son Shao K'ang and the latter's son Ki Chu⁵, the last called simply Chu⁵ in Kyü: Lu, shang, and sometimes Chu⁵, sometimes Chu⁶ in the authentic Chu shu ki nien.

The said Chu shu ki nien mentions a 4th king: T'ai K'ang. It says that T'ai K'ang resided in Chen Sün and that Siang resided first in Shang-k'iu and later in Chen Kuan. It is quite clear that the two lords of Chen Kuan and Chen Sün killed by Yao³ (son of the usurper Cho who had ousted the usurper Yi³) were Siang and T'ai K'ang respectively. It should be pointed out that the account in Tso: Ai 1: »He killed Chen Kuan and attacked Chen Sün, annihilating Hia Hou Siang» might seem to conflict with this, indicating 3 warlike expeditions, Siang not being identical with either Chen Kuan or Chen Sün. But that is not so, for in Tso: Siang 4 it is clearly stated that the expeditions of Yao³ were only two: against Chen Kuan and Chen Sün, and we therefore have to interpret the texts thus: T'ai K'ang, who as a king had resided in Chen Sün (Chu shu above), when deposed by Hou Yi³ remained as feudal lord in his erstwhile residence Chen Sün; his son Siang, who, according to the Chu shu, tsi wei ascended the throne and resided in Shang-k'iu, had evidently made claim

enjoyed himself and caused his own ruin, his head therefore fell. Ch'u: T'ien wen: »God sent down Yi Yi³ to change (the line) and maltreat the Hia people, why did he shoot at the Ho Po² (god of the Ho river) and take as wife that lady of the Lo (river) (for these legends see p. 319 below); bending to the full his bow Yao and forcefully using his thimble, he shot at Feng Hi (Great Hog = Feng Shi p. 258), why, when he presented the fattest of the meat, did the august sovereign not accept it? When Cho (the favourite of Yi³) married (the lady of the house) Ch'un Hu, why did the Huan Ts'ia (= Huan Ts'i p. 258, sc. the mother of Great Hog, whom Yi³ had killed) lay sly plans? . . . (here follows an obscure line); when (he of) Tsu (= Ch'u² above) and K'uing (i. e. Yi³) marched to the west, what precipices did he cross? There was the change into a yellow bear, how could sorcery save his (Yi³'s) life? (Kun, the father of Yü, whose family Yi³ wanted to extinguish, on his death had changed into a yellow bear, see p. 250 above: he would be sure to punish the usurper) . . . ; when Yao³ was in the door, what did he seek from his sister-in-law? How did Shao K'ang, when driving his dogs, throw down his (Yao³'s) head? Nü K'i (the sister-in-law) had sewn his (Yao³'s) skirt, and they had stayed together in the same house (had an intrigue), how did they lose their heads and themselves court disaster? (This last theme of Yao³'s intrigue with his sister-in-law Nü K'i is not incorporated in the Tso account above; the author of the pseudo-Chu shu ku nien has concocted a long story by aid of this T'ien wen passage, see Legge, Ch. Cl. III, p. 121). — Shao K'ang and the girls of the Shun house are referred to in Ch'u: Li sao: »Availing myself of Shao K'ang's not yet having married, I would detain (for myself) the two Yao³ girls of the Yu Yü² houses. — The theme of Yi³ as an excellent archer crops up together with that of another archery expert Feng Meng (Meng: Li Lou, hia, Hanfei: Wen pien, Huai: Yüan tao, also written Feng Meng² (Lü: Kū pei), P'eng Meng (Chuang: T'ien hia), P'eng Meng² (Chuang: Shan mu), Feng Men (Sün: Wang pa, Lü: Ting yen). Meng: Li Lou says that Feng Meng studied archery under Yi³ and when he had mastered all his art he killed Yi³; the comm. Chao K'i therefore concludes that Feng Meng was one of the »house-men» who killed Yi³ in the Tso account above. (On the other hand Lü: Ting yen says that Feng Men studied under the famous archer Kan Ying).

to the empire and taken up his residence in *Shang-k'iu* and then (unsuccessful against the usurper) had to give up his plans and move to a more subordinate position in *Chen Kuan*. Then *Yao*³ »killed (the lord of) *Chen Kuan* (= *Siang*) and (the lord of) *Chen Sün* (= *Siang*'s deposed father *T'ai K'ang*), annihilating *Hia Hou Siang*» (Tso), i. e. definitely destroying the last *Hia* pretendent to the empire. That *T'ai K'ang* was prior to *Siang* is confirmed by *Ch'u: Li sao*, which places him immediately after *K'i⁴*: »*K'i⁴* had (the songs) *Kiu pien* and *Kiu ko*, *K'ang* of *Hia* enjoyed himself and gave himself a free rein».

We thus obtain a list of the first 6 *Hia* kings: *Yü* — *K'i⁴* — *T'ai K'ang* — *Siang* — *Shao K'ang* — *Chu⁵*.

There are some more points in the list of the *Hia* kings where a sequence is attested.

After king *Pu Kiang* »his brother» *Kiung* ascended the throne (the authentic *Chu shu*);

K'ung Kia was the 4th king from the end of the dynasty (*Kyü: Chou, hia*); After king *Fa*, alias *King*, his son *Kie* (the last *Hia* king) came on the throne (*Chu shu*). This gives the sequences: *K'ung Kia* — *X* — *Fa (King)* — *Kie*.

There are, as stated above, 16 *Hia* kings mentioned in the free pre-Han texts. If, *faute de mieux*, we arrange them according to the systematizing early Han text (*Sī-ma Ts'ien*), we obtain this list:

<i>Yü</i>	}	This sequence attested, see above.
<i>K'i⁴</i>		
<i>T'ai K'ang</i>		
<i>Siang</i>		
<i>Shao K'ang</i>		
<i>Chu⁵</i>		
<i>Fen (Chu shu)</i>		
<i>Huang³ or Mang (Chu shu)</i>		
<i>Sie³ (Chu shu)</i>		
<i>Pu Kiang</i>	}	This sequence attested, see above.
<i>Kiung</i>		
<i>Kin or Yin Kia (Chu shu)</i>		
<i>K'ung Kia (attested as 4th from the end, Kyü above)</i>		
<i>Kao (Tso: Hi 32) or Hao (Chu shu)</i>		
<i>Fa or King (Chu shu)</i>	}	This sequence attested, see above.
<i>Kie (Chu shu)</i>		

As to the missing 17th king (*Chu shu* above), cf. XV B below.

About these kings there are mostly but a few entries in the pre-Han documents

(apart from the more important myths to be discussed under 2 below), which tell us little:

K' i⁴ had also the name H u e i (Chu shu); in his 25th year he attacked Si-ho (the »Western River») (Chu shu); he had a great banquet (for the lords) in K ü n - t' a i (Tso: Chao 4); he reigned 39 years (Chu shu).

S i a n g. In his 1st year he attacked the H u a i Y i and the K' ü a n Y i (Chu shu); in his 2nd year he attacked the F e n g Y i and the H u a n g Y i (Chu shu); in his 7th year the Y ü Y i came to court (Chu shu); in 629 B. C. the prince of Wei dreamt that an ancestor of his complained that S i a n g robbed him of his sacrificial gifts; the prince ordered separate sacrifices to S i a n g (Tso: Hi 31), but a dignitary remonstrated: »It is long since S i a n g was sacrificed to *here*», which indicates a tradition that S i a n g resided in the region of the Chou-time state W e i.

S h a o K' a n g: The F a n g Y i came to court (Chu shu).

C h u⁵: He resided in K ü - y ü a n and removed to L a o - k' i u (Chu shu); he marched to the T u n g - h a i Eastern Sea and to S a n - s h o u and caught a fox with nine tails (Chu shu); he was able to follow the principles of Y ü and the H i a dynasty made p a o sacrifices to him (Kyü: Lu, shang) — evidently because he had reestablished the dynasty.

F e n: In his 3rd year the Nine Y i (K i u Y i) came to court (Chu shu); he was 44 years on the throne (Chu shu).

H u a n g (M a n g): In his 1st year he sacrificed a black k u e i jade to the H o (Yellow River), he reigned for 58 years (Chu shu).

S i e³: In his 21st year he gave charges to 6 kinds of Y i barbarians: K' ü a n Y i, P o Y i⁴, C h' i Y i, H ü a n Y i, F e n g Y i, Y a n g Y i (Chu shu).

P u K i a n g: In this 6th year he attacked K i u - y ü a n (Chu shu).

K i u n g: Younger brother of P u K i a n g, succeeded him in his 69th year of reign (Chu shu).

K i n (Y i n K i a): He resided on the S i - h o Western River; a bad omen, 10 suns coming out together, signalled his death (Chu shu).

K' u n g K i a — for his legend see p. 321 below.

K a o (H a o): His grave was in Y a o⁴ (Tso: Hi 33).

F a (K i n g): In his 1st year all the Y i barbarians (see S i e³ above) came to court and were offered a banquet in S h a n g - c h' i; they performed dances (Chu shu).

K i e (son of F a), extensively discussed in pre-Han texts, see p. 326 below.

Thus, the most characteristic feature of the H i a kings seems to be their close connection with the Y i tribes.

2. King K' i⁴, whose birth and coming to the throne we have studied under Yü, has several legends connected with his name. As stated p. 305 above, some pre-Han sources place the rebellion of Y u H u³ shī and the battle of K a n in his reign, though other and equally good sources make his father Y ü the fighter

at K a n. Another rebellion crops up here, that of K u a n, but the sources disagree as to whether it occurred under K 'i⁴ or his son T 'ai K 'a n g. That it is a question of a rebellion is clearly stated by Tso: Chao 1: »Sh u n had the S a n M i a o, H i a had K u a n and H u³, S h a n g had S h e n³ and P 'e i». S a n M i a o and H u³ being rebels, K u a n is clearly likewise meant to be a rebel. Tso places K u a n prior to H u³, and since the latter can certainly not be later than the reign of K 'i⁴, the rebellion of K u a n was evidently placed in the reign of K 'i⁴ by the Tso author (no text has ever placed it as early as in the reign of Y ü). K 'ü Y ü a n, on the other hand, places the event in the time of T 'ai K 'a n g, as we shall see presently. This K u a n is somewhat enigmatical. Kyü: Ch'u, shang and Hanfei: Shuo yi tell us: »Y a o had T a n C h u⁴, S h u n had S h a n g K ü n, K 'i⁴ had W u K u a n 五 觀, T 'a n g had T 'ai K i a, these five kings had a great virtue but they had wicked sons». Here it is expressly stated that K 'i⁴ was the father of W u K u a n. Now, on the analogy of T a n C h u⁴, S h a n g K ü n, T 'ai K i a, various commentators have concluded that W u K u a n was one person: »the fifth (son, prince of) K u a n», son of K 'i⁴ and younger brother of T 'ai K 'a n g, and they have imagined that support for this is found in Mo: Fei yüe, where a lost Shu chapter called W u K u a n² 武 觀 is quoted, describing how king K 'i⁴ went to excess in the pleasures of wine and music. W u k u a n² 武 (*müwo) »the Martial K u a n» would be equal to W u K u a n (*ngo) »the Fifth, K u a n». But this is forbidden by two texts. On the one hand, Yi Chou shu: Ch'ang mai narrates: »In the time of the five sons (w u t s i) of K 'i⁴ (one text version has Yin 殷 for K 'i⁴, 啓 which makes no sense and is obviously an error due to the similarity of the two characters), they forgot the charge of Y ü; relying on their being princes they did nothing correct, together they arose and rebelled (s ü h i n g t s o l u a n), and this brought disaster on their states; High Heaven pitied Y ü (the founder of the house) and sent as a gift P 'e n g S h o u (evidently a prince of the P 'e n g house cf. p. 237) and he brought order into the rules of the H i a». In this passage there is no mention of K 'i's successor T 'ai K 'a n g, and evidently the author, like Tso above, refers the event to the time of K 'i⁴. On the other hand, Ch'u: Li sao says: »K 'i⁴ had (the songs) K i u p i e n and K i u k o, K 'a n g of H i a enjoyed himself and gave himself a free rein, he did not care for the difficulties or plan for the future, the five sons (w u t s i) were therefore lost in their (private) houses and lanes» (lost their kingdoms and official positions). Here again it is a question of the »five sons» of K 'i⁴, brothers of T 'ai K 'a n g, though K 'ü Y ü a n places the catastrophe of the »five sons» in the time of T 'ai K 'a n g who, like his father, was bent on pleasures and gave them no good example.

3. The other important legend connected with K 'i⁴ is the casting of the famous nine T i n g cauldrons, which for ages figured as talismans of grand royal power. In Tso: Sün 3 (for the year 606 B. C.) a dignitary narrates: »Anciently,

when the Hia just possessed virtue (Hia chī fang yu tē ye), the distant regions depicted their (remarkable) objects, metal was sent as tribute from the lands of the kiu mu Nine Pastors, and one cast Ting cauldrons on which were depicted the objects; all kinds of objects were there complete, so that the people could know Spirits and monsters; thus the people, when going among rivers, marshes, hills, forests (did not meet =) could keep away from the evil things: Ch'ī and mei demons, wang-liang demons...; when Kie (the last Hia king) had an obscured virtue, the cauldrons were transferred to Shang...; when Chou³ of Shang (the last Shang-Yin king) was oppressive, they were transferred to Chou¹; when the virtue was good and brilliant, even though the cauldrons were small, they were heavy (i. e. could not be displaced); when it was perverted and obscured, even though they were big, they were light (i. e. could easily be transferred to a new ruling house); Ch'eng wang (the 2nd Chou king) placed them in Kia-ju and divined (that the dynasty should last) 30 reigns. It is the custom of the commentators to connect this with Yü, the founder, but the vague phrase of the Tso: »When the Hia just possessed virtue» justifies no such conclusion. Mo: Keng chu dates the event more precisely: »Anciently, Hia Hou K'ai 閼 (i. e. K'ī⁴, a Han-time taboo in the graph) charged Fei Lien (var. Fei Lien²) to break metal in the mountains and to cast the Ting cauldrons in K'un-wu; he let Weng Nan-yi divine on a whitish tortoise and it said: when the Ting are completed, they should be square and have four legs; without being heated, they boil by themselves, without being taken, they store themselves (i. e. with the good ruler who deserves them), without being removed they go away by themselves (i. e. from the bad ruler); if you sacrifice with them in the land of K'un-wu, those above (sc. the Spirits) will enjoy and accept it».

The personage Fei Lien above recurs in some Ch'u ts'ī passages. In Li sao³) the poet makes his long journey in his imagination, and says: »In front I make Wang Shu be my fore-rider, behind, Fei Lien² is made to run and be attached (to me); the luan and huang birds are my fore-warners, Lei Shī, Master of Thunder tells me of the unforeseen». Wang Shu is quite unknown in other pre-Han texts;³) Fei Lien is stated by the 2nd c. commentator Wang Yi and by his contemporary Ying Shao to be equal to Feng Po, the god of the Wind, which, as we shall see below, is contestable. This identification is probably due to a parallel in the similar account of Huang Ti's great journey (Hanfei: Shī kuo, see p. 280 above): »(The Spirit) Pi Fang was abreast with the whel-naves, Ch'ī Yu was in front, Feng Po, the god of Wind,

¹) Tso: Huan 2 says that when Wu wang had vanquished the Shang, he transferred the 9 cauldrons to Lo-yi (in Honan).

²) A short allusion also in Kiu pien.

³) Wang Yi says he was the coachman of the Moon, and in middle Han time Yang Hiung (Han shu k. 87 a, the end) speaks of Wang Shu »slackening the reins».

went forward and swept, Yü Shī the god of Rain sprinkled the road». Evidently Wang Yi and Ying Shao believe that Li sao's Fei Lien² corresponds to the Feng Po in that account. But the Mo-tsi legend above reveals that Fei Lien² in the Li sao is parallel not to Feng Po but to Ch'ī Yu of Hanfei. We have seen above (p. 283) that Ch'ī Yu was in pre-Han tradition the hero of a myth which made him not only a rebel against Huang Ti but also the first inventor of weapons, the discoverer of metal and the founder of swords and lances, briefly the supernaturally endowed Master Founder. Just as Ch'ī Yu, the Master Founder, accompanied Huang Ti, so K'ü Yüan dreams that Fei Lien² waits upon him — and Fei Lien², according to Mo-tsi above, was a Master Founder who cast the cauldrons of K'ī⁴. In both travelling stories Ch'ī Yu and Fei Lien² are combined with gods of the forces of nature: Lei Shī, Master of Thunder (Li sao), Feng Po, God of Wind and Yü Shī Master of Rain (Hanfei), and they obviously stand for some analogous power; but both being Master Founders, they are more reasonably considered to be Spirits of Fire than of Wind.¹⁾

There is another passage in Ch'u: Yüan yu describing a similar imaginary journey, which runs: »I pass through (the region of) T'ai Hao (the east, cf. Li: Yüe ling) and turn to the right, in front Fei Lien² opens up the road; the light is clearing but is not yet brilliant, I force my way through heaven and earth and pass straight ahead; Feng Po is my fore-rider, the dust is eliminated and all becomes clear; the phoenixes' wings I receive as banners, I meet Ju Shou (cf. p. 239 above) in the place of the Western Sovereign» (i. e. Shao Hao). The commentators believe that this proves that Fei Lien² and Feng Po are identical (Fei Lien² opening up the road — Feng Po being the fore-rider), but on the contrary their juxtaposition proves that to K'ü Yüan they were not the same: if they were, the two lines would be absolutely tautological, which is not at all in K'ü's style, and in fact we have here an enumeration of the accompanying supernatural beings: Fei Lien² — Feng Po — Feng-huang (phoenix) — Ju Shou.

For the name Fei Lien there are the variants fei 蜚 and 飛. Now the name Fei Lien² crops up in quite a different context, as a wicked favourite of the last Shang-Yin king. Sün: Kie pi says that Chou³ (the last Yin king) was led astray by Ta Ki and Fei Lien²; Meng: T'eng Wen kung, hia tells us that Chou kung, assisting Wu wang »expelled Fei Lien² to a corner by the sea and slew him» (the story of this Fei Lien² recurs with various details in early Han literature: Shī ki, Chavannes MH II, 4,5, 9, 99 etc.), and it might seem tempting to see a connection here: the theme of a Spirit of Fire or Master of the Blast, reverting as a destructive demon and supporting the wicked Chou³, only to be vanquished and killed by the virtuous Chou kung. But

¹⁾ If we would meet the Eastern Han scholars half way in their theories of Fei Lien as Spirit of Wind, we might be tempted to say that he, the great Founder, was the Master of the Blast.

that is to force the materials too arbitrarily. In fact, primarily *fei-lien* was simply (as it is today) the name of a kind of winged insect, in Kuang ya written *fei-lien*³, and nothing could be more natural than that several heroes of the early legends should be named after this animal (animal names as personal names were extremely common, cf. p. 258). That two different heroes happen to bear the same personal name is, of course, not uncommon. Cf. *Po Yi*² (**d̪iər*), who was the famous minister of *Shun*'s (p. 256 above), and *Po Yi*² (same characters), the equally famous prince at the end of the *Shang-Yin* dynasty. Sometimes a grandee of a later age is purposely named after some early hero: in late *Chou* time, a prince of *Tsou* has the name *Hia Hou K'i*⁴ 夏后啓, see *Lü: Ch'i fen*.

4. The *Mo-tsi* account of the casting of the cauldrons says that it took place in *K'un-wu*. This *K'un-wu* appears in a few pre-Han texts. *Kyü: Cheng yü* tells us that the descendants of *Li*, the *Chu Jung* (son of *Chuan Hü*, see p. 237) were divided into 8 great clans; the most prominent of them was *Mi* (the house of the princes of *Ch'u*), another was *Ki*³, one branch of which was *K'un-wu*, who were »princes under the *Hia* dynasty». In *Tso: Chao* 12, a prince of *Ch'u* says: »*K'un-wu*, elder brother of my august ancestor, resided in the old *Hü*» — which confirms that there was kinship between the *Ch'u* house, clan *Mi*, and the clan *Ki*³. On the other hand, *Tso: Ai* 17 has another geographical placing of *K'un-wu*: »In *Wei* there is a look-out tower on the ruins of (the house of) *K'un-wu* (*K'un-wu ch'i k'ü*)». The only text that attests the state of *K'un-wu* at a precise date is *Shi*: ode 304, where it is said of *T'ang*, the founder of the *Shang-Yin* dynasty: »*Wei*⁵ and *Ku*¹) were smitten, and *K'un-wu* and *Kie* of *Hia*». (This event is also alluded to in *Tso: Chao* 18).

In the *Mo-tsi* myth above, *K'un-wu* is associated with the art of casting metal. In *Lü: Kün shou*, where early inventors and master artisans are enumerated, it is said that *K'un-wu* made *t'ao* 陶. This *t'ao* normally means »pottery», but in view of the fact that *K'un-wu* is the place of the casting of the famous cauldrons, evidently a centre of metallurgy, probably *t'ao* here means »kiln», a furnace for fusing the metal. Even in *Chou* time the region of *K'un-wu* seems to have been a centre for fine metallurgy; *Yi Chou shu: Ta tsü* tells us that *Wen wang* called a founder from *K'un-wu* and let him cast a metal plaque with an inscription.

5. We saw above in the legend of *Yi Yi*³ or *Hou Yi*³, the archer in early *Hia* time, that, according to *Ch'u: T'ien wen*, he shot at the *Ho Po*² »prince of the *Ho*» (god of the *Ho*) and took as wife the lady of the *Lo* river (*Lo pin*). The *Ho* (Yellow River) was considered to be a powerful divinity and constantly sacrificed to in ancient China. In *Chou* time we find this attested

¹) *Ku* was likewise one of the branches of the *Ki*³ clan mentioned in *Kyü: Cheng yü*, so that *Ku* and *K'un-wu*, both crushed by *T'ang*, were kindred houses.

passim. Tso: Wen 12: »The prince of Ts'in with a pi jade prayed to the H o for (success in) the battle»; Tso: Süan 12: »The prince sacrificed to the H o»; Tso: Siang 30: »(They made a covenant and) with two kuei jades made assurances of fidelity to the H o» (threw the jades as sacrifice into the H o); Tso: Ting 13 (a solemn declaration against rebels had been made:) »The document on which it was written has been laid in the H o». The H o is often taken as witness in solemn oaths: Tso: Wen 13: »I swear it by the H o». We have it already attested as a divinity in the customs of the Hia dynasty according to the authentic Chu shu ki nien: »The sovereign H u a n g³ sacrificed a black kuei jade to the H o». The divinity of the H o was not conceived *in abstracto* but anthropomorphically. In Tso: Hi 28 a dignitary Tsī-yü dreams that the Spirit (god) of the H o (H o s h e n) demands a beautiful cap of his and promises to reward him with fertile lands. And the authentic Chu shu ki nien narrates: »Y u n g, the Prince of the L o (L o P o) (god of the L o river) battled with P'ing Yi, the Prince of the H o (H o P o², god of the H o)» — Y u n g and P'ing Yi being the names of these gods; the entry evidently has in view some natural disaster when L o, confluent of the H o, overflowed its banks. It is interesting to observe the same combination here of the gods of the L o and the H o as in the Ch'u: T'ien wen above, and also in the myths of the tablets and documents miraculously given by the L o and the H o (see 273 above). Chuang: Ta tsung shī, in enumerating ancient worthies who had attained to t a o, says that P'ing Yi obtains it and could thus roam on the great rivers. In Chuang: Ts'iu shuei, H o P o² rejoices at the great inundations. On the other hand, Mu t'ien tsī chuan in its romantic description of the great travels of M u says that he came to the mountain Y a n g - y ü² »where H o P o² W u Y i², the Prince (god) of the H o, W u Y i², had his residence»¹⁾ — here his name is not P'ing Yi but W u Y i². In Ch'u: Yüan yu the poet says: »I order H a i J o (the god of the Northern ocean, P e i H a i J o, see Chuang: Ts'iu shuei) to make P'ing Yi dance». In all the preceding accounts H o P o² is clearly a Spirit of the waters. But there is one narrative where he appears as a human being, a feudal lord. The authentic Chu shu ki nien says: »W a n g T s i H a i of Yin was guest with the lord of Y u Y i but was licentious; the lord of Y u Y i, M i e n C h ' e n, killed and threw him away; therefore C h u K i a W e i of Yin (cf. p. 336 below) borrowed an army from H o P o² the prince of the H o and with it attacked Y u Y i, annihilated it and killed its prince M i e n C h ' e n». It is difficult to see what is the explanation of this; was there some special district the feudal lord of which was the c h u president of the sacrifices to the (god of the) H o and hence is here referred to as the H o P o², prince of the H o?

¹⁾ The text continues: »That is the clan temple place of the H o; the prince-clan-chief of the H o (H o t s u n g p o) (by name) Y a o⁵ came and met the Son of Heaven . . . — Y a o⁵ being apparently the appellation of W u Y i² (= P'ing Yi).

6. We have to go as far into the Hia line as to K'ung Kia before we again meet with any considerable legend. Tso: Chao 29 narrates how K'ung Kia was able to conform to the will of ti 帝 God, who gave him one pair of dragons (male and female) from the Ho and one pair from the Han river. K'ung Kia found a descendant of the emperor Yao by name Liu Lei (see p. 293 above) who had studied the keeping of dragons under the Huan Lung shī, and he now fed the dragons for the king, who was so pleased that he gave him the family name Yü Lung shī. When one female dragon died, he pickled its meat and served the king, who found it good; but when the king made investigations, he became scared and removed to Lu-hien. The family Fan² are his descendants. (This last item explains why this myth has been preserved: it belonged to the ancestral legends of a powerful grandee family, which played a prominent part in the Ch'un-ts'iu period, see Tso *passim*). The theme of the dragons of K'ung Kia, however, reverts in another legend. K'ung Kia evidently turned bad, for Kyü: Chou, hia says: »K'ung Kia brought disorder into the Hia house, after four generations it collapsed», and this makes it clear that the same work (Kyü: Cheng yü) refers to the dragon-owner K'ung Kia when it tells us a long story (reproduced in the main by Sī-ma Ts'ien and translated in *extenso* Chavannes MH I, 281): when the Hia were on the decline, some Spirits of the Pao people changed into two dragons, who appeared together in the king's (K'ung Kia's) court; prognostications were made as to what to do about them, and finally they disappeared leaving their spittle, which was kept in a never-opened box and sacrificed to, right down to the time of Li wang of Chou, who opened the box and looked in; the spittle overflowed the court, and harem ladies were made skirtless (i. e. with naked lower bodies) to shout at it; it changed into a lizard and went into the royal apartments, where a girl in the teething age met it; when grown-up she became pregnant without man, and the child was thrown away but miraculously saved and restored: it became the famous and baleful Pao Sī, favourite of Yu wang. The moral of the legend is this: By his wickedness Yu wang brought about the fall of the Western Chou (771 B. C.); this was due to the bad influence of Pao Sī, a descendant by a miraculous birth of the dragons of K'ung Kia, the king who by his wickedness caused the »decline of the Hia» (resulting in its fall after 4 generations) — dragons that were in reality hero-Spirits of the state of Pao (which presumably had been maltreated by K'ung Kia). — Another story about K'ung Kia is told in Lü: Yin ch'u. He hunted on the Fu-shan mountain in Tung-yang and, overtaken by a great storm, he took refuge in a house where a child was just born. The presence of the king was thought to be auspicious by some, whereas others doubted this. The king brought the child home to the court to make its fortune, but when grown-up the boy had his feet cut off in an accident and had to become a gate-keeper.

XV B.

1. We have seen that according to the pre-Han tradition (as preserved in the authentic *Chu shu ki nien*) there were 17 *Hia* kings, whereas the free pre-Han texts mention the names of only 16. *Sī-ma Ts'ien* (*Shī ki: Hia pen ki*) has filled in this gap by inserting a king *Chung K'ang* between *T'ai K'ang* and *Siang*. The reason for this trick is easy to see: there was a *T'ai K'ang* and a *Shao K'ang* — what was more natural than to supply a middle one: *Chung K'ang*!¹⁾ But this was in fact an unusually unhappy trick; the pre-Han tradition about the first 6 *Hia* kings is so fully narrated in *Tso* (see above) that it is amply evident that there is no room for any *Chung K'ang* in between *T'ai K'ang* and *Siang*. *Sī-ma* has tried to find at least some hat-peg on which to hang his *Chung K'ang*. There was a *Shu* chapter (now lost; the one in the orthodox *Shu* version is spurious) *Yin cheng* 胤征 (in many *Ts'ing* time editions written *Yün Cheng* 允征, the char. *Yin* being tabooed). The *Shu* preface (*Shu sū*) says that when *Hī* and *Hō* (cf. p. 262) were drunk and disorderly, neglected the seasons and brought the days into disorder, *Yin* went and punished them,²⁾ and then the chapter *Yin cheng* was composed. This event *Sī-ma* attributes to *Chung K'ang*'s reign, but for this there is no foundation whatever.³⁾ It is only comparatively late that the faked *Chung K'ang* had any success: the spurious *Shu* chapter *Yin cheng* (fabricated in the 3rd c. A. D.) places in *Chung K'ang*'s reign an eclipse that has given rise to a voluminous discussion among early Western sinologues as well as among Chinese scholars,⁴⁾ but all these disquisitions are really quite futile, since the connection of the eclipse with a certain reign (that of »*Chung K'ang*») is thus quite spurious. A line of the lost chapter *Yin cheng* (simply referred to as a *Hia shu*, »document of the *Hia*») is preserved in *Tso*: *Chao* 17, and it likewise refers to an eclipse, but it has nothing that connects it with the reign of any king »*Chung K'ang*«. This eclipse, thus merely placeable somewhere in the long *Hia* dynasty, is consequently quite useless for the chronology of early Chinese history. But later scholars in the wake of *Sī-ma Ts'ien* and the pseudo-*Shu* author have made much of the faked *Chung K'ang*: the much later spurious *Chu shu ki nien* has various entries about »*Chung K'ang*«.

In his list of *Hia* kings *Sī-ma* also has some other aberrations from the pre-Han sources. For *Chu*⁵ 杼 he has the short-form 杼; instead of *Fen* he has

¹⁾ This may seem tempting, but it is of course no serious reason: the legends have a *T'ai Hao* and a *Shao Hao* but no *Chung Hao*.

²⁾ *Cheng Hūan* thought that *Yin* was the name of a person, later the pseudo-*K'ung* comm. took it to mean the prince of a state *Yin*.

³⁾ *Maspero*, *J. As.* 1924, p. 46, says that the attribution to *Chung K'ang*'s reign was made in the *Shu* Preface, which *Sī-ma* would then have followed, but that is not correct; the *Shu* Preface says nothing of any *Chung K'ang*.

⁴⁾ See, for instance, *F. Hirth*, *The Ancient History of China*, p. 40, with bibliography.

Huei². As to the legends of Yi³, the archer, properly connected with the early Hia kings, we have seen above how the folk-lore writers of early Han time transferred them to the time of Yao and mixed them up with the myth of the 10 suns.

Sī-ma Ts'ien still knew practically nothing about the successive kings of the Hia dynasty, beyond their bare names. But Huang-fu Mi (3rd c. A. D.) is able to tell us that K'i⁴ also had the name Kien or Yü Tê, that he ruled for 9 years and died more than 80 years old; that T'ai K'ang was 29 years on the throne; that Chu⁵ (= Chu⁵) was also called Kung-sun Wan and reigned 17 years; that Fen was also called Tsu Wu, and ruled for 26 years; that Mang was also called Ho; that Sie³ was also called Shī or Shī Tsung and ruled for 16 years; that Pu Kiang was also called Kiang² or Pei Ch'eng; that Kiung was also called Yü⁴ or Kao Yang and ruled for 21 years; that Kin was also called Hū² or Tung Kiang and ruled for 20 years; that Kao was also called Kao Kou. Moreover, after Pu Kiang he inserts two more kings: Pu Kiang's brother K'iao and K'iao's son Kuang, quite unheard-of in the earlier sources.

2. The K'i⁴ or T'ai-K'ang legend about the rebellion of the »Five (princes of) Ku an» or the »Martial (princes of) Ku an» has been corrupted in the systematizing and early Han texts. The Shu Preface (Shu Sū) says: »When T'ai K'ang lost his realm, his brothers, five men, tarried at the conjunction of the Lo river (Lo juei) and made »the song of the five sons» (wu tsi chī ko 歌). Sī-ma Ts'ien, who follows this, knows the title of this Shu chapter, but the text itself was lost and he can not quote a single line from it. In any case it is clear that here »the five sons» are regarded as virtuous and meritorious men, who composed a »song» worthy of being incorporated in the sacred collection; consequently the faker in the 3rd c. A. D. makes this »Song of the five sons» a moralizing sermon.¹⁾ On the other hand, the older tradition that they were rebels has survived in other schools. Han shu: Ti li chī indicates a locality as having the name P'an Ku an »the Rebelling Kuan».²⁾

3. In the legend of K'i's magical cauldrons we saw that they were cast by the Master Founder Fei Lien or Fei Lien² (who in Li sao was made to accompany the poet on his imaginary journey as a Spirit of fire, or, possibly, Spirit of the Blast). In early Han-time lore, Fei Lien² is transformed into some

¹⁾ As a curiosity we may mention the theory of Tuan Yü-ts'ai that wu tsi chī ko never meant »the song of the five sons» but: »the five sons went to Ko 歌», the latter (*kâ) being a variant of Kuan 觀 (*k wân) as a place name!

²⁾ The author who has concocted the spurious Chu shu ki nien has worked up the lines of Mo: Fei Yüe and Yi Chou shu: Ch'ang mai above into a long yarn: »In K'i's 11th year, the youngest son Wu Ku an² was banished to the Si Ho Western River, rebelled in the 15th year and was crushed by P'eng Shou (Shou, prince of P'eng). — Shan hai king (k. 10) has one more legend about K'i (Hia Hou K'i): he had a ch'en henchman Meng T'u (variants Meng Yü, Hūe T'u) who presided at the sacrifices of the people of Pa, who came to him for having their cases of litigation settled. There is no trace of this legend in the pre-Han sources.

magical animal: in a poem by Sī-ma Siang-ju (2nd c. B. C.), ap. Shī ki k. 117, he is combined with another fabulous animal, the kie - ch ai (cf. p. 261), and Huai: Shu chen says that the taoist adept (chen jen) can »ride the Fei Lien«, but the context in these texts tells us nothing of their nature or symbolism. It is only in Eastern Han time that Fei Lien is expressly connected with the wind. Ying Shao (comm. on Han shu: Wu ti ki, yüan-feng 2) says: Fei Lien is a divine bird (shen k'in) who can bring about wind; and Kuo P'o (about 300 A. D.) says: Fei Lien is a dragon bird (lung ts'üe), it has a bird's body and a deer's head. And, as mentioned above, Ying Shao (comm. on Han shu, k. 87 a, beginning) and Wang Yi (in comm. on Li sao), both of them of the 2nd c., identify Fei Lien with Feng Po »the Prince of the Wind« (god of the Wind) — he would then have the shape of a bird.¹⁾ But in Eastern Han time there was also quite another conception of Feng Po. He is obviously the same as the Feng Shī Master of Wind who occurs in Chouli: Ta tsung po, where it is said that the Ta tsung po sacrifices to Feng Shī the Master of Wind and to Yü Shī the Master of Rain. Here (comm. on Chouli) Cheng Hūan (2nd c. A. D.) says that Feng Shī is equal to the constellation Ki 箕, and Ts'ai Yung in Tu tuan (same period) says: Feng Po is a Spirit (Shen), that is the constellation Ki; when it stands out clearly in the heavens, it can raise wind. And Feng su t'ung yi (ascribed to the same Ying Shao above) says Fei Lien = Feng Po = Feng Shī is the constellation Ki which can bring about wind (etc., various details).²⁾

4. We saw further that the casting of the cauldrons, in K'ü's reign, by Fei Lien was done in K'un-wu, and that K'un-wu occurs as a state at the end of the Hia dynasty (Shī); and the systematizing text Ta Tai: Ti hi gives the genealogy of the house of K'un-wu (followed by Sī-ma Ts'ien); we saw that it diverges on a fundamental point from that of the free pre-Han texts. Ti hi adds: »K'un-wu, that is Wei«. This does not mean that the house of Wei descended from K'un-wu (the house of Wei was kindred to the Chou house, clan Ki), but only that the K'un-wu domain was situated in the Chou-time Wei dominion (this tallies with Tso: Ai 17 above, p. 319, but not with Tso: Chao 12, *ibid.*). Lie: T'ang wen, on the contrary, has quite another placing of K'un-wu in early Chou time: »When Mu wang went to attack the western Jung barbarians (si Jung), these presented him with a sword from K'un-wu², which was beautifully tempered, it could cut jade as if it were mud«. In spite of the additional radicals in the characters and the position

¹⁾ Hung Hing-tsu in comm. on Ch'u: Li sao makes Lū shī ch'un ts'iu say that Feng Shī the Master of Wind is called Fei Lien. Lū, however, contains nothing of the sort (one of the many instances of careless references in medieval Chinese commentaries).

²⁾ We could, of course, try to reconcile these opposite views by assuming that just as there is a raven in the sun so there was a magical bird in the constellation Ki, who was thus the god of Wind; but that would be a mere speculation unsupported by texts.

in the far west, it is evidently a question of the same legendary theme of K' u n - w u as a country of marvellous founders (the cauldrons of K' i⁴ — the sword of M u w a n g).

Shan hai king (k. 15) tells us of a mountain of the White Water (P o - s h u e i) which engendered the White Abyss (P o - y ü a n) where the shī 師 (Master? multitude? army?) of K' u n - w u bathed, a very obscure passage. Again (k. 16) it says that in the extreme west where sun and moon go down, there are the S a n - n a o Three Marshes which were (eaten by =) the appanage of K' u n - w u.¹⁾ Here again K' u n - w u is placed in the far west, as in Lie. On the other hand, Huai: Chuei hing places it in the extreme south: there is »the hill K' u n - w u» (corresponding to the F u - s a n g tree in the extreme east, etc.) (the T'ang-time geography Kuo ti chī places K' u n - w u in the north: in the present Taming-fu of Hopei!).

The Eastern Han scholar Ying Shao (Feng su t'ung yi: Wu po) is not satisfied with the vague dates of K' u n - w u in the H i a dynasty (only fixed date: the lord of K' u n - w u under the last Hia king vanquished by T'ang), and he seizes upon the Kyü: Cheng yü phrase: K' u n - w u w e i H i a p o = K' u n - w u were feudal lords p o 伯 under the Hia; he gives (in the wake of Po hu t'ung: Hao) the word p o the meaning of p a 霸 »to be hegemon» (as in the phrase w u p o = w u p a the five »hegemons» of the C h o u era), thus: »K' u n - w u was hegemon under the H i a dynasty». He says: »According to the Ch'un ts'iu and the Tso chuan, the lord T' a i K' a n g of H i a enjoyed himself and was steeped in pleasures and did not (follow =) attend to the affairs of the people, the feudal lords encroached upon each other; then the lord of K' u n - w u made himself president of the league and killed those who did not obey his orders and so exalted the king's house». Needless to say, there is nothing of the kind in Ch'un ts'iu or Tso chuan (one example among many of the careless references of the early commentators), and there is no foundation whatever for this dating of the first power of the K' u n - w u house.

5. The Prince of the H o (god of the H o river), P'ing Yi, occurs frequently in Western Han literature. Huai: Chuei hing says that P'ing Yi attained to t a o and dived down into the great River; in Huai: Yüan tao he is one of the two Spirits who direct the Y i n and Y a n g forces. Shan hai king (k. 12) says: The abyss of T s ' u n g - k i is 300 j e n deep, that is where P'ing Yi constantly resides; P'ing Yi has a human face and rides on two dragons».²⁾

¹⁾ K' u n - w u c h i s o s h i: »to eat» in this sense is very common in the early texts; there is nothing supernatural or mythological in this tale, contrary to what Granet fancies (Danses et légendes p. 450).

²⁾ Shan hai king also has a passage (k. 14) relating to the story of the H o P o², foe of the lord of Y u Y i of Chu shu ki nien above (p. 320), stating that his name was P' u N i u (or: resided in P' u N i u?). But here, of course, the author takes H o P o² as the god of the H o adding that he pitied the lord of Y u Y i and let him escape and create a state for himself in S h o u - f a n g (Region of the beasts), where dwelt the people Y a o - m i n, who were descendants of Shun (see p. 301 above).

Sī-ma Siang-ju (ap. Han shu: Sī-ma Siang-ju chuan) says: »I order Ling K u a (= N ü K u a, see p. 229) to play the lute and make P'ing Yi dance», etc. From Eastern Han and onwards the fables about H o P o² multiply. Kao Yu (2nd c.) in comm. on Huai: Chuei hing says: »P'ing Yi is the H o P o², he was a man of the village Ti-shou of T'ung-hiang in Hua-yin; he carried 8 stones (i. e. in drowning himself) and became the Spirit of Water». The Po wu chī (Tsin time?) says that P'ing Yi rode on dragons and tigers and rushed through a myriad li; Kuo ti t'u (likewise ascribed to Tsin time) says he rode on a cloud chariot drawn by two dragons; Ko Hung (Pao P'u tsi, 4th c.) says that in the 8th month, the 1st keng day he passed over the H o and drowned, and God in Heaven gave him the charge of being H o P o², god of the H o (etc.; there are many variations of the theme). Again Kao Yu in comm. on Huai: Yüan tao takes up the theme of Ch'u: T'ien wen, how the archer Y i³ shot at the H o P o² and expounds: »H o P o² by drowning killed people, Y i³ shot him in the left eye». ¹⁾ And his contemporary Wang Yi embroiders further: »The tale is (c h u a n y ü e) that H o P o² transformed himself into a white dragon and wandered at the side of the water; Y i³ saw him and hit his left eye; H o P o² complained to God in Heaven above and asked him to kill Y i³; but when God in Heaven heard about his transformation trick he decided that it was H o P o's own fault. — As to the Lady of the L o river (L o p i n) whom Ch'u: T'ien wen says this Y i³ married (see p. 313), Wang Yi asserts that she was a divinity of Water (s h u e i s h e n), identical with F u F e i p. 276 above(!).

6. The legends of K'ung Kia have not been essentially added to in Han time, as far as I am aware. Sī-ma Ts'ien (Hia pen ki) asserts that he was not a son of his predecessor Kin but of king P u K i a n g.

XVI A.

There is an extensive cycle of myths about the last Hia king, Kie, the down-fall of the dynasty and the creation of the Sh a n g - Y i n dynasty by T' a n g and his coadjutors.

Kie is upheld *passim* in the classics as the typical miscreant on the throne and hence destined to cause the fall of the Hia; his opponent T' a n g is the great pattern of virtue, equally universally praised in the classics.

The misdeeds of Kie are sometimes described in detail. Ta Tai: Shao kien says that he was »steeped in wine and music, built palaces and terraces (towers) and subterranean grottoes for his pleasures and tyrannized the people». Kuan: K'ing chung makes Kuan-tsi narrate how in winter Kie made no bridges (sc. but let the people walk on the ice), in summer he made no rafts (for crossing the streams), in order to watch how people froze and drowned; he let loose female tigers (i. e. who had cubs and were particularly ferocious) all through the market,

¹⁾ Hung Hing-tsu (Sung time) in comm. on Ch'u: T'ien wen alleges: »Huai-nan-tsi says . . . » (as above), thus confounding the Huai text with the Kao Yu commentary!

in order to watch how people were terrified; he had 30000 female musicians who shouted and made music all from morning, so it was heard all through the streets, all of them dressed in embroidered silk; Yi Yin (see below) for one idle female artist and a roll of embroidered silk obtained a hundred chung of grain in Kie's country. The authentic Chu shu ki nien says he built the K' iung - kung («K' iung gem palace», var. K' ing - kung) and the Yao - t' ai («Yao gem terrace»). Many texts (Lü: Kung ming, Chuang: Jen kien shī, Hanfei: Shī kuo and Jen chu, Ts'ê: Ts'in 5) tell us how Kie had a worthy man (Ts'ê says he was a good general) Kuan Lung Feng who remonstrated and was killed by the king. Lü: Sien shī says the t' ai shī ling Great Archivist Chung Ku held his records and statutes in the hands and wept (in remonstrating), but Kie was still more disorderly and then Chung Ku fled to Shang (the state of the future opponent T' ang). Kie relied upon various bad councillors: Kan Sin, T' uei Ch' i (var. T' uei Yi), Ta Hi, K' i Chung Jung, Yin Hie, Si Kuan (Mo: Ts'in shī, Ming kuei; Lü: Tang jan, Chī tu, Kien süan, Shen ta; Hanfei: Shuo yi; Sün: Kie pi, Yu tso). Kuan: K' ing chung says he had a wicked favourite councillor K' ü Yi and a favourite lady Nü Hua, both of whom T' ang bribed (see below). The women in particular were his undoing. First, according to Kyü: Tsin 1, Kie attacked the land of Yu Shī (this house was evidently powerful throughout the entire Shang - Yin era, since it figures in the time of Wu wang of Chou, see Tso: Ting 4), and the people of Yu Shī placated him by giving him the lady Mo Hi (Chu shu var. Mo Hi²), who won his great favour but later betrayed him (see below). Then Tso: Chao 4 tells us that after he had made a great assembly of his feudal lords in the state of Yu Jeng (a powerful house already familiar to us pp. 312 above; Hanfei: Shī kuo, however, says: in the state of the Yu Jung) the lord of Yu Min rebelled (acc. to Tso: Chao 11, Kie crushed the lord of Yu Min), and the authentic Chu shu ki nien says that when he attacked the Min - shan (Mountain of Min), he was presented with two ladies: Yüan and Yen², whose names he engraved on a famous jade (the t' iao - hua jade 苧華) and rejected his first wife Mo Hi, banishing her to the Lo river, whereupon she conspired with Yi Yin (see below). Lü: Shen ta confirms that Kie was deluded by Mo Hi and loved Yüan and Yen².¹)

His great opponent T' ang was a pattern of virtue who (Kuan: K' ing chung) amassed grain to save those who hungered and who gave clothes to those who were cold. He (Kuan: Shan k' üan) took the metal of Chuang - shan mountain and made coins to redeem such children who had been sold by destitute

¹) Ch'u: T' ien wen says: «Kie attacked the Meng - shan mountain, what did he obtain? Mo Hi indulged her wishes, how did T' ang kill him (Kie)?» The comm. believe that Kie obtained Mo Hi in Meng - shan (which would then be equal to the Yu Shī of Tso above), but I think it much more probable that Meng - shan is a variant for the Min - shan above and the line refers to the rivals whom Mo Hi obtained there.

parents. He (Lü: Yi yung) disapproved of those who set up the hunting nets on all four sides (of an area), catching all that was inside, and he left three sides open so as only to catch such animals as »had forfeited their lives». He (Lü: Tsī chī) nominated public censors. After a long drought (Lü: Shun min) he prayed to God on High in the Sang Lin (»Mulberry Forest», a sacred forest)¹⁾ and tendered his own body as a sacrificial gift.²⁾ The legend about the drought in T'ang's time crops up *passim*, with variations. Mo: Ts'i huan quotes a Yin shu, book of the Yin to the effect that T'ang had a drought lasting 5 years; Kuan: K'üan shan and Sün: Wang pa say 7 years; Chuang: Ts'iu shuei says that in 8 years T'ang had 7 droughts (the story recurs slightly varied in Han Shī wai chuan 3).

Lü: Chī lo has another moralizing story: a straw of grain grew up in T'ang's court and between night and morning became so big that it could only be held round with both hands; this was unnatural and was hence declared by a diviner to be a bad omen; T'ang still further improved his virtuous conduct towards the people, and in 3 days the straw died.

Above all T'ang was skilful in making use of good councillors. The most prominent of them was Yi Yin »the governor Yi», the most common appellation of Yi Chī. That Yi Yin was the councillor of T'ang is already stated in Shu: Kan shī, and though chapters in the orthodox Shu (Yi hün, Hien yu yi tê, T'ai Kia) ascribed to him are spurious, there are fragments of the authentic ones left, e. g. of the T'ai Kia in Li: Tsī yi, of the Yi hün in Meng: Wan Chang, shang. The earliest details about Yi Yin are in Mo: Shang hien, chung: »Yi Chī was a servant (sī ch'en) of the daughter of Yu Shen shī (the lord of Shen),³⁾ and he was a cook (p'ao jen); T'ang got hold of him and made him his prime minister». Chuang: Keng Sang-ch'u briefly alludes to the same legend (»T'ang [caged =] got hold of Yi Yin by [the office of] a cook»). Ts'ê: Chao 4 likewise says that Yi Yin, carrying on his back cauldron and sacrificial table, sought T'ang, and from being a man whose very name was unknown became a first-rank minister. Ch'u: Kiu chang says »Yi Yin cooked in the kitchen», and the same story is alluded to in the T'ien wen. In Meng: Wan Chang, shang, on the other hand, W. asked Mencius

¹⁾ The princes of Sung, descendants of the Shang-Yin, were enfeoffed in Sung in order to keep up the cult of Sang Lin (Lü: Shen ta); they had a piece of sacred music called Sang Lin (Tso: Siang 10); the Spirit of Sang Lin showed himself in connection with a prognostication, and it was concluded that this omen concerned only the house of Sung (*ibid.*).

²⁾ The solemn words by which he dedicated himself (a now lost Shu chapter) are quoted in *extenso* in Mo: Kien ai, hia, and more or less abbreviated in Lun: Yao yüe and Kyü: Chou yü; Shī-tsī describes in detail the rites of the dedication.

³⁾ We have seen on p. 307 above how the systematizing texts seized upon this house: Kun married a lady of the Yu Shen house who bore the great Yü. Shen was still a feudal state in Chou time, e. g. in Shī: ode 236. All from Legge, various western authors read this 莘 Sin, but the correct reading (Shī wen, Kuang yün) is Shen.

whether it was true that Yi Yin sought favour with T'ang through his skill as a cook, but Mencius, in a long sermon, describes how Yi Yin farmed in the lands of the lord of Yu Shen, «delighting in the principles of Yao and Shun»; how T'ang sent him presents of silk to entreat him to enter his service; how he had to send thrice before Yi Yin felt morally bound to give in and took over the heavy charge of becoming prime minister. Lü: Pen wei gives a beautifully detailed legend: «A daughter of the lord of Yu Shen² (variant of Yu Shen) picked mulberry leaves, and then she found a baby in a k'ung sang hollow mulberry tree; she presented him to her lord, the lord let his cook bring him up; when they investigated how things had come about, it was stated that when his mother dwelt on the Yi⁴ river, she became pregnant; she dreamt that a Shen Spirit (god) told her: when water comes out of the mortar (trough), then go east and do not look back! Next day she saw that water came out of the mortar, she told her neighbours and went east for 10 li, and then she looked back at her town — it was all (under) water; her body in consequence (sc. of her disobedience) was transformed into a hollow mulberry tree; therefore he (sc. her son) was called Yi Yin «the governor Yi» (sc. after the river name); this is the story of how Yi Yin was born by a hollow mulberry tree; when he grew up he was wise; T'ang heard about Yi Yin and sent people to ask for him from the lord of Yu Shen, but he was not willing (sc. to part with Yi Yin); Yi Yin also wished to go to T'ang; T'ang then asked for a wife, and the lord of Yu Shen gladly sent Yi Yin as an escort for the girl...; when T'ang obtained Yi Yin, he purified him in the temple, threw light upon him with the sacred fire, smeared him with the blood of the sacrificial pig and next day received him in audience...»¹)

Referring to these legends, Ch'u: T'ien wen says: «When T'ang the Achiever made a tour of inspection in the east, the prince of Shen⁴ came; why did he (sc. T'ang) ask for that siao ch'en low servant (i. e. Yi Yin) and receive an auspicious wife? In the tree on the river shore one found that little child, why was it hated and sent as escort for the lady of the Yu Shen house?» To Yi Yin's rôle in the fall of the Hia we shall revert presently.

Another famous and worthy assistant of T'ang's was Chung Huei (Ta Tai: Yü tai tê var. Chung Huei², Sün: Yao wen var. Chung Huei³). We have seen above (p. 260) that Tso: Ting 1 tells us that the ancestor of the

¹) This story is interesting on several points. On the one hand, the place name, K'ung-sang or K'ung-sang appeared already in the myths of the early «emperor» Shao Hao (see p. 208), the place evidently having got its name from some famous old mulberry tree, probably the centre of a cult, a common phenomenon even in modern China (observe that when T'ang offered himself to God on High to avert a drought, he did so in Sang Lin «the Mulberry forest», a sacred grove); here the k'ung sang «hollow mulberry tree» turns up anew, now in connection with the birth of one of the greatest heroes of the Shang era. On the other hand, it is tempting to suspect an early hellenistic influence in the theme of the woman changed into a tree (Philemon and Baucis, Daphne).

Chou-time princes of Sie² was Hi² Chung (clan Jen, descendant of Huang Ti, see p. 260) who was »master of war chariots» k^ü cheng of the Hia (in Han time Huai asserts that Hi² Chung was kung master of artisans of Shun), that this Hi² Chung first took up his residence in P'ei and that (his descendant) Chung Huei resided in Sie² and was T'ang's minister of state of the left, tso siang.¹)

He was the author of the Shu chapter »the Announcement of Chung Huei»; the present chapter bearing that title in the orthodox Shu is spurious, but fragments of the authentic document are preserved in Mo: Fei ming, shang, chung and hia, and in Tso: Siang 30. When Meng: Tsin sin, hia speaks of Yi Yin and Lai Chu as two worthy ministers of T'ang's, most comm. believe that Lai Chu is but another name for Chung Huei, but they have no better reason for this than the absence of all further knowledge about Lai Chu.

Conforming to the pattern of the earlier rulers, T'ang should »cede the throne» to some worthy man, and this favourite theme we find in an account told both in Chuang: Jang wang and in Lü: Li su: T'ang consulted the sages Pien Suei and Wu Kuang (so in Lü and Chuang: Ta tsung shī; Mou Kuang in Chuang: Jang wang; Mou Kuang² in Sün: Ch'eng siang) about his attack on Kie, but they refused their advice; after his victory he wished to cede the throne to Pien Suei, who refused and threw himself into the Ch'ou river (Lü: into the Ying shuei); then he wanted to cede it to Wu Kuang, who likewise declined and taking a stone on his back drowned himself in the Lu³ river (Lü: the Mu river). Hanfei: Shuo lin gives the story a less complimentary twist: when T'ang had attacked Kie, he feared that people would consider him greedy and therefore he ceded to Wu Kuang; but he was afraid that Wu Kuang would accept, and so he sent a man to him who said: T'ang has killed his sovereign and now he wants to transfer the bad fame to you, therefore he cedes the empire to you; hence Wu Kuang threw himself into the Ho.

Chuang: Tsê yang tells us that T'ang had as teacher Men Yin Teng Heng (or: the gatekeeper Teng Heng), and in Chuang: Siao yao yu he consults the sage Ki⁷. Finally, in Ta Tai: Yü tai tê there occurs the wise Lao P'eng, see p. 274 above.

T'ang (in the oracle inscriptions written T'ang²) was evidently an honorific appellation. His personal name was Li⁴, as is proved by a fragment of a lost Shu chapter quoted in Lun: Yao yüe and Mo: Kien ai, hia, where he calls

¹) Tso: Chao 1 records as famous rebels under the Shang dynasty (the princes of) Shen³ and P'ei; it is undecided, however, under which reign they rebelled. Lu Tê-ming (King tien shī wen) and Ts'ie yün both read the character Sien, but the sound gloss on Shuo wen reads Shen³, and it is evidently but another variant of Yu Shen or Yu Shen³ in the Yi Yin legend above. Thus both states Shen³ and P'ei occur connected with the legends of T'ang (with Yi Yin and Chung Huei respectively). The spurious Chu shu ki nien places the rebellion of Shen³ and P'ei far on in the dynasty, the reign of Wai Jen, but for this there is no ancient support.

himself »I, the little child Li⁴»; it is further confirmed by Ta Tai: Shao kien: »Li⁴ of Sh a n g instead (of the H i a) came on the throne». His dynastic name is given in Sün: Ch'eng siang as T'ien Yi (»T'ien Yi, that was Ch'eng T'ang»), which was accepted by Si-ma Ts'ien and later historians. But in archaic script the graphs for t'ien 'heaven' and ta (t'ai) 'great' are practically identical, and Sün's T'ien Yi is a wrong reading of T'ai (Ta) Yi, as shown by the oracle inscriptions, where the name frequently occurs with the same graph as in names like T'ai Ting, T'ai Mou.¹⁾

There are various texts asserting that T'ang's original feudal land was P o² (*b'ák), sometimes (e. g. in Kuan: Ti shu, Yi Chou shu: Yin chu, Sün: Yi ping) written P o³ (*b'ák): Meng: T'eng Wen kung, shang: »T'ang resided in P o²» (sc. at the beginning of his career). Meng: Wan Chang, shang quotes the now lost Shu chapter Yi hün: »When heaven destroyed (Kie), it commenced attacking him in the Mu - k u n g palace; I (sc. T'ang) commenced in P o²». Tso: Chao 4 says that T'ang gave his orders from King P o². Meng: Liang Huei wang, hia enlarges upon the theme by adding that the original fief was very small: 70 li square (so also Kuan: Ti shu; Mo: Fei ming and Sün: Wang pa say 100 li). On the other hand, Lü: Shen shī says: »If T'ang had not had (his original fief) Wei⁶ 邶 (? , cf. below) . . .», and Lü: Kū pei says: »T'ang was pressed in Wei⁶ P o³» (Wei⁶ and P o³?). Lü: Shen ta says that the people »loved Wei⁶ as (they had loved) H i a». The comm. Kao Yu has the idea that Wei⁶ is a variant graph for Yin 殷; he points out that in his time (2nd c. A. D.) people in Yen-chou pronounced Yin like yi 衣 (Cheng Hūan in comm. on Li: Chung yung says the same of the people in Ts'i) and he concludes that Wei⁶ is a variant for yi 衣 in the sense of Yin. In consequence of this gloss of Kao's, the T'ang yün reads 邶 *iər / *gi / yi just like 衣. But the whole of this speculation is not very convincing. It is true that 衣 *iər could serve as variant for 殷 *iən (common in the bronze inscriptions). But 邶 has the phonetic 韋 *giwər / *jwəi / wei, which agrees badly with Kao's supposed *iər. It seems more probable that Wei⁶ is simply an enlarged form of Wei⁵ 韋, a state which T'ang crushed early in his career (see below) and evidently incorporated in his fief of P o² (P o³); hence Lü could speak of Wei⁶ or Wei⁶ P o³ as the early possession of T'ang. It should be observed that the geographical position of the original P o² is contested (see p. 210 above). One early source has it that it was somewhere to the east of the H i a capital, for Li: Tsī yi has a quotation from a now lost Shu chapter, where Yi Yin, T'ang's coadjutor, speaks of si yi H i a »the city of H i a in the west». This is confirmed in the Lü: Shen ta account below. The H i a capital was, according to Tso: Ting 4 in the region which became the fief of Ts'in, i. e. central and southern Shansi.

T'ang started his career by subduing various feudal states (the authentic

¹⁾ See for instance Tung Tso-pin, Kia ku wen tuan tai yen kiu li, in Studies . . . Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei 1933.

Chu shu says T'ang had 7 names and made 9 warlike expeditions; Meng: Teng Wen kung, shang says he had 11 wars), before he attacked his supreme lord, the Hia king. Meng: Liang Huei wang, hia quotes a lost Shu chapter: »When T'ang started his punitive expeditions, he commenced with (the state of) Ko²; and Meng: T'eng Wen kung, hia gives a long story of how the lord of Ko², neighbour of T'ang in Po², neglected his sacrifices, in spite of help delivered from Po², and it again quotes a lost Shu passage: »The lord of Ko² treated as enemies those who brought food to the field workers» (robbing the men of Po² who helped Ko² with field work). Ko² was a feudal kingdom in middle Chou time, its ruling house belonging to the clan Ying, cf. Tso: Hi 17, where it is mentioned that a lady Ying of Ko² was one of the second-rank wives of the famous prince Huan of Ts'i. Whether this Ko² had anything to do with the Ko² of the T'ang legend it is of course impossible to decide.

From the odes we learn of several other warlike expeditions of T'ang: ode 304 says he crushed Wei⁵, Ku, K'un-wu and then (king) Kie of Hia, and ode 305 sums up by saying that under Ch'eng T'ang of all, even those Ti and K'iang (tribes in the far west), there were none who dared not come and bring offerings. The Wei⁵ in question has been identified by Cheng Hsuan with the Shī Wei discussed in p. 293 above, which is quite arbitrary and unallowable; our Wei⁵ here is known from no other source, unless, as has been suggested above, it is identical with the Wei⁶ in Lü. Ku and K'un-wu were both states with ruling houses of the Ki³ clan (cf. p. 237 above).

A line of the now lost Shu chapter Yi hün is quoted by Cheng Hsuan (ap. K'ung Ying-ta's comm. on Shu: Yao tien): »Again he (sc. T'ang) attacked San Tsung²». Yi Chou shu: Shī ki tells us that the lord of Yu Lo did all kinds of extravagances (building palaces, ponds, parks etc.) and that Ch'eng Shang i. e. Ch'eng T'ang attacked and destroyed him.

In Ts'ê: Wei 4 it is said that when T'ang was about to attack Kie, he first tried his forces on the weak state of Mi Sü as an exercise in warfare, and having »obtained» Mi Sü went on and tackled Kie. On the other hand, Lü: Yung min places the Mi Sü legend in the time of Wen wang of Chou: »The people of Mi Sü themselves fettered their lord and gave themselves to Wen wang». The comm. (Kao Yu and others) identify this Mi Sü with the Mi³ that occurs as one of the states attacked by Wen wang according to Ode 241, which is just as arbitrary as the identification of Wei⁵ with Shī Wei above. However in Tso: Chao 15 it is stated that Wen wang used »the drum and great chariot of Mi Sü» in the big hunt, and it is more reasonable to assume that these were trophies obtained by Wen wang in his own wars than that they were heirlooms from the beginning of the Shang dynasty. Hence Lü has preserved a better version of the Mi Sü legend, and the Ts'ê author seems to have erroneously attributed it to T'ang.

The fundamental fact of T'ang, however, was his attack on Kie and

overthrowing of the Hia dynasty. There was a legend analogous to that of the last Shang-Yin king imprisoning Wen wang: here Kie made T'ang a prisoner but had to release him. The authentic Chu shu ki nien refers to it (Kie's last year): »That was the year when T'ang was released». And Ch'u: T'ien wen says: »T'ang came out from Ch'ung-ts'üan, what had been his crime? (After that) he could not overcome his wish to attack the emperor, who had caused him (sc. Kie) to provoke him (sc. T'ang)?»

The great attack, celebrated in one of the authentic Shu chapters, T'ang shī, in which T'ang harangues his troupes before the battle, and which is referred to in several other Shu chapters (To shī: »Ch'eng T'ang deposed the Hia»; Kün Shī: »When Ch'eng T'ang had received the heavenly charge, he had a man like Yi Yin»), was preceded by prodigies: »the rivers Yi⁴ (cf. the Yi Yin legend above) and Lo became (»exhausted» =) dry and then Hia perished» (Kyü: Chou, shang); »when Hia perished, (the god) Huei Lu (cf. p. 246) stayed for two nights in K'in-suei» (*ibid.*); »in Kie's last year the altar of the Soil burst» (auth. Chu shu ki nien). Mo: Fei kung, hia embroiders this theme: »When it came to Kie of Hia, Heaven declared its will: sun and moon missed their proper times, cold and heat came promiscuously, the five kinds of grain were scorched and died, demons howled in the land, cranes cried for more than ten nights; Heaven then charged T'ang in the Piao-kung palace...; soon there was a shen Spirit (god) who came and said: the virtue of the Hia is greatly disorderly, go and attack it, I will certainly let you have the strength for it, I have received the charge of Heaven; Heaven ordered Chu Jung (the fire-god, see p. 240) to send down fire to the north-western corner of the city of Hia; T'ang obtained the multitude of the Hia and vanquished the lord of Hia».

The antecedentia and details of the great fight are described in Lü: Shen ta. T'ang grieves over the misdeeds of Kie and sends Yi Yin to Hia to spy on him; fearing that Yi Yin may not be trusted by Kie, he shoots an arrow after him by his own hand, feigning enmity, and Yi Yin »escapes» to Hia. After 3 years he returns to Po² and reports about Kie's infatuation for Mo Hi, Yüan and Yen² (see p. 327 above) and the misery of the people. T'ang then makes a solemn covenant with Yi Yin in order to show him that he was determined to annihilate Hia. Yi Yin now goes again to spy in Hia. (Meng: Kao tsī, hia, makes these preparatory diatribes much more complicated: Yi Yin 5 times went to T'ang and 5 times to Kie) and consults Mo Hi. She tells him that »the Son of Heaven» the night before had dreamt that there was one sun in the west and one in the east and that the two suns battled and the western one was victorious. Yi Yin reports this to T'ang, and in spite of a bad drought in Po² he mobilizes his army, in order to stand by the covenant with Yi Yin, and lets it march out of his state from the east and advance towards the west (sc. towards Hia). Even before the armies have joined battle,

Kie flees and is pursued to the *Ta-sha* »Great Sand» and is killed and dismembered. In another *Lü* chapter (*Kien süan*) the account is varied: »*T'ang* had 70 fine war chariots and 6000 warriors devoted unto death; on the day *mou-tsī* he fought in *Ch'eng*⁵ and caught (the strong men) *T'uei Yi* (= *T'uei Ch'i*) and *Ta Hi*; he ascended from *Ming-t'iao* and entered the *Ch'ao-men* gate (*Huai*: *Fan lun* has the variant *Tsiao-men*) and thus got possession of *Hia*; Kie fled». — This should be compared with *Mo*: *Ming kuei*, *hia*: »*T'ang* had 9 (probably wrong for 90) war chariots in wild-geese array...; though Kie had strong men like *T'uei Ch'i* and *Ta Hi*, who could tear asunder a living rhinoceros or tiger and kill a man by touching him with the finger, he could not escape the punishment of the gods.» *Ts'ê*: *Yen* 2 and *Sün*: *Yi ping* say that the great battle was fought in *Ming-t'iao*. *Kuan*: *K'ing chung* varies the theme of *T'ang's* inside help in *Hia*: it was on the one hand the lady *Nü Hua*, on the other hand the favourite *K'ü Yi*.¹⁾

We have seen that *Lü* says Kie was driven to *Ta-sha* »the Great Sand»; *Mo*: *San pien*, on the other hand, says that *T'ang* banished Kie to *Ta-shuei* »the Great Water», wherever that may be. But a more wide-spread tradition is connected with another name, *Nan-ch'ao*. *Lü*: *Lun wei* says Kie died in *Nan-ch'ao*, *Kyü*: *Lu shang* says Kie fled to *Nan-ch'ao*, and the authentic *Chu shu ki nien* says he fled to the lord of *Nan-ch'ao*. When *Sün*: *Kie pi* asserts that he died on the *T'ing-shan* mountain, the comm. are ready to determine this as »a mountain in *Nan-ch'ao*»; another text version of *Sün*, however, had *Li-shan*², and *Wang Nien-sun* believes that *T'ing* is a scribe's fault for the similar character *Li*, since *Shī-tsī* says Kie was banished to *Li-shan*². The commentators place *Nan-ch'ao* in modern *Anhui*. Several sources make this *Nan-ch'ao* instead of *Ming-t'iao* the place for the decisive battle. *Shī-tsī* says that *T'ang* with 300 leather-armed chariots attacked Kie in *Nan-ch'ao* and imprisoned him in the *Hia-kung* palace (*Huai*: *Pen king* calls it *Hia-t'ai* »the Hia Tower»), and *Yi Chou shu*: *Yin chu* has a long story (with various dialogues between Kie and *T'ang*): *T'ang* intended to banish Kie to *Chung-ye*, but all the people went over to *T'ang* there, and Kie with 500 adherents moved a thousand *li* to *Pu-ts'i* and from there to *Lu*, and again from there to *Nan-ch'ao*; when *T'ang* had placed Kie in banishment in *Nan-ch'ao*, he returned to *Po*² and the 3000 feudal lords assembled there. *T'ang* offered the royal seal and the throne to anyone who would be worthy, but nobody dared accept, and so *T'ang* himself ascended the throne (the story recurs abbreviated in *Shang shu ta chuan*).

Let us for a moment follow up the fate of *T'ang's* great coadjutor, *Yi Yin*. *Meng*: *Wan Chang*, *shang* narrates: »*Yi Yin* was minister to *T'ang*

¹⁾ *Nü Hua* may mean »the womanly flower» and *K'ü Yi* »the crooked and refractory one» and they might simply be sobriquets for *Mo Hi* and some one of the wicked councillors of Kie's.

and made him king over the whole world; when T'ang died, T'ai Ting never came to the throne, Wai Ping had two years (sc. as king), Chung Jen had four years; T'ai Kia overthrew the rules and laws of T'ang, and Yi Yin banished him to T'ung; after 3 years T'ai Kia repented... and he returned (as king) to Po². From this account the degrees of kinship between the four men is not clear, but it is revealed by Kyü: Ch'u shang: »Yao had Tan Chu⁴, Shun had Shan Küan, K'i⁴ had Wu Kuan, T'ang had T'ai Kia, Wu wang had (the princes of) Kuan² and Ts'ai, those five kings possessed great virtue but they had wicked sons» (a similar passage in Hanfei: Shuo yi). Thus it is clearly stated that T'ai Kia was a son of T'ang, and presumably T'ai Ting, Wai Ping and Chung Jen his elder brothers. Kyü: Tsin 4 likewise says that Yi Yin banished T'ai Kia, and Tso: Siang 21 says Yi Yin banished T'ai Kia but was his minister (after the restitution). The authentic Chu shu ki nien, however, has a less lenient account of the affair; it says: »Wai Ping ascended the throne and resided in Po²; Chung Jen ascended the throne, resided in Po² and made Yi Yin minister; when Chung Jen died, Yi Yin banished T'ai Kia to T'ung and himself ascended the throne; when Yi Yin had ascended the throne and had kept T'ai Kia banished for 7 years, T'ai Kia secretly left T'ung, killed Yi Yin and set up his sons Yi Ch'ü and Yi Fen, restituted to them their father's fields and mansions and let them divide them». That is the dry chronicle version of the end of the great sage Yi Yin.

Some words, finally, of T'ang's ancestors. We have seen above that he traced his lineage from Sie, son of emperor K'u (p. 211). Kyü: Chou hia says: »The Dark King (hüan wang), i. e. Sie (so called because of his miraculous birth through the Black Bird, the swallow, in ode 303) did meritorious work for the (future) Shang house, after 14 generations it rose» (to the royal throne). This formulation is ambiguous, for it is not clear whether »14 generations» is exclusive or inclusive of Sie and of T'ang: it might mean Sie + 12 princes + T'ang; or: Sie + 13 princes + T'ang; or: Sie + 14 princes + T'ang. Sün: Ch'eng siang, on the other hand, says: »Sie, the Dark King (Sie hüan wang) begat Chao Ming, he resided in Chi-shi and moved to Shang, after 14 generations there was T'ien Yi (wrong for T'ai Yi, see above), he was Ch'eng T'ang». If we were to interpret the Kyü passage as exclusive of Sie (14 generations after Sie), we should have to translate here, on the analogy of that: 14 generations after Chao Ming, and the two sources would be unreconcilable. But the figure »14 generations» is evidently a fundamental genealogical fact, common to both texts, and we must conclude that in both cases it refers, not to the number of princes after Sie and Chao Ming respectively, but to the complete number of princes after the Royal ancestor K'u, Sie counted as the first, and T'ang, who rose to Royal power, as the 14th. Thus: Sie + 12 princes + T'ang.

Some of these 12 princes can be determined from the free pre-Han texts. We saw from Sün that Sie was followed by Chao Ming; on the other hand Kyü: Lu shang says: »All from the Dark King (Sie) down to Chu Kuei⁴ none were equal to T'ang». From this we learn that T'ang's predecessor (father?) was Kuei.⁴ In between Chao Ming and Chu Kuei⁴ the texts mention 6 princes:

Siang T'u: Ode 304 mentions him in between Sie and T'ang. Tso: Siang 9 says: »Yao's »Master of Fire» Ngo Po resided in Shang-k'iu and sacrificed to the (star) Ta huo (see p. 243 above), Siang T'u continued it»; consequently Siang T'u must stand very early in the line, directly after Chao Ming. Siang T'u is further mentioned in Tso: Ting 4, where it is said that his »eastern capital» was in the region that in Chou time became the state of Wei. In the oracle inscriptions he is called simply T'u².

Ming: Kyü: Lu shang says that the Shang people offered kiao sacrifice to Ming and tsung sacrifice to T'ang. Kyü (*ibid.*) further says that »Ming was energetic in his official task and died in the waters». This is highly interesting. We have studied above (p. 244) the popular water-god Huan Ming, who was annexed to the ancestral hero cult as son of the »emperor» Shao Hao. Here a legendary forefather of T'ang's, called Ming (same name) is said to have died in the waters, evidently a coalescence of two sets of legends.

Ki⁸, Heng² and Kai: Ch'u: T'ien wen says: »Heng² (grasped =) maintained the virtue of Ki⁸...; Kai maintained the virtue of Ki⁸, his father found him good». In the oracle inscriptions there occur among the early princes (anterior to T'ang — all the kings from T'ang to the end of the dynasty are well established by the oracle inscriptions) both Ki⁸, Wang Hai and Wang Keng, and Wang Kuo-wei is clearly right in identifying Hai with the Kai, Keng with the Heng of the T'ien wen. This is further confirmed by the authentic Chu shu ki nien, which says that Wang Tsü Hai of Yin was killed by the lord of Yu Yi, but was revenged by Chu Kia Wei of Yin (see p. 320 above). From the wording of the T'ien wen text it is evident that Heng (Keng) and Kai (Hai) were sons of Ki⁸. Wang Kuo-wei goes one step further: the Shī pen says that Ming had a son Ho² 核, and if we take this Ho² as a variant of Hai 亥 and Kai 該, that would mean that Ming and Ki⁸ are one and the same person. That is all very well, but the Shī pen is a systematizing text little anterior to the Shī ki (which frequently draws upon the Shī pen), and like the Shī ki it is full of data that are in conflict with the free pre-Han texts. It is far from safe to rely on its statement above.

Shang Kia Wei or Chu Kia Wei: We have just seen that Chu shu ki nien says this prince revenged the death of his predecessor. Kyü: Lu shang says: »Shang Kia Wei could follow (the principles of) Sie, the Shang people offered pao sacrifices to him».

If we turn from the texts to the oracle inscriptions, we find a series of princes ending with Kuei⁴, predecessor of T'ang, related in a fixed order (repeated in several inscriptions):¹⁾

X Kia (𠩺 甲) — Pao Yi (匋 乙) — Pao Ping — Pao Ting — Shī Jen — Shī Kuei⁴.

Since X Kia is the only name of a prince anterior to T'ang in the oracle inscriptions which contains the word Kia, Wang Kuo-wei is certainly right in identifying X Kia with the Shang Kia Wei of Chu Kia Wei of the texts. We have thus arrived at the following list of early Shang princes:

(K'u:)	}	This sequence attested
Sie (texts, inscr.)		
Chao Ming (texts)		
Siang T'u (texts), T'u (inscr.)		
Ming (texts)	}	these two identical?
Ki ⁸ (texts, inscr.)		
Heng (text), Wang Keng (inscr.)	}	attested as sons of Ki ⁸ .
Kai, Wang Tsī Hai (texts), Wang Hai (inscr.)		
Shang Kia Wei, Chu Kia Wei (texts), X Kia (inscr.)	}	This sequence attested.
Pao Yi (inscr.)		
Pao Ping (inscr.)		
Pao Ting (inscr.)		
Shī Jen (inscr.)		
Chu Kuei ⁴ (text), Shī Kuei ⁴ (inscr.)		
T'ang, T'ien Yi (texts), T'ang ² , T'ai Yi (inscr.)		

We thus know the names of 14 princes (12 of which are attested in the inscriptions), after the Royal ancestor K'u: Sie + 12 princes + T'ang, which would seem to agree with the pronouncements in Kyü and Sün as interpreted on p. 335 above. But that is not quite correct, for even if we take the »14 generations» in those texts to mean the line with Sie and T'ang inclusive, our list cannot be called »14 generation»: from the formulation in Ch'u: T'ien wen above it is evident that Heng and Kai were brothers (both »maintaining the virtue of Ki⁸») and probably there is one prince missing from the list, representing »one generation» (or two, if we accept the identification of Ming and Ki⁸).

That the lore about the early Shang princes has been so extensively preserved in the pre-Han texts is due to the fact that Wu wang, the first Chou king, enfeoffed (Li: Yü ling, Lü: Shen ta) the descendants of the Shang house in the state of Sung (clan tsī, referring to the myth about the birth of the ancestor Sie from a swallow's egg, tsī 子), which played a prominent part in Chinese politics for many centuries. In its ancestral cult the early legends were certainly well preserved. Kyü: Lu shang and Li: Tsi fa, tell us that the

¹⁾ See Tung Tso-pin, Kia ku wen tuan tai yen kiu li, in Studies . . . Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei 1933.

Shang dynasty offered *tsu* sacrifices to *Sie*; but Tso: Wen 2 records that the princes of Sung offered the *tsu* sacrifice to a later sovereign of the line, *Ti Yi*, who was the last but one of the Shang-Yin kings (cf. Tso: Ai 9).

XVI B.

The systematizing and early Han texts offer various discrepancies from the free pre-Han texts.

Sī-ma Ts'ien, in his treatment of *Kie* and *T'ang*, makes on the whole only a very brief extract from the early sources, with small aberrations not all of which need be recorded here; a few examples will suffice. He says that *Kie*'s name was properly *Li⁴ Kuei⁴* 履癸. This flatly contradicts the ancient sources, and, as pointed out by Chavannes, it is probably a gross lapsus: *Li⁴* was *T'ang*'s name, *Kuei⁴* was that of his predecessor (father?) in the princely Shang house, and the names *Li⁴-Kuei⁴* have been combined and applied to *T'ang*'s antagonist *Kie*; the fault is due to the *Shī pen*, from which Sī-ma took it over. Further on his authority Pan Ku (Han shu: Ku kin jen piao), simplifying matters, says *Kie*'s name was *Kuei⁴* (!). — Sī-ma: *Kie* imprisoned *T'ang* in *Hia-t'ai*. Huai: Fan lun has the same story (*Kie* after his defeat did not repent his sins but only regretted that he had not killed *T'ang* in the *Hia-t'ai*), but the introduction of the name *Hia-t'ai* (instead of the *Ch'ung-ts'üan* of Ch'u: T'ien wen) seems to be due to confusion with the *Hia-kung* (*Shī-tsī*) or *Hia-t'ai* (Huai: Pen king), in which *T'ang* after his victory imprisoned *Kie* (see p. 334). — Sī-ma: *Kie* was vanquished on the site of the *Yu Sung²* house and he fled to *Ming-t'iao* (we saw that *Lü* and *Ts'ê* placed the battle in *Ming-t'iao*, *Shī-tsī* in *Nan-ch'ao*); but again (*Shī ki*: *Ts'in pen ki*) he says that *Fei Ch'ang* (unknown in pre-Han texts) was *T'ang*'s charioteer when he vanquished *Kie* in *Ming-t'iao*: thus his data are contradictory. — Sī-ma: *T'ai Kia* was the son of *T'ai Ting* and the grandson of *T'ang* (whereas *Kyü* expressly tells us that he was *T'ang*'s son): here again he bases himself on the *Shī pen*. — The story of the straw of grain which grew as a warning omen in *T'ang*'s court has been transferred by the *Shu shü* and Sī-ma (*Shī ki*: *Feng shan shu*) to a later Shang king, *T'ai Mou*, and the straws have been changed into one mulberry plant and one straw of grain which grew together (*Shang shu ta chuan* places the event in the reign of *Wu Ting*).

A great many additional items not existing in the free pre-Han texts have been taken over by Sī-ma from the *Shu Preface* (*Shu sū*), a work evidently slightly anterior to his time. This is a typical systematizing text. There existed a list of the various *Shu* chapters, of which a great many were already lost in early Han time, and the author of the Preface has systematically gone through the list and supplied tales to explain the names of the chapters, tales that are quite unknown in the free pre-Han texts. The *Shu sū* says for instance:

From Sie to Ch'eng T'ang they moved (the capital) 8 times; T'ang was the first to reside in Po²... then he made the (chapters) Ti kao and Li wu. — Yi Yin left Po² and went to Hia; when he became disgusted with the lord of Hia, he returned to Po²; he entered through the northern gate and met (the worthy men) Ju Kiu and Ju Fang; and so he made the (chapters) Ju Kiu and Ju Fang. — (After the battle at Ming-t'iao) T'ang.... attacked San Tsung² and captured it precious jades; Yi Po² (Si-ma var. Yi Po³) and Chung Po made the (chapter) Tien pao. — When T'ang returned from Hia and came to Ta-kiung (Si-ma var. T'ai-küan), Chung Huei made his Announcement (the chapter Chung Huei chī kao). — Kao Shan made (the chapter) Ming kü. — When T'ang had died, in T'ai Kia's 1st year, Yi Yin, composed the Yi hün. Later scholars (followed e. g. by the T'ung kien kang mu) have taken this entry to mean that neither Wai Ping nor Chung Jen ever came to the throne (against Meng: Wan Chang and the authentic Chu shu, both of which recognize these kings); but the wording of the Shu sū entry does not necessarily convey this.

Besides these earlier unknown remarkable men in T'ang's entourage: Ju Kiu, Ju Fang, Yi Po², Chung Po, Kao Shan, some early Han texts know of several more. Lie-tsi in several passages lets T'ang discuss with the wise Hia Ko (e. g. Lie: T'ang wen). The comm. identify him with the Ki', mentioned by Chuang: Siao yao yu (see p. 330 above) and say that 革, ordinarily read *kek / kek / ko should here be read *kjak / kjak / ki like 棘. This is a very arbitrary guess. In the famous Shu: To shī a line runs: »(Heaven ordered) Ch'eng T'ang to ko Hia depose the Hia (革夏), and it seems likely that Lie (in the playful manner of the taoist authors) has turned this into a name: Hia Ko »the Deposer of the Hia«, i. e. some councillor who helped T'ang to overthrow the Hia. Han Shī wai chuan 5 says T'ang had for teacher a certain Tai Hu Siang. The same work (k. 4) knows all the details of the death of the famous Kuan Lung Feng: Kie made a wine pond so big that a boat could move about in it, the dregs formed a mound that could be seen at a distance of ten li; those who drank there like oxen were 3000 persons; Kuan Lung Feng remonstrated and was killed by Kie. Han Shī nei chuan (ap. Yü lan 83) says T'ang was 13 years on the throne and died at the age of 100 years.

Shan hai king (k. 16) attaches a ghost story to the Kie legend: »There is a man without head who stands holding dagger-axe and shield, he is called »the corpse of Hia Keng«; when Ch'eng T'ang attacked Kie on the Chang-shan (deviating from the pre-Han texts) and vanquished him, he cut off the head of Hia Keng in front of him; Keng stood up without his head and fleeing from his punishment went down to the Wu-shan mountain.»

The Eastern Han scholars add various supernatural features to the legend of T'ang. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Ku siang) says he had four elbows. Wang Fu (Tsien fu lun: Wu tê lun) has the customary story of a miraculous birth: T'ang's

mother lady F u T u saw a white vapour bore through the moon, she was moved (to pregnancy) and she bore the »Black Emperor» T'ang. And in the 3rd c. Huang-fu Mi (Ti wang shī ki) as usual has a long and full biography in which, along with the various themes of the earlier authors, there crop up a great many features of which only a few can be quoted here as examples:

K i e in his palace had 3000 bronze pillars, he was the first to put tiles on the houses; night and day he feasted and drank wine with M o H i and the harem ladies and he used to put M o H i on his lap; M o H i enjoyed to hear the sound of silk that was torn to pieces and laughed, and hence K i e took silk from the stores and tore it to please her; he put men to pull his carriage; he made mountains of meat and forests of dried meat (this plagiarizes the story of C h o u³, the last Yin king, who, according to Hanfei: Yü Lao, made »a garden of meat»). When Y i Y i n lifted his goblet and remonstrated against his wickedness, K i e said: Heaven has its sun, just as I have the people; when the sun perishes, I shall perish.¹⁾ After the defeat K i e took M o H i and all the harem ladies and went by sea to N a n - c h ' a o, where he died. T'ang made 27 punitive expeditions against wicked feudal lords. When he had made his famous order about the hunting nets (see p. 328) the lords to the south of the Han river admired his benevolence and 36 states at once gave themselves up to him; when K i e killed those who remonstrated, T' a n g sent envoys solemnly to weep at their graves and hence was imprisoned by K i e; when he subsequently was released, in one day 500 states submitted to him. Y i Y i n was a descendant of L i M u of Huang Ti's time (see p. 281) and his mother was lady S h i T o; he became 100 years old, and when he died, Heaven made a fog for 3 days. When T' a n g had obtained all the important parts of the realm, a s h e n Spirit (god) entered the court of Y i n and led a white wolf who carried a (fishing) hook in its mouth; then he (T' a n g) made a tour to the east, threw as sacrifice a p i jade into the L o river and obtained the happy omen of the Yellow Fish and the Black Jade; thereupon he accepted the mandate and called himself king. The people of the Marvellous Arms K' i K u n g m i n could make flying chariots, which following the wind went far away; in T' a n g's time a westerly wind blew the flying chariots as far as to Yü-chou, T' a n g destroyed the chariots and did not let the people see them, etc. Let us add that Huang-fu Mi (ap. Shī wen to Chuang: Ta tsung shī) makes W u K u a n g a contemporary of H u a n g T i, not of T' a n g.

The legends about T' a n g's prominent henchmen are also sometimes tampered with. Thus, the story of Y i Y i n's mother (who, as we saw, was to flee when the mortar produced water): Wang Yi (comm. on Ch'u: T'ien wen) says: »When the mortar and the hearth produce frogs . . .».

There is finally the question of the genealogical line of the S h a n g princes, descendants of emperor K' u, prior to T' a n g. Shī pen records the first genera-

¹⁾ This story is made to explain the famous phrase in Shu: T'ang shī, where the suffering people say: When will that sun perish, we will perish along with it.

tions thus: (K' u: son) Sie — son Chao Ming — son Siang T'u — son Ch'ang Jo — son Ts'ao Yü (var. Liang Yü) — son Ken Kuo — son Ming. We saw under A above that neither the free pre-Han texts nor the oracle inscriptions ever mention Ch'ang Jo, Ts'ao Yü or Ken Kuo. Si-ma Ts'ien (Yin pen ki) follows Shī pen but skips Ken Kuo and makes Ming a son of Ts'ao Yü.¹⁾ He gives a complete list thus:

Sie — son Chao Ming — son Siang T'u — son Ch'ang Jo — son Ts'ao Yü — son Ming — son Chen² — son Wei³ — son Pao Ting² 報丁 — son Pao Yi² — son Pao Ping² — son Chu Jen — son Chu Kuei⁴ — son T'ien Yi (wrong for T'ai Yi = T'ang, see p. 331).

There is one very remarkable feature in this list. Sī-ma knows of the names Pao Ting, Pao Yi, Pao Ping, and Chu Jen, though they never occur in pre-Han texts; and none the less his data are confirmed by the recently exvated oracle inscriptions, the Pao 勺 Ping etc. of which are evidently identical with his Pao 報 Ping² etc. and the Shī 丌 Jen of which clearly is the same as his Chu 主 Jen. Thus it is clear that Sī-ma has had access to some earlier source, some genealogical list, probably that of the house of Sung in Chou time. But it should be observed that there are several discrepancies from the true line as revealed by the oracle inscriptions. On the one hand, Chen² is quite unknown in the inscriptions; on the other hand, Sī-ma has confused the order of the kings, Pao Ting being wrongly placed before instead of after Pao Yi and Pao Ping; and, finally, Sī-ma knows nothing of Ki³ and his sons Kai (Hai) and Heng (Keng), attested both in Ch'u: T'ien wen and in the oracle inscriptions.

* * *

With the legends about the fall of the Hia and the rise of the Shang this survey shall come to a close; not because there are no legends concerning the next following periods, but because with the Shang dynasty we are on semi-historical ground; I hope to revert to the lore of the Shang and the early Chou on another occasion.

It has often been stated that Confucius, Mencius, Mo-tsi, the Tso and Kuo-yü authors and all those other writers of the last few pre-Han centuries regarded the principal figures in the legends pieced together above (our A sections) as plainly historical personages: early emperors, kings, ministers, feudal lords, rebels etc. That is true to a certain extent, but it is only half the truth: they certainly

¹⁾ Pan Ku (Han shu: Ku kin jen piao) and Wei Chao (comm. on Kyü: Lu shang) give a Ken Yü as Ming's father. This seems to be a contamination from the Ts'ao Yü and Ken Kuo of Shī pen. Observe, however, that the Shī pen variant for Ts'ao Yü: Liang Yü, since the character Liang 糧 has a variant 糧 which is similar to Ken 根, may have given rise to a Ken Yü, under influence of the following Ken Kuo in Shī pen's list. And Cheng Hsuan (comm. on Li: Tsi fa) still with Shī pen maintains that Ming was the 6th descendant of Sie, not the 5th, with Sī-ma.

never doubted their real existence and the leading parts they played in the happenings of early times. But at the same time it is quite obvious that they never considered them to be *merely* sovereigns and grantees of the same character as the protagonists in later times (Wen wang and Wu wang, Chou⁴ kung, Lü Wang, Shao po Hu etc.) who, though prominent sages, were none the less only human beings. »Men» like Fu Hi, Shen Nung, Huang Ti, Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang were something much more: they were *super-men*, great cultural heroes with supernatural powers far exceeding those of ordinary mortals, and this is why the tales of their lives and great achievements have been faithfully preserved down to the end of the feudal era: their deeds have been recorded in the grandee houses which were proud to trace their lineage back to those early super-men and which faithfully kept up the cults to their ancestor-heroes. The divine nature and powers of those early heroes were ever present in the minds of all the writers of the last few Chou centuries, and in this sense the tales about them are frankly mythological.¹⁾

That this was so is amply evident in practically every chapter above. The tales teem with supernatural features, and in numerous cases the miraculous events tally perfectly with the folk-lore beliefs current in late Chou time, such as frequently peep through in the very same sources that have preserved the hero legends. It is not necessary to recapitulate them all here, since they are recorded in the various paragraphs above; it is sufficient to recall a few typical themes as examples: the miraculous birth of Sie, ancestor of the Shang, by a swallow's egg, and of K'ü, ancestor of the Chou, by God's foot-print; the inundation myth connected with Kung Kung; the primeval rulers with divine powers, e. g. Hien Yüan shi; the nature-divinities Chu Jung (fire-god), Huan Ming (water-god) etc. (a long series) that were identified with and impersonated by early heroes of the leading grandee houses; the demons K'üng K'ü etc., likewise hooked on to the hero myths; the wicked Kun, whose Spirit, when he was killed by the sovereign, changed into a yellow bear and entered the Yü-yüan abyss; the portents connected with the punishment of the San Miao; the miraculous happenings that saved Hou Tsi's life; the cult-master of the sun, Hi Ho, who by his magic could cause the sun to rise and determine its speed; the theme of the 10 suns; the enormously distant western land of Si Wang Mu; the »drawing» and the »document» which were miraculously brought out of the Ho and Lo rivers; the Methusaleh P'eng Tsu; Huang Ti assembling the

¹⁾ These conceptions in Chou time about the genealogical connection of the then flourishing grandee houses with early divine or semi-divine heroes are by no means unique; we find parallels in various cultural areas. Thus, for instance, the famous Julian family in Rome traced its lineage back to Julius, the founder of Alba Longa, son of Aeneas, whose parents were Anchises and the goddess Venus; Caesar himself was proud of his divine ancestry and built a temple in his forum to Venus Genetrix. Similarly both the Royal houses of Sparta (the Agiades and the Eurypontides) traced their genealogy back to Herakles, and so did, according to Herodotos, the Royal Macedonian house. To this day the Imperial house of Japan claims a direct descent from the Sun goddess Amaterasu.

Spirits on T'ai-shan, waited upon by a pleiad of marvellous divinities; Huang Ti miraculously causing metal to come forth, Ch'î Yu, the Master Founder, and the gigantic battle between the two; Chuan Hû, the early tao-master, dwelling in the »Dark Palace»; Yao who was on the throne 100 complete years and had a fantastically large realm; the ghost of Yao's son Chu⁴ who begat king Mu wang of Chou; Shun being miraculously saved from dangers, expelling the demons K'ung K'i etc.; Yü saving the world from the flood by his gigantic labours, scaring the ferocious dragon, visiting all kinds of fantastic lands and possessing a realm with typically mythological confines; Yü assembling the Spirits on the Kuei-ki mountain and killing the giant Fang Feng; the magical cauldrons of K'i⁴ cast by Fei Lien; Yi³ the archer shooting at the god of the Ho; K'ung Kia, who obtained divine dragons from Ti (God); the dragons' spittle which gave birth to the wicked Pao Sî; the portent in T'ang's court; Yi Yin's miraculous birth (the Hollow Mulberry tree); the prodigies signalling the fall of the Hia.

It is nonetheless evident that in the legends about the pre-Shang era such as were current in late Chou time these supernatural features, though important as revealing the mythological character of most of the leading figures, are still quite few in proportion to the great wealth of details of a frankly »human» kind: if most of these heroes had super-human powers — good or bad — they were still principally great sages or great miscreants who created or ruined »dynasties» or grandee houses. It would, however, be erroneous to attribute this to any wish on the part of the Chou-time *authors* to euhemerise the legends, to cut out the mythological features of popular mythology and transform the early heroes into normal, human emperors and statesmen. Writers like the Tso and Kuo-yü authors, Mo-tsî and Lü Pu-wei had no such wish — they would then have refrained from narrating all those supernatural features recorded above. The reason is quite a different one: it is precisely the fact that the legends about the early heroes were propagated by the grandee houses in connection with their *ancestral cults* (and have been preserved and come down to us thanks to this). It was in their interest to keep alive every scrap of tradition that showed their forefathers as powerful sages and good *lords*, worthy ancestors of a still prominent and politically important clan, and their opponents and foes as rebels and miscreants, doomed to failure and to loss of sacrificing descendants. It should further be observed that even these more »human» features of the tales reveal themselves as being just as legendary as the supernatural traits — they are, of course, no more »historical» than the latter — by the simple fact that they can be reduced, to a large extent, to certain leading themes that crop up in the legends of various grandee houses: there is, for instance, the constantly recurring theme of the sovereign who studies under good teachers and finds good councillors (and respectively: the bad ruler who listens to bad councillors), preferably sages who are found living in low and unassuming circumstances; the modest sovereign who would cede the throne or in

fact cedes the throne to the most worthy; the sovereign who makes extensive »inspection« tours and thus spreads his good influence, and sometimes who dies far from his capital while on such a journey; the sovereign who sternly crushes »rebels« and wicked feudal lords who are baleful to the people; the sovereign who starts his career in a very small capacity (sometimes even as a »commoner«) and then attains to the highest power over an enormous realm; the sovereign who sacrifices to the sacred T' a i - s h a n and thereby signifies his superior power — most of these ever-recurring themes we find again in the tales about the fall of the S h a n g - Y i n and the rise of the C h o u, which are not treated in the present paper.

It might be tempting to interpret such repetitions of the same themes as the literary play of the scholars of late C h o u time, who in regard to various early heroes plagiarized a tradition which originally concerned only one of them; but that can hardly be the correct explanation, for the traditions in question are as a rule firmly connected, in each case, with a definite set of persons and events that are registered quite identically in works of different schools (by Confucian authors, by Mo-ists, in the Ch'u ts'i poetry, etc.), which reveals that those parallel themes already existed, as accepted traditions, prior to the late-Chou literature in the lore of the ancestral cults of early and middle Chou time: the cult-masters in the various grandee houses had already then a series of patterns for their hagiography that were a *commune bonum* to all, and it is now impossible to tell in which cult centre a certain idea, for instance that of the sovereign who cedes the throne, first originated; probably we have here quite ancient ideals that found expression simultaneously among the descendants of several (sometimes many) clans.

* * *

The materials adduced in the paragraphs above suffice to show some fundamentally important facts which confirm the correctness of the views expressed in our introduction above.

A. The free pre-Han texts present a system of legends and beliefs which, on the whole, is remarkably consistent and identical in all the texts of the most varying schools; there are a number of divergences, certainly, but in most cases they concern mere details; in the fundamental framework there are no considerable differences.

B. The systematizing and early Han texts mark a violent rupture with the old tradition. The authors have deviated from the data of the old texts, not merely modified their system in details and tampered with subordinate matters but often entirely corrupted the fundamental structure; they have transferred certain legends from one myth cycle to another; they have introduced symbolistic and cosmogonic speculations that were not inherent in the genuine pre-Han myths; they have added various embellishments, frequently quite extensive yarns and

often tales that by their mere content at once reveal themselves as obvious innovations; a great number of nature myths and folklore beliefs that were current in Han time, but for the earlier existence of which there are no proofs whatever, have been hooked on to the pre-Han hero myths.

C. The Eastern Han and post-Han scholars have gone much further than their Western Han predecessors. They have vied with each other in creating various structures for the systematization and interpretation of the materials embodied in the pre-Han texts, and they have been far more bold in attaching to them all kinds of fanciful innovations, many of which are patently ridiculous.

The true explanation of these discrepancies between the free pre-Han texts on the one hand, the systematizing texts, the Han and post-Han texts on the other, has already been indicated on pp. 199—203 above: the traditions could be essentially consistent and identical in the most varying sources all through the Chou era because the legends were sacred traditions faithfully preserved in connection with the cults of the grandee families, be it feudal lords or their dignitaries and vassals. These various grandee houses traced their lineage back to the early legendary heroes, and the lore about these heroes was thus a *commune bonum* to all the noblemen-writers of the pre-Han era. The majority of the myths preserved are hero legends; a considerable part, however, are fundamentally nature myths, but if they have been preserved in texts it is thanks to the fact that they have been seized upon and hooked on to the hero cults in the grandee families. — The systematizers and Han scholars, on the contrary, on the one hand had a quite different purpose: what they wanted to do was not simply and faithfully to recount the traditions living in the minds of the cult-masters and the noblemen-writers of the Chou era, but to *work up* the materials, picked out from various texts anterior to their own time — therefore they had to resort to all kinds of amputations, alterations and additions; on the other hand, they no longer lived in an epoch when the ancient traditions were still living in the circles of cult-masters and noblemen connected with the ancestral cults of the various feudal courts, but in an imperial era which had broken with the past, annihilated the feudal cult centres and killed the living tradition; they had to do the work of quasi-scientific reconstruction. This character of «archaeological reconstruction» is more strongly pronounced the further remote from the Chou era the writers were: the great pleiad of Eastern Han and San-kuo commentators had certainly no longer any first-hand knowledge of pre-Han traditions that had survived up to their time, several centuries of Han *régime* had irretrievably cut off the line of living tradition; if any traces remained in the popular mind and usages, it could be little more than distorted remnants which had little similarity to the primary legends of the feudal era; the scholars had to operate with ancient texts as philologists and archaeologists.

When the great Chinese scholars of the Ts'ing dynasty for the first time created a scientific study of the ancient history and culture of China, they never realized the fundamental difference in the nature and the value of the free pre-Han texts

on the one hand, the systematizing and Han (and post-Han) texts on the other. They treated all the existing materials concerning the early history as a homogeneous whole, considered the *Shi ki*, *Shang shu ta chuan*, *Han Shi wai chuan*, *Huai-nan-tsi*, the *Han shu*, the Eastern Han writers, all the early commentators on the classics, the *Ti wang shi ki*, the geographies of Eastern Han, *Liu-ch'ao* and T'ang times, and even the T'ang commentaries on the classics and the dynastic histories as primary materials for the reconstruction of early Chinese history, first-rank sources equally or almost equally authoritative and trustworthy as the pre-Han texts.¹⁾ And this attitude has persisted among most Chinese writers up to this day; it characterizes the writings of great scholars like Wang Kuo-wei, Lo Chen-yü and others; it is only recently that tendencies to a more critical conception of the relative value of these heterogeneous sources have been observable. A most astonishing phenomenon, however, is that the same uncritical attitude has characterized the great majority of western workers on these subjects, likewise up to the present day — in spite of the fact that the methods of critical historiography have long since been elaborated in European science. Without going into details, I shall only adduce a few of the most striking — and harmful — examples.

The western scholar who has gone farthest, carrying *à outrance* the principle that Han, *Liu-ch'ao*, T'ang and Sung «sources» are equally valuable for the reconstruction of the sociology of pre-Han China as the pre-Han texts themselves, is Marcel Granet, principally in his great work *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, 1926. He discusses the principles of method extensively and his conclusion, programmatically and forcibly expressed, is this: wherever a *theme* concerning the legendary personages and events of archaic China crops up in Chinese literature, it is of primary value; it is a mere matter of chance whether it happens to be codified in a Chou-time text which we still possess or whether it is recorded in a Han-time or T'ang-time commentary or in one of the many folklore treatises of the Six Dynasties or later times. The very fact that a certain tradition about the primeval emperor *Huang Ti*, for instance, can be found in a text — whatever its epoch — is decisive: since it concerns *Huang Ti*, it must belong to the pre-Han tradition about *Huang Ti*, and it is a matter of indifference whether we know it from a text dating from 400 B. C. or a text from 1000 A. D.; in the latter case it must have existed and been handed down (in one way or another) through a millennium and a half. Granet therefore cites as his sources for primeval Chinese folklore, just as credulously the *Shu yi ki*, *Sou shen ki*, *Shen yi king*, the spurious *Shu* chapters (*Ta Yü mo*, Granet p. 243), the spurious *Chu shu ki nien*, the T'ang and Sung commentaries, the wildly speculative *Lu shi* (Sung time) as pre-Han texts like *Tso*, *Kyü* and *Mo*. It is not that he has not envisaged, but he deliberately shuts his eyes to the possibility — in our chapters

¹⁾ They even considered the *Shi ki* as more authoritative than the *tsi* «philosophers» of Chou time, holding it second in importance only to the «thirteen classics». d

above shown to be a fact — that the authors of Han and later times tampered with, altered, corrupted and added to the basic fund of pre-Han lore concerning the legendary figures of ancient China. And then, on the basis of a vast and exceedingly heterogeneous body of material from all epochs of Chinese literature, he constructs a great system of interpretation of the beliefs and sociology of pre-Han China, a system that is worse than a caricature: it is a weird and fanciful farrago of abstruse symbolisms and semi-philosophical magic that is entirely foreign to the pre-Han China, such as we know it from the only sources that have any decisive value: the free pre-Han texts.¹⁾

Granet's work has been seriously harmful because it has induced other scholars to proceed on the same false track and speculate further about Chinese mythology on the basis of late and valueless materials. As an example may be cited C. Hentze. In his big work *Myths et symboles lunaires* (1932) he takes as the point of departure for his entire elaborate edifice of an ancient Chinese lunar mythology the «legend of Yü», which he (p. 6) ascribes to the Ts'ien Han shu. It is the story told above (p. 310): «When Y ü regulated the flooding waters and perforated the H u a n - y ü a n mountain he changed himself into a bear; he said to (his wife) T ' u S h a n s h i : when you want to bring me food, when you hear the sound of the drum, then come; Y ü jumped on a stone and by mistake hit the drum; T ' u S h a n s h i went and looked, and Y ü had just then become a bear; she felt ashamed and went away and came below the S u n g - k a o mountain and changed into a stone; she just then (bore =) was pregnant with K ' i⁴; Y ü said: give me my son; the stone burst on the north side and K ' i⁴ was born». Hentze expounds, with all kinds of more or less far-fetched parallels from the mythology of Northern and Western Asia, Japan, the East Indies, Australia, America, how this tale has an extremely deep significance: «Y ü jumped on a stone» — evidently he performed a magical dance (p. 7); he danced holding a drum — the drum is an attribute of the god of Thunder; when he «acted the bear» he was disguised by a bear skin for a ritual dance (p. 8); Y ü ' s wife was ashamed because she had witnessed a ritual dance, reserved for the men, which the women were not allowed to watch; the bear belongs to the initiation rites and is combined with sexual ideas, the women must not see it (p. 13); in some Californian tales the

¹⁾ If Granet's big work must thus be said, on the whole, to be a failure, due to a deplorable lack of critical method, it might be expected to have at least a considerable value as a vast thesaurus of Chinese folklore themes, culled with an admirable assiduity. Unfortunately his mode of citing his sources makes his book a risky tool. A typical example: Granet (p. 352): «A la bataille de Tchouo-lou furent inaugurées des tactiques savantes; Tch'e You employait des cavaliers et Hoang Ti des chars»; Granet refers to «Li ki, trad. Couvreur p. 54», and the unsuspecting reader naturally thinks that the Li text gives this information. But in Couvreur we find that in contrast to all earlier sources it is only a Sung author (Lu T'ien, d. 1102 A. D.) who asserts that «the ancient ones say that in battles H u a n g T i used chariots and C h ' i Y u cavalry». Another example: Granet (p. 359): «Kung Kung est représenté comme un serpent à tête humaine . . . , cf. Hoai-nan-tseu chap. 4». But this description is not that of the Huai-nan-tsü text but of Kao Yu's commentary (3 centuries later).

bear is connected with the lunar myths; the sound of the drum causes the food to be brought by lady T' u S h a n: the indication is very clear of a divinity of vegetation and growth (p. 31); Y ü drains off the inundating waters and forces the H u a n - y ü a n pass: that means the act of sexual defloration; when he touches the drum of the Thunder god, nourishment is brought him by lady T' u S h a n s h i, «la Fille de la Montagne» who is no other than the Moon, just as Y ü is the Thunder (p. 36); when the wife turns back, this means the waning of the moon (p. 37); she turns and becomes a stone, and the stone bursts — that means that the thunder struck it (*ibid.*). Hentze adds some features of the legend in Lü above (p. 306 above) (Y ü went on an inspection tour to the south, and the lady of T' u S h a n brought along her maid and waited upon Y ü to the south of T' u S h a n): Y ü = the Sun goes to the south where the lady of T' u S h a n (the Moon) cannot follow him; she «waits for him» (instead of the «waits upon him» of the legend!) until he comes back; she waits below the mountain — a mountain occurs in many lunar myths which speak of an inundation; the maid who accompanies her is Venus, morning and evening star — this is the myth which achieves the great trinity: Sun, Moon, Venus (p. 37). These quotations give but a small fraction of all the symbolistic speculations of Hentze's. As stated above, Hentze believes that «the legend of Yü» which he has thus «interpreted» is from the Ts'ien Han shu (1st c. A. D.) In fact — as described p. 310 above — we know it in all its details (Y ü's changing into a bear, the jumping on the stone etc.) only from T'ang time (Yen Shī-ku, d. 645 A. D.) and it is only in Sung time (Chu Hing-tsu) that it is erroneously attributed to Huai-nan-tsi. The primary feature of the myth: the lady's turning into a stone, is no older than the 2nd c. A. D. (Ying Shao), and the earlier Han tradition (Liu Hiang) has it that K' i's mother lived and brought him up carefully. The theme of Y ü's wife being shocked when seeing her husband in the shape of a bear is an inversion of the Greek theme of Psyche, as already correctly pointed out by Maspero, and the tale is very likely due to the Hellenistic influence that was so strong in Han-time China. The exceedingly late date of the full and detailed legend has not deterred Hentze from concluding that it was archaic (p. 39): «The legend of Y ü goes back to a stage when the social organisation in China can have been little different from that of a primitive tribe which has attained to the stage of a resident and agricultural people, but still preserves the ancestral myths and cult scenarios that accompany rites of initiation and passage; hence also the fusion of the astral and sexual theme with that of fecundity (the nourishment brought) . . .; the cult dance of the bear and all the ideas connected with it indicate that the myth of the origin of the H i a was born in a region which in winter had a severe climate (p. 39) . . . one must also reckon with the possibility that the Chinese myth, older than the advent of the H i a, was applied to a possibly historical personage: Y ü the Great» (p. 40). Happy in his belief that «the legend of Y ü» as told by Yen Shī-ku (T'ang time) is primeval and has the

deep symbolical purport of «lunar myth» which he has deduced, Hentze goes on to expound various décor elements on pre-historic Chinese pottery and in the earliest Chinese bronze art as lunar symbols.

If Granet's work (and that of epigoni who follow in his wake) thus cannot be taken very seriously, because it is quite uncritical, another attempt at an interpretation of the early legends is much more important, since it is written by a practised historian: Henri Maspero: *Légendes mythologiques dans le Chou king*, J. As. 1924. Maspero starts from the tales in the Shu king about Y a o, Sh u n and Y ü and their coadjutors, and those about K u n g K u n g and C h ' i Y u, and he points out that here they all appear as historical personages: sage emperors and statesmen or rebelling feudatories. This, he rightly asserts, is a result of euhemeristic efforts on the part of the scholars who wrote the Shu to transform myths into history: all or most of the legendary and supernatural features have been scraped off and a small residue remains as «historical facts» which constitute what the scholars considered to be the earliest history of China. The critical student, Maspero insists, should on the contrary try to get at the primary, folk-loristic myths, of which these euhemeristic chronicles are a corrupted skeleton, and thus arrive at a real knowledge of the primitive beliefs of the Chinese people such as they were before the scholars took them up and trimmed them into «history».

So far Maspero is indubitably right. But how has he then proceeded? He has not gone preferably to the oldest sources available, the free pre-Han texts (Tso, Kyü, Mo etc.) but to the Han-time folkloristic treatises: his principal sources are the Shan hai king (which he cannot have failed to realize is no older than the Han era), Huai-nan-tsī (which he wrongly asserts to be a pre-Han work, see p. 204 above) the Kuei tsang k'i shī (which at the earliest is an Eastern Han work, though he mistakes it for the pre-Han Kuei tsang, now lost), and certain passages in the Ch'u ts'ī, the brief and obscure statements of which he interprets in accordance with the Eastern Han and later commentaries. The materials culled in these texts he fills out with notices in various Han and post-Han writers: Shī ki, Si-ma Siang-ju's poetry, passages from Wang Ch'ung, Yang Hiung, the Feng su t'ung yi, Kuo P'o's commentaries, the Shen yi king etc. Briefly, he has drawn principally on the materials which are placed here in the B sections of each chapter above. By this procedure he has managed to obtain a collection of highly «mythological» tales, embellished with all kinds of supernatural features. And then he draws his conclusion: these fanciful tales in good folklore style constitute the true myths and legends of ancient China, and they must be very ancient since the dry accounts in Shu king are merely an euhemeristic corruption of them: thus, for instance, the tale of the Shan hai king about lady Hi Ho, mother of the 10 suns, is the primary myth; the «historical» account of the Sun cult (H i H o) of Y a o's in the Shu is a learned distortion. C h ' i Y u, a monster who had «huit doigts, huit orteils, la tête hérissée» (Kuei tsang k'i shī), monster of the Earth who opposed

the heavenly hero (H u a n g T i) is one variant of the primary deluge themes; the Ch'i Yu, »the first rebel«, of the Shu, is a learned re-interpretation. This is all very well, and at first sight it is not only tempting, it looks quite convincing. But there is a fatal gap in the argumentation. If we had only possessed the Shu king on the one hand, the Han-time and later folklore tales on the other, it might be defensible to attribute the priority to the latter, in spite of the chronological discrepancy of half a millennium or more. But our pre-Han literature about the early ages is *not* confined to the Shu king; on the contrary, the Shu tales form only a very modest part; the great majority of what we know of the pre-Han legends is embedded in other early texts: Tso and Kyü, Mo, Lü, Meng etc. as extensively studied in our A sections above. Now these accounts, which are often very full and detailed, have by no means the euhemeristic character of the first Shu chapters. All these works abound in mythological and folkloristic tales, often exceedingly fanciful and »supernatural«, and they can in no way be said to be the work of »scholars« who tried to euhemerise the ancient myths into history. The legendary character of their tales is quite striking, but for the major part they are not simply nature myths, they are fundamentally hero myths, though nature myths, as we have seen, have often been hooked on to the hero legends. These works can so much the less be said to represent a conscious endeavour of some learned school to make history out of mythology as the sources are exceedingly heterogeneous, some of them belonging to the Confucian school, some to that of Mo-tsi, some to the taoistic school (Chuang) etc., and as these same works abound in supernatural tales (ghosts, dreams coming true, portents of many kinds, malevolent Spirits of nature, etc.). They furnish a fund of legends that are on the whole quite consistent, since they are based on the ancestral cults of the grandee houses of the Chou era. The legends in these works are the true representatives of the Chou-time mythology, as far as it can be known today, whereas the folklore tales of Han and later times adduced by Maspero, and which deviate strongly from the former, represent a later phase in the development of Chinese folklore. This latter phase cannot in any way be admitted to the place of honour as the primary and primeval myths, because that would mean a complete disregard of the ample legend materials we possess in the free pre-Han texts, which, as we have seen, are of quite a different character from the Han-time folklore.

Maspero, as a trained historian, has clearly felt that he was walking on thin ice when he proclaimed the tales of Shan hai king, Huai-nan-tsi and similar later sources to be the primeval myths of China, but he has taken the risk because he believed that he had a very powerful argument.¹⁾ In the folklore of the T'ai peoples of Indo-China he had found mythological tales which, according to him,

¹⁾ Certain minor supporting arguments of his are quite void of value. In the character for t u n g «east» 東: «sun» + «tree», he sees a confirmation of the early existence of the myth of the 10 suns sitting in the Fu-sang tree. But this character is really a corruption: the oldest graph was not made up of «sun» + «tree» but something quite different, see Grammata Serica p. 435.

were strikingly reminiscent of the Chinese mythology and cosmogony such as he had reconstructed them by aid of the *Shan hai king*, *Huai-nan-tsī* etc. Though it must be emphasized that the parallelism has been greatly exaggerated by Maspero, it is true that in some fundamental cosmogonic features at least there is a certain affinity between the Han-time Chinese conceptions and those of the T'ai legends. This, Maspero argues, must prove that these myths are really primeval, the common property of the Sino-T'ai peoples. It is, however, easy to realize the fallacy of this argument. If the Chinese and the T'ai had been geographically separated in pre-historic times, the argument would have been, if not conclusive (tales can wander, sometimes long distances), at least fairly strong. But it is a well-known fact that the T'ai tribes lived as immediate neighbours of the Chinese in the very heart of southern China far on into historical times and emigrated to Indo-China in comparatively recent times. In Han time — the era of *Shan hai king* and *Huai-nan-tsī* — there were constant contacts and interrelations between Chinese and T'ai on what is today Chinese soil, and the affinity between Han-time Chinese cosmogonic ideas and those of the T'ai is better explained by this prolonged cohabitation. It is even possible that these themes, unattested in Chou texts, which crop up in the Han literature, are of T'ai origin, borrowed by the Chinese from their immediate neighbours in the south (*Huai-nan-tsī* is a compilation made in the region of the ancient Ch'u kingdom, in Anhwei). However this latter may be — it is no more than a possible theory — the T'ai legends adduced by Maspero can in no way prove (through any »Urvaterwandschaft«) the pre-Shu-king existence of the Han-time myths. Moreover it is certainly methodically quite unallowable to do what Maspero has done in his book *La Chine antique* (1927). Before studying the earliest documented dynasties, Shang-Yin and Chou, he gives an account of »le monde chinois primitif«, and there we find all the paraphernalia of the Han-time folklore, as extracted from *Shan hai king*, *Huai-nan-tsī* and later sources, served up as the beliefs of the primitive pre-dynastic Chinese.

Our criticism of the two examples chosen: the works of Granet (with Hentze) and Maspero, may suffice to emphasize how the study of the early legends and beliefs cannot be successfully carried out without drawing a strict distinction between the different classes of sources: pre-Han texts and Han (and post-Han) texts; free, narrative texts and systematizing (reconstructive) texts. But the bearing of our conclusions is in fact much wider: they concern not only the subject of the legends and cults but the whole field of early Chinese history prior to the Han era. Our investigation has thrown a vivid light on the »historical« methods of Sī-ma Ts'ien and the Eastern Han scholars and still more on those of Huang-fu Mi (T'i wang shī ki) and such-like post-Han authors. The corruptions, additions and interpretative modifications which the Han and post-Han scholars take the liberty of perpetrating are sufficiently serious to reduce their data to a second-hand material infinitely inferior to the first-rank materials of the free pre-Han

texts. It is therefore simply no longer allowable to continue with the historiographical methods practised up to now, not only by the Chinese savants of the old school but also by the western sinologues: if there are gaps in the pre-Han documentation, they cannot simply be filled in by the aid of Sī-ma Ts'ien, Pan Ku, the Han and post-Han geographies and the Eastern Han and later commentaries on the early literature. Least of all can a work like the *Ti wang shī ki* be relied on, that masterpiece of the good Huang-fu Mi, so beloved by the Chinese historians of all later times and by the western sinologues alike, but, as we have witnessed all through our B sections above, in fact a compilation of the worst possible type.¹⁾

It is in fact a matter of great importance to take a definite stand on the question: how are we to envisage the exceedingly numerous cases in which the Han and post-Han scholars deviate from the free pre-Han texts in regard to the history of the pre-Han era? A few simple principles readily occur to one:

α) When *post-Han* authors (Six Dynasties, T'ang, Sung, Ming, for instance *Ti wang shī ki*, *Shuei king chu*, *Kuo ti chī*, the commentaries of Kuo P'o, Yen Shī-ku, Sī-ma Cheng, Chang Shou-tsie, K'ung Ying-ta and many others, the *Tsī chī t'ung kien*, the *Lu shī*) are at variance with both the pre-Han and the Han authors — either by altering their data or by introducing information quite unknown in Chou and Han texts. they should be entirely disavowed: there is indeed practically no possibility whatsoever that these late authors possessed pre-Han sources that were entirely unknown to the entire learned world of the Han era.²⁾

β) When the *Eastern Han* scholars, whether independent writers (Wang Ch'ung, Ying Shao etc.) or commentators on the early literature (Fu K'ien, Kia K'uei, Ma Jung, Cheng Hūan, Hū Shen etc.) or regular historians (Pan Ku) deviate from the data of both the pre-Han texts and the early Han texts (such as *Shī ki*, *Huai-nan-tsi*, *Shang shu ta chuan*, the Mao commentary on the *Shī*, *Han Shī wai chuan*,

¹⁾ It may seem astonishing that the Chinese scholars throughout the Ts'ing dynasty and the Republican era constantly draw upon and have an unlimited faith in that ridiculous «history», but it is perhaps understandable. The genuine ancient sources give us often enough only vague and sketchy notions about a famous early personage. But Huang-fu Mi is ready to furnish all the precise facts desired: where an ancient potentate was born, the name of his mother, his age when he came on the throne, the length of his reign, his whole *vita*, where he died and was buried, in fact an account that would suit a modern Who's who; on the other hand, the *Ti wang shī ki* is a comparatively «ancient» text, of the 3rd c. A. D. and hence *eo ipso* much more venerable than the T'ang and Sung commentaries on the classics and the dynastic histories. When Huang-fu serves up his amazingly detailed accounts, sometimes a conscientious Chinese scholar feels a slight pang of apprehension: how can it be that Huang-fu knows so much that is entirely unknown in all earlier literature? But he quickly consoles himself with a comforting thought: *Huang-fu pi yu so kū* «Huang-fu certainly had something on which he based himself», and hence he confidently accepts his yarns as Gospel truth. — It is in fact even more astonishing that western authors frequently and confidently draw upon Huang-fu Mi. In Chavannes' copious notes on the *Shī ki* (*Mém. Hist.*) the *Ti wang shī ki* is a constantly used household tool.

²⁾ With exceedingly few exceptions, for instance the *Chu shu ki nien*, found in the 3rd c. A. D. but soon lost again, and the *Mu t'ien tsī chuan* found on the same occasion.

Ch'un ts'iu fan lu etc.) they should likewise be viewed with the greatest caution. The chances that they possessed independent pre-Han sources unknown to Sī-ma Ts'ien and his contemporaries, sources of such extent and importance that they could justify alterations in and additions to the pre-Han history extractable from the Chou and early Han sources we now possess, are indeed small (cf. p. 231 above). In isolated cases they may have been in a position to pick up a few extra grains of information, but on the whole their facilities in this direction may be regarded as negligible. Their innovations are, as a rule, the fruit of reconstructive speculations, not of additional pre-Han documentation.

γ) When *systematizing and early Han texts* such as Ta Tai: Ti hi (with Wu ti tê) Shī pen, Shu sū, Shī ki deviate from or add to the data of the free pre-Han sources, matters are more discussible. Their authors lived sufficiently near in time to the end of the feudal era to make it possible that they had some additional information, either from teaching tradition (through their teachers' teachers) or from pre-Han works now lost. It is reasonable, then, to lay down the following principles:

When the author diverges from the clear data of a good pre-Han text, *either* it is because he deliberately tampers with them for a definite purpose, and he should in consequence be disregarded — such is the case when Ti hi and Sī-ma skip Sh a o H a o as emperor, because he does not suit their theories of the succession of the 5 elements; *or* it may be for some other reason. In this latter case we do not know whether it is due to misunderstanding, carelessness, temptation to fabricate on one's own, or the possession of some early source not available to us. In any case the testimony of the free pre-Han text which we possess must be given preference, because the possibility of the systematizer's having had a deviating pre-Han source unknown to us — a mere theoretical possibility — is more than outweighed by the certainty of the information furnished by real pre-Han documentation. As an example may be adduced Shī pen's and Sī-ma's assertion that T'ai Kia was the son of Wai Ping (unsupported by free pre-Han texts), whereas Kyū clearly states that he was a son of T'ang; here Kyū's testimony must be given preference. When, finally, the author furnishes data which, though not directly conflicting with free pre-Han sources, are entirely unknown to the whole of that extensive literature, we shall again have to be exceedingly cautious. There is still the great risk that he fabricates from his own imagination, and the chance that he draws upon a pre-Han work now lost is still but a theoretical possibility. In no circumstances have we any right to use such data to fill in, without further discussion, the gaps in the earlier documentation. If we quote them, it should always be with the clear understanding that they derive from a source less authoritative than a work written right in the feudal era, when the cults and traditions were still a living reality, directly observable to the writer; in each such case it should be expressly and clearly stated that the information is culled from a second-class source that deserves but limited credence.

These principles have a particularly important bearing on our attitude towards

the *Shi ki* of *Sī-ma Ts'ien*, as far as its chapters on pre-Han China are concerned. All the way from 722 B. C. we possess ample pre-Han documents about the history of China (*Tso*, *Kyü*, *Ts'ê* etc.) and from that date our means of controlling *Sī-ma* are fairly good. But it is in regard to the preceding epochs: the highest antiquity, and the *Hia*, *Shang-Yin* and early *Chou* dynasties, that the information in the pre-Han sources is meagre and sketchy, and it is here that it has always proved so tempting both to Chinese and to Western scholars to draw upon the *Shi ki* in order to fill in the gaps. But it is precisely in his treatment of these early periods that *Sī-ma* has shown himself so unsatisfactory a guide, as shown in detail in our various chapters above. In regard to the lore about the early periods he has (often influenced by earlier systematizers, *Ti hi*, *Shi pen*, *Shu sü*) in a deplorable way altered and corrupted, misinterpreted and uncritically embellished the materials derived from the free pre-Han sources. As an historian of early China, *Sī-ma Ts'ien* is a *very* untrustworthy guide, and his value has been enormously overrated.

The simple, even elementary principles laid down in our points α — γ above, and obvious to every practised historian, have never been accepted as guiding principles in the study of Chinese antiquity, by Chinese historians or by Western sinologists. On the contrary, the exceedingly heterogeneous materials of *Chou*, early *Han*, Eastern *Han*, Six Dynasties, *T'ang*, and *Sung* times have generally been used indiscriminately to build up the structure of the «history» of ancient China. I shall pass over the long series of Chinese general «histories» such as the *Ts'i chi t'ung kien* (and *T'ung kien kang mu*) and the *T'ung kien tsi lan* (so dear to *Chavannes*, for instance, in his glosses on the *Shi ki*). I shall limit myself to adducing a few Western examples.

The *Ancient History of China* (1908) by *Friedrich Hirth*¹⁾ is a typical product of this uncritical historiography. In its sections on the early history (anterior to 722 B. C.) it is almost entirely built up on *Sī-ma Ts'ien*'s work and later *Han* and post-*Han* sources — even down to various *Sung*-time compilations. This may have been excusable in 1908, but it was certainly not allowable in *Otto Franke*'s big work: *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reichs* (3 vols. 1930—37), in which the data of pre-*Han* sources are inextricably interwoven with the corruptions, innovations, misinterpretations and reconstructive speculations of *Sī-ma Ts'ien* and later *Han* and post-*Han* scholars.²⁾

¹⁾ Reprinted unaltered in 1923.

²⁾ It would demand a stout volume to sift all the chaff from the wheat in *Franke*'s enormous book. A single example: *Franke* solemnly discusses (I, 99) king *Chung K'ang* of the *Hia* (who, as we have seen, is unknown in pre-*Han* texts and was first introduced by *Sī-ma Ts'ien*) and the solar eclipse in his reign; and though he admits that the two texts in which *Chung K'ang* and his eclipse are mentioned (the spurious *Shu*: *Yin cheng* and the spurious *Chu shu ki nien*) — we saw that the only pre-*Han* text which mentions the eclipse (*Tso*) says nothing of a «*Chung K'ang*» or attributes it to any special reign — are not above suspicion, he yet concludes that the «bridge

A laudable attempt to let the pre-Han sources, as far as possible, speak for themselves, was made by H. Maspero in his *La Chine antique* (1927), in which he resolutely brushes aside practically every tradition about the times prior to the Chou as legendary.¹⁾ But when he comes to the era of the early Chou, he has succumbed to the temptation of frequently drawing upon Si-ma Ts'ien and the spurious Chu shu ki nien. For describing the administrative system he has based himself largely upon such a typical systematizing and highly speculative work as the Chou li, which in fact rather expounds how the scholars of late Chou time imagined that the administration of the early Chou must have been than how they really knew it to have been. Moreover, in his extensive and detailed account of the geographical settlement of the Chinese clans in Yin and early Chou time he has elaborated a system which for its localizations depends almost entirely on the identifications in Eastern Han and later sources (geographies and commentaries) of ancient place names with the names of later epochs, identifications which, as we have seen above (p. 208—209) can be accepted only within very narrow limits.

These examples of «general histories» of early China may suffice; a few words should be added about treatises on more special subjects.

A. Wedemeyer: *Schauplätze und Vorgänge der chinesischen Geschichte gegen Ausgang des dritten und im zweiten Jahrtausend vor Christus* (Asia Major, Introd. vol. 1922) has made a lengthy and elaborate effort to make history out of the legends about Y a o, S h u n and Y ü. It is quite astounding what a detailed knowledge of all the lives and deeds of these potentates we thus get, all their actions as rulers, the complete geography of their time and a minute chronology — no Louis XIV or Queen Elizabeth could hope for a more amply detailed and satisfactory biography. This is all because the author has not only confidently drawn upon Shī ki and the Eastern Han scholars but has also avidly picked up every scrap of «information» in the Ti wang shī ki (his favourite source), the Shuei king chu, the fanciful Sung-time work Lu shī and dozens of other «sources» of Liu ch'ao, T'ang, Sung, Ming and Ts'ing times. It should be observed that it is just in regard to these early epochs that Huang-fu Mi *et consortes* are most wildly and ridiculously fanciful and free in departing from the pre-Han sources.

G. Haloun: *Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte chinesischer Clans* (Asia Major, Introd. vol. 1922) has made an extensive investigation into the political geography of early China. He starts by accepting without discussion the (Eastern Han) identification of F u H i = T ' a i H a o, and takes up the question of the habitat of each branch of the descendants of this potentate. In so doing he works elaborately with geographical and historical «sources» like Ti wang shī ki, Shuei king chu,

that leads over from the reconstructive chronology of later Chinese scholars for the H i a era to the reliable chronology of the Chou epoch is «narrow but safe», one of its two fundamental pillars («Hauptpfeile») being this very eclipse in the (spurious) documents!

¹⁾ Though, as expounded above, he has misrepresented the myths of the early ages by substituting the Han-time folklore for the authentic pre-Han lore, such as we have pieced it together above.

San huang pen ki (T'ang time), Wen hien t'ung k'ao and Lu shī (Sung time) and many authors of various epochs quoted in the T'u shu tsi ch'eng. Needless to say, he arrives at an amazingly extensive and detailed store of knowledge.

Works such as the two cited here are futile since they are based on materials that have no proof-value whatever. The only thing they can demonstrate is what the speculative scholars of medieval China have imagined, various more or less clever attempts at reconstructing and embellishing the early history of their country principally by the aid of Han and post-Han materials which in reality have no value. What a Huang-fu Mi or a Lo Pi (author of the Lu shī) asserts about the history and domicile of pre-Hia, Hia, Shang-Yin and early Chou grandees is either based on pre-Han sources and should then be quoted from these direct, or is contrary to or unknown in pre-Han sources and has then no other interest than as a curiosity — it has nothing to do with the history of early China but only with the history of scholarship in medieval China.

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ONCE AGAIN THE A AND B STYLES IN YIN ORNAMENTATION

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN

As a rule I never devote time and printing space to polemics. The present notes are in fact written merely in order to refute some grossly erroneous statements made by Catherine Grassl in an article: *New Researches on Chinese Bronzes*. It seems worth while to point out her errors, since they concern the basic arguments of her article and since the paper might cause some mischief, having been published in a prominent periodical (*The Art Bulletin*, March 1943).

The author bases her investigations on my work: *New Studies on Chinese Bronzes* (BMFEA 9, 1937; here abbrev.: NS), and she says: »As a fundamental basis for his chronological arrangement, Karlgren tabulated and analyzed 1300 vessels. Using the same 1300 vessels, I find that a different chronological arrangement may be made. Karlgren establishes the fact that, with certain exceptions, A elements never combine with B elements and vice versa. The C elements combine with both A and B elements. He comes to this conclusion on the basis of 517 vessels having on their surfaces A elements but no B elements, and 549 vessels having B elements but no A elements. Only 14 vessels have present on their surface both A and B elements. He believes that this is enough statistical proof that A and B elements are not combinable or interchangeable in the same vessel. His conclusion is that »they are not combinable because they belong to two different styles«. But may there not be a reason why certain A and B elements do not combine? Using the 1300 vessels which Karlgren has so accurately reviewed for us, I have singled out the B elements and in Table 1 can be seen the results of my analysis. I have divided the B elements into three categories: first, those which appear only on the body of the vessels; second, those which appear on the neck band or foot band where the belly is bare; and third, those which appear on neck band and foot band where the belly is covered with any of the other A, B or C elements. From the table, it is not surprising to find that compound lozenges and spikes, interlocked T's, dissolved t'aot'ies, and vertical ribs (B elements) with but one exception never occur on the neck band or foot band of any vessel. They always are found on the principal surface, the belly. The chance of their appearing on the neck band or foot band of vessels with A elements is therefore slight. Thus it is apparent that Karlgrens statement that A and B elements are not interchangeable or combinable fails to solve the problem. These four B elements are not inter-

changeable or combinable with A elements, *because the disposition and arrangement of their décor permits these B elements to appear only on the principal surface of a vessel, where also the A elements appear, thus making it impossible for both to appear on the same vessel at the same time . . .* (p. 68:) Thus it is apparent that for most of the B elements Karlgren's classification seems to have lost its significance».

Nothing could be more erroneous than this statement. It would be correct if A elements could only appear on the principal surface; but even a cursory reading of my article shows that two of the most important A elements, viz. cicadas and t'aot'ie are very common in neck bands, and hence could very well be combined with the B elements that mainly occur on the principal surface, viz. dissolved t'aot'ie, lozenges with spikes, interlocked T's and vertical ribs: there is nothing in the »disposition and arrangement of the décor» that could prevent this — *that they are not combinable is not due to the arrangement, it is a phenomenon of style.*

In order to show conclusively that the A and B elements are not combinable, I shall take them up one after the other, limiting myself to the materials in the NS, and I shall in particular draw attention to their varied appearance in the different zones and the combinations which this makes possible. By zones I mean the neck band (neck belt), the principal surface and the foot band (foot belt). For brevity's sake I shall here call the principal surface simply »centre» and I shall comprise the neck band and the foot band under the summary term »band». (On Tsun and Ku vessels the »bulb» will be the »centre», and the foot zone, though often rather broad, will be comprised in my term »band», since it corresponds functionally to the foot band on other vessels.)

A. The »real t'aot'ie». Under this summary term I here comprise »mask t'aot'ie», »bodied t'aot'ie» and »bovine t'aot'ie», described in detail in NS p. 14 ff. (This »real t'aot'ie» should be distinguished from the »deformed t'aot'ie» and the »dragonized t'aot'ie» — see NS p. 14 — which are neutral [C] elements, occurring in combination with both A and B elements).

1. The A element real t'aot'ie has for principal function to cover the centre of a vessel. It is exceedingly common in this rôle (455 cases in NS). It is then sometimes the sole décor element, but mostly it appears in combination with other elements. In such cases:

a) If standing in the centre it combines with other elements in the centre, the latter are nearly always the A element vertical dragons (106 ex. in NS, from all vessel types: Square Ting, Li-ting, Kuei, P'ou, Yu, Hu, Lei, Tsun, Chī, Tsüe, Kia, Yi, Kuang) which flank the t'aot'ie (only in a few cases is the t'aot'ie flanked by other types: neutral C dragons in 5 cases, birds in 6 cases; never any B elements, like the »de-tailed bird» or the square with crescents). Now this is highly important. There exists a B element, »spikes» (regular, parallel rows of protruding knobs), which could very well, as far as the »disposition and arrangement» is concerned, be combined with the t'aot'ie in the centre. We have it on numerous

square Ting: there a middle square in the centre, filled with B motifs (compound lozenges, interlocked T's) is framed in on three sides by rows of spikes. From the compositional point of view, nothing could be more natural and satisfactory than to fill that middle square with a t'aot'ie and have it framed in by rows of spikes. But that never occurs. Why? Because the A element real t'aot'ie and the B element spikes are not combinable, they belong to different ornamental styles.

b) If the real t'aot'ie, standing in the centre, is combined with a band (neck or foot band or both), the elements in the band are often A elements: cicadas (11 cases), real t'aot'ie, some of them of a different variety from those in the centre (95 cases), vertical dragons (9 cases). In the majority of cases, however, those band elements are of the neutral (C) class: dragons of various kinds, snakes, whorl circles, rows of spirals etc (251 cases). This again is highly significant. We shall see below that there is a whole row of B elements (animal triple band, de-tailed bird, eyed bands, circle bands, squares with crescents, compound lozenges) the function of which is to decorate bands. There are in NS 76 vessels (of various classes: square Ting, Li, Kuei, P'ou, Yu, Hu, Tsun, Ku, Chī, Kūe, Kia, Ho) which have one or other of these B elements in a band, combined with some décor covering the centre, thus exactly the same »disposition and arrangement» as the A vessels above. From the point of view of the »disposition and arrangement» it would then be admirably suitable to have a real t'aot'ie in the centre and one of those B elements, e. g. animal triple band or squares with crescents, in the band; but that never occurs. Why is the real t'aot'ie in the centre invariably combined with A or C elements in the band, never with B elements? Evidently not because of any difficulties in the »disposition». It is because the A element real t'aot'ie and the B elements animal triple band etc. are not combinable, since they belong to different ornamental styles. It should be emphasized that this distinction has nothing to do with the vessel types on which the décor elements stand. If we take one of the most common types, the Kuei with ears, there are in NS 31 specimens which have real t'aot'ie covering the centre and a decorated neck band above with A or C elements. On the other hand there are 24 specimens which have the centre covered with some décor and a neck band with the B elements just mentioned: animal triple band etc., i. e. the same vessel type and the same décor arrangement. The conditions are thus exactly analogous. And yet the real t'aot'ie in the centre is never combined with the B elements in the band.

2. The real t'aot'ie, besides its most common function of filling out the centre, quite often occurs as the principal décor element of a band (103 cases in NS, various kinds of vessels: Ting, Li-ting, Yu, Hu, Lei, Tsun, Ku, Chī).

a) If the real t'aot'ie, appearing in a band, is combined with a décor in the centre, this latter is always an A element: real t'aot'ie (sometimes of a different variety from that in the band) (95 cases, as stated above), vertical dragons (14 cases) or cicadas (1 case). This fact, again, is very significant. From the point of view of the »disposition and arrangement» there is nothing to prevent there

being a neck band with real t'aot'ie and a centre covered with one of the B elements typical of that position: compound lozenges, spikes, interlocked T's, vertical ribs, dissolved t'aot'ie. But that does not occur. Why? Because the A element real t'aot'ie and the B elements compound lozenges etc. are not combinable: they belong to different ornamental styles. Again it should be stressed that the types of vessels have no say in the matter. In the class round Ting alone, NS has 8 specimens with real t'aot'ie (A) in the neck band, and in the same class (round Ting) 6 specimens with compound lozenges and interlocked T's covering the centre. But there are no round Ting which have a real t'aot'ie in the band combined with compound lozenges or interlocked T's in the centre.

b) If the real t'aot'ie, appearing in a band, is combined with other elements in a band (on Tsun and Ku: foot section), the latter is always an A element (vertical dragons 9 cases, cicadas 7 cases) or a C element (dragons etc. 9 cases), never a B element. Now among the typical band elements of class B there is, for instance, the square with crescents which frequently occurs alternating with other elements in a band, e. g. alternating with whorl circles. The disposition would thus by no means make it impossible in a neck band for the real t'aot'ie to alternate with squares with crescents (just as the t'aot'ie in such a band sometimes alternates with various kinds of dragons). But that never occurs. Again, the bands of class B are very frequently framed in by two circle bands. From the point of view of the «arrangement» a band with real t'aot'ie could equally well be framed in by circle bands. But it never does. Why? Because the A element real t'aot'ie and the B elements squares with crescents and circle bands are not combinable: they belong to different ornamental styles.

B. The vertical dragon.

1. The vertical dragon in the centre:

a) We have already seen that the principal function of this A element is to figure in the centre combined with the A element real t'aot'ie (106 cases, see above), flanking the t'aot'ie. Now among the B style elements there is an element: dissolved t'aot'ie, which has exactly the same placing as the real t'aot'ie in the A style: covering the centre. From the point of view of the «disposition and arrangement» there would be nothing to forbid the placing of vertical dragons on both sides of such a dissolved t'aot'ie. But that never occurs. Why? Because the A element vertical dragon and the B element dissolved t'aot'ie are not combinable: they belong to different ornamental styles. Here again the vessel types have no bearing on the difference. In Umehara, Shina kodo seikwa 1: 19 there is a splendid Tsun, the centre (bulb) of which is covered with a real t'aot'ie flanked by vertical dragons. In NS pl. 48 there is a Tsun of exactly the same shape and arrangement; but the centre (bulb) is covered with a dissolved t'aot'ie, with no vertical dragons flanking it.

b) We saw above that the vertical dragon in the centre (flanking t'aot'ie) is sometimes combined with other elements in a band. The latter are then

always A elements (real t'aot'ie 14 cases, cicadas 2 cases) or C elements, never B elements. And yet the »arrangement» could just as well admit of bands of type B (animal triple band, squares with crescents etc.).

c) In the Ku class, the space in the *c e n t r e* (bulb) does not admit of both a t'aot'ie and flanking vertical dragons. The scheme is then reduced to two antithetical vertical dragons so placed as to form a kind of stylized t'aot'ie (17 examples). In these cases the elements on the rest of the vessels are the A elements cicadas (4 cases) or various C elements, never B elements. And yet the »arrangement» could easily admit of B elements there just as well as the A and C elements.

2. The vertical dragon in *b a n d s*: We saw above under Ab that the vertical dragon also occurs in bands (on Tsun and Ku: foot belts), though less often (10 cases). If it is then combined with other elements in the band or in the centre, they are always A elements (t'aot'ie 9 cases, cicadas 1 case), or C elements, never B elements, which from the point of view of the »arrangement» could equally well be placed there.

C. The cicadas.

1. The cicadas sometimes occur in the *c e n t r e* (then applied to »hanging blades»), in NS 19 cases. In the *b a n d* above there is then either an A element (real t'aot'ie, 1 case) or C elements (the rest). From the point of view of the »disposition», a B style neck band (with animal triple band, de-tailed birds, eyed bands, squares with crescents, circle bands) could very well be combined with these A cicadas on blades in the centre. But it never does: the A element cicadas are not combinable with them. The types of vessels have no influence on this fact. All those specimens with cicadas (A) in the centre are round Ting. In NS there are 32 round Ting with neck bands having B elements (animal triple band etc.). And yet we never find a round Ting with cicadas in the centre and neck bands with B elements.

2. The element cicadas often occurs as the filling of a band (21 cases):

a) Placed in a *b a n d*, it combines with A elements (15 cases) and C elements (2 cases) in the *c e n t r e*. From the point of view of the »disposition» it would be very natural and satisfactory to have a neck band with cicadas and in the centre one of the most frequent B style centre-covering elements, viz. compound lozenges, interlocked T's, vertical ribs; but no such combinations exist. Why? Because they belong to different ornamental styles.

b) Placed in a *b a n d* the cicadas combine with A elements (8 cases) and C elements (15 cases) in the *b a n d*. From the point of view of the »disposition» it would be equally easy to combine them in the band with a B element, e. g. squares with crescents or circle bands, but that simply does not occur.

D. Uni-décor.

There is one more important phenomenon characteristic of the A style, this time not a décor figure but a feature of the disposition, which I have called »uni-décor»: above the foot (with or without a special band or belt) there is only one

large décor zone reaching to the rim, with no neck band or belt. This occurs in NS in 70 cases, principally in the Ting, Li-ting and Kuei classes. This dispositional element in 62 cases is combined with the A element real t'aot'ie and, moreover, often C elements. Now this is quite remarkable, for such an arrangement of the surface would suit certain B décor schemes admirably: the compound lozenges, interlocked T's and vertical ribs. They are all continuous patterns, and it would be very natural for them to extend over the surface and go all the way to the rim, without being hemmed in by a neck band. But they never do. Why? Because the uni-décor is a feature of the A style not accepted by the B style. Here again the types of vessels are of no consequence. The A uni-décor, as already stated, is common, for instance, in the class Kuei with ears: 9 specimens. In that same class of vessel there are 41 specimens with those B elements (lozenges, T's, ribs) in the centre, but none of them have uni-décor, they all have a neck band.

We now pass over to the B elements.

E. Animal triple band.

1. Placed in centre, it combines with other B elements (12 cases) in centre.

2. Placed in band, it combines with other B elements (25 cases) and C elements (5 cases) in centre.

3. Placed in band, it combines with other B elements (32 cases) and C elements (11 cases) in band.

F. Eyed band (comprising «eyed spiral band» and «eyed band with diagonals»).

1. Placed in centre, it combines with other B elements (5 cases) and C elements (1 case) in centre.

2. Placed in centre it combines with other B elements (2 cases) and C element (1 case) in band.

3. Placed in band, it combines with other B elements (10 cases) in centre.

4. Placed in band, it combines with other B elements (31 cases) and C elements (15 cases) in band.

G. De-tailed bird.

1. Placed in band, it combines with other B elements (2 cases) in centre.

2. Placed in band, it combines with other B elements (6 cases) in band.

H. Circle band.

1. Placed in centre, it combines with other B elements (28 cases) and C elements (9 cases) in centre.

2. Placed in centre, it combines with other B elements (9 cases) and C elements (4 cases) in band.

3. Placed in band, it combines with other B elements (8 cases) in centre.

4. Placed in band, it combines with other B elements (44 cases) and C elements (27 cases) in band.

I. Squares with crescents.

1. Placed in centre this element combines with other B elements (1 case) in centre.

2. Placed in band, it combines with other B elements (9 cases) and C elements (1 case) in centre.

3. Placed in band, it combines with other B elements (3 cases) and C elements (19 cases) in band.

K. Compound lozenges.

1. Placed in centre, this element combines with other B elements (39 cases) and C elements (2 cases) in centre.

2. Placed in centre, it combines with other B elements (10 cases) and C elements (32 cases) in band.

3. Placed in band, it combines with other B elements (19 cases) and C elements (2 cases) in band.

L. Spikes (regular, parallel rows of protruding knobs or studs). There are two varieties of this décor element, which should properly be kept distinct: one is vertical and horizontal parallel rows of spikes; the other is spikes applied in the centre of compound lozenges, the spikes therefore forming diagonally placed rows. For brevity's sake I have (as in NS) comprised both varieties under the general heading »spikes».

1. Placed in centre, this element combines with other B elements (40 cases) in centre.

2. Placed in centre, it combines with other B elements (14 cases) and C elements (43 cases) in band.

M. Interlocked T's.

1. Placed in centre, this element combines with other B elements (4 cases) in centre.

2. Placed in centre it combines with other B elements (6 cases) and C elements (8 cases) in band.

N. Vertical ribs.

1. Placed in centre, this element combines with another B element (1 case) and with C elements (10 cases) in centre.

2. Placed in centre, it combines with other B elements (17 cases) and C elements (30 cases) in band.

O. Dissolved t'aot'ie.

1. Placed in centre, it combines with other B elements (10 cases) in centre.

2. Placed in centre, it combines with other B elements (12 cases) and C elements (13 cases) in band.

3. Placed in band, it combines with other B elements (5 cases) and C elements (20 cases) in band.

If we sum up points E — O above, we may state that each of these various B elements frequently combines with other elements, and then quite regularly with B or C elements, but not with A elements. We observe particularly:

α) When the B elements compound lozenges, interlocked T's, dissolved t'aot'ie, animal triple band, eyed band cover the centre, they are often framed in, in the centre, by another B element, viz. circle band or eyed band (quite apart from the décor in the neck band above): 31 cases. From the point of view of the «arrangement and disposition» it would of course be just as feasible, when the A element real t'aot'ie covers the centre (which, as we have seen, occurs in hundreds of cases), to frame in this t'aot'ie with circle bands or eyed bands in the centre. But that does not occur — because the A element real t'aot'ie and the B elements circle band and eyed band are not combinable, since they belong to different ornamental styles.

β) When the B elements compound lozenges, spikes, interlocked T's, vertical ribs, dissolved t'aot'ie, eyed band cover the centre, they are mostly combined with an extra band on neck or foot (136 vessels of various classes: square Ting, Ting, Li, Kuei, P'ou, Yu, Hu, Tsun, Ku, Chi, Tsüe, Küe, Kia, Ho, Kuang). The elements in the bands are then always B elements or C elements or combinations of both (B elements 61 cases, C elements 127 cases), but as a rule never A elements. On the other hand there are 102 vessels (likewise of the most varying classes) which have the centre covered by some décor and which at the same time have a band (neck or foot band) containing the A elements real t'aot'ie or cicadas or combinations of both (t'aot'ie 95 cases, cicadas 15 cases). The arrangement in both groups is exactly the same (decorated band + covered centre). It is obvious that from the point of view of the «disposition and arrangement» nothing could be more natural and satisfactory than to have the said B patterns: compound lozenges etc. covering the centre combined with a band containing the A elements real t'aot'ie or cicadas. But that does not occur. Why? Because the B elements compound lozenges etc. and the A elements real t'aot'ie and cicadas were not combinable, since they belonged to different ornamental styles.

γ). When the B elements animal triple band, eyed band, de-tailed bird, circle band, squares with crescents are placed in a band, they combine with B elements or C elements or combinations of both in the centre (B elements 54 cases, C elements 6 cases), but not with A elements. This is true of the most varied classes of vessels, and the combinations are in no way determined by the vessel types, so far as the exclusion of the A elements is concerned. Now, from the point of view of the «disposition and arrangement» there is nothing that could forbid a combination of these B elements in bands with A elements in the centre. It would be quite natural and satisfactory to have a band (neck or foot band) with animal triple band or eyed band etc. combined with a real t'aot'ie whether flanked or not by vertical dragons, or blades with cicadas in the centre: the disposition would be exactly the same as that we have in many instances above (centre covered, surmounted by a decorated neck band). But such a combination does not occur. Why? Because the B elements in the bands above (animal triple band etc.) are not combinable with the A elements real t'aot'ie and cicadas. This aversion to

A + B is consequently not determined by vessel types, nor by the »disposition» in zones; A and B are not combinable, because they belong to different ornamental styles.

δ) Inside a band we often find combinations of B and C elements. Thus we have bands with alternating squares with crescents (B) and whorl circles (C). In just the same way, in the A style we have bands with alternating cicadas (A) and whorl circles (C). The »disposition» evidently could not prevent an alternation, in a band, of squares with crescents (B) and cicadas (A). But such a combination never occurs. Why? Because A and B elements are not combinable, since they belong to different ornamental styles.

ε) We very commonly find that on vessels with a bare centre or with the centre covered by some décor there is one neck band and one foot band. Sometimes the elements are identical in both bands and are of no interest in our present context. But very often there are different elements in the two bands. The B elements animal triple band, eyed band, de-tailed bird, circle band, squares with crescents, compound lozenges, dissolved t'aot'ie in one band then combine with other B elements (with or without additional C elements) on 50 vessels and with C elements on 31 vessels. On the other hand, we have seen above that the A elements real t'aot'ie and cicadas are very common as fillings of bands (neck or foot bands; t'aot'ie 103 cases, cicadas 21 cases). In regard to the »disposition and arrangement» nothing could be more natural than to have some of our B elements enumerated above (animal triple band, eyed band etc.) in one band and real t'aot'ie or cicadas in the other band. But such a combination does not occur. Why? Evidently not because of the arrangement or the types of vessels, but because the B elements (animal triple band etc.) and the A elements (real t'aot'ie and cicadas) are not combinable, since they belong to different ornamental styles.

Having surveyed above the various elements and attested that the A elements are combinable with A and C elements but as a rule not with B elements — quite independently of the types of vessels or the arrangement in zones, which could very well have allowed of such combinations, and that the B elements are combinable with B and C elements but as a rule not with A elements, though the disposition in zones could in no way prevent such combinations, we shall pass in review those vessels, in the NS, which have combinations of A + A elements, and combinations of B + B elements, leaving entirely out of consideration all the neutral C elements. In this review we shall distinguish the »mask t'aot'ie», the »bodied t'aot'ie» and the »bovine taot'ie» (in our preceding pages summed up under the general term »real t'aot'ie»), since they form three radically different modes of representing the ogre figure.

Centre: mask t'aot'ie + vertical dragons 69 (on one of them same comb. in band) (Square Ting, Li-ting, Kuei, P'ou, Tsun, Kia, Yi).

- Centre: bodied t'aot'ie + vertical dragons 21 (on two of them same comb. in band) (Li-ting, Kuei, Yu, Hu, Lei, Kia, Kuang, Tsun).
 Centre: bovine t'aot'ie + vertical dragons 3 (Li-ting, Yu).
 Centre: mask t'aot'ie + bodied t'aot'ie 2 (Yu, Lei).
 Centre: bodied t'aot'ie + cicadas 1 (Tsüe).

 Centre: t'aot'ie (mask or bodied) — band: cicadas 2 (Li-ting).
 Centre: t'aot'ie (mask or bodied) — band: t'aot'ie + cicadas 7 (Ku).
 Centre: mask t'aot'ie + vertical dragons — band: cicadas 2 (Li-ting).
 Centre: vertical dragons — band: cicadas 3 (Ku).
 Centre: vertical dragons — band: vertical dragons + cicadas 1 (Ku).
 Centre: cicadas — band: mask t'aot'ie 1 (Ting).
 Centre: bodied t'aot'ie — band: mask t'aot'ie 3 (Yu, Tsun).
 Centre: bovine t'aot'ie — band: bodied t'aot'ie 2 (Li-ting, Tsun).
 Centre: bodied t'aot'ie — band: bodied t'aot'ie + vertical dragons 3 (Tsun).
 Centre: mask t'aot'ie + vertical dragon — band: bodied t'aot'ie 2 (Chī).
 Centre: bodied t'aot'ie + vertical dragons — band: mask t'aot'ie 1 (Tsun).
 Centre: bodied t'aot'ie + vertical dragons — band: bodied t'aot'ie 4 (Lei, Tsun, Chī).
 Centre: mask t'aot'ie + bodied t'aot'ie + vertical dragons — band: bodied t'aot'ie 1 (Lei).
 Centre: bodied t'aot'ie + vertical dragons — band: mask t'aot'ie + vertical dragons 1 (Tsun).
 Centre: bovine t'aot'ie + vertical dragons — band: mask t'aot'ie + vertical dragons 2 (Hu).

We thus find that combinations of two or more A elements occur on 131 bronzes of the most varied classes of vessel¹). To these 131 vessels, however, should be added some more. In the table above there are 22 vessels which have besides two combined A elements (t'aot'ie and vertical dragons), a third A style characteristic: the uni-décor. There are further 40 vessels (not in the table above; square Ting, Li-ting, Kuei, Yu) which combine A real t'aot'ie with A uni-décor. We thus obtain in all 171 vessels in NS which combine two or more A characteristics.

- Centre: compound lozenges + spikes 27 (Square Ting, Ting, Kuei, P'ou).
 Centre: compound lozenges + spikes + circle band 1 (Kuei).
 Centre: compound lozenges + circle band 1 (Tsüe).

¹) We may observe that the combination of real t'aot'ie and vertical dragons is exceedingly common. The cicada, which is on the whole a far less common décor element, combines with other A elements on 17 bronzes. Further, the combination of A elements both standing in the centre is common in all vessel classes, whereas their combination in centre — band is not so universal, being totally absent in the Kuei class (on which A elements in centre combine exclusively with C elements in band) and nearly so in the Ting class.

- Centre:** vertical ribs + spikes 1 (Kuei).
Centre: interlocked T's + circle band 1 (P'ou).
Centre: interlocked T's + eyed spiral band 1 (P'ou).
Centre: animal triple band + circle band 12 (Ku, Tsüe).
Centre: eyed spiral band + circle band 1 (Tsüe).
Centre: eyed band with diagonals + circle band 1 (Tsun).
Centre: dissolved t'aot'ie + circle band 2 (Tsun, Tsüe). The same in both centre and band 4 (Tsun, Ku).
Centre: dissolved t'aot'ie + squares with crescents 1 (Ting).
Centre: dissolved t'aot'ie — **band:** animal triple band 4 (Li, Hu, Chī, Ho).
Centre: dissolved t'aot'ie + circle band — **band:** animal triple band 1 (Tsun).
Centre: dissolved t'aot'ie — **band:** eyed spiral band 1 (P'ou).
Centre: dissolved t'aot'ie + eyed spiral band — **band:** eyed spiral band + circle band 1 (P'ou).
Centre: dissolved t'aot'ie + circle band — **band:** animal triple band + circle band 1 (Kuei).
Centre: spikes — **band:** animal triple band 3 (square Ting).
Centre: compound lozenges + spikes — **band:** compound lozenges 1 (Kuei).
Centre: compound lozenges + spikes — **band:** compound lozenges + animal triple band 1 (Kuei).
Centre: compound lozenges + spikes — **band:** eyed spiral band 2 (Kuei).
Centre: compound lozenges + spikes + circle band — **band:** eyed spiral band 1 (P'ou).
Centre: compound lozenges + spikes — **band:** animal triple band + eyed spiral band 2 (Kuei).
Centre: compound lozenges + spikes + circle band — **band:** animal triple band + eyed spiral band 2 (Kuei).
Centre: compound lozenges + spikes — **band:** circle band 1 (P'ou).
Centre: interlocked T's + spikes — **band:** de-tailed bird 1 (square Ting).
Centre: interlocked T's — **band:** animal triple band 4 (Yu, Tsüe).
Centre: interlocked T's + eyed spiral band — **band:** animal triple band 1 (Tsun).
Centre: vertical ribs — **band:** animal triple band 5 (Kuei).
Centre: vertical ribs — **band:** animal triple band + eyed spiral band 1 (Kuei).
Centre: vertical ribs — **band:** de-tailed birds 1 (Kuei).
Centre: vertical ribs — **band:** squares with crescents 9 (Kuei).
Centre: vertical ribs — **band:** circle band 1 (Chī).
Band: animal triple band + eyed spiral band 1 (Kuei).
Band: animal triple band + eyed band with diagonals 6 (Kuei, Yu, Chī).

Band: animal triple band + circle band 8 (Ting, Li-ting, Yu, Hien).
 Band: animal triple band + circle band + eyed band with diagonals 6 (Yu).
 Band: animal triple band + squares with crescents 3 (Kuei).
 Band: animal triple band + dissolved t'aot'ie 1 (Hu).
 Band: compound lozenges + circle band 18 (Kuei, Yu, Chī).
 Band: de-tailed bird + eyed band with diagonals 6 (Kuei, Hu).
 Band: eyed spiral band + circle band 2 (Yu, Ho).
 Band: eyed spiral band + eyed band with diagonals + circle band 2 (Yu).
 Band: eyed band with diagonals + circle band 2 (Chī).

We have consequently found 152 vessels in the NS which combine two or more B elements, bronzes of the most varied vessel types. In all, then, 323 vessels strictly observe the law that A elements combine with A elements, and B elements with B elements, but A elements do not combine with B elements.

From my description above it would appear that the law laid down is so strict that it admits of no exceptions whatever. This, of course, is not true, but it is due to the fact that from my tables I have excluded the exceptional bronzes, and now I come to them. There are, quite naturally, exceptions. A law of art style cannot be so categorical as a law of nature, like «twice two are four» or «a normal cat has 4 legs». An ancient artisan who had got it into his head to confuse two art styles by combining, in some instance, certain A and B elements which as a rule were kept strictly apart, would certainly not have been beheaded. But the striking fact is that the exceptions are so few. As against the 323 vessels above which combine A + A and B + B but not A + B there are in the NS 14 vessels which irregularly combine A + B elements (C. Grassl has added another vessel not in the NS; but that is a vessel of the «Yin-Chou» period, with a long Chou inscription).¹⁾

Catherine Grassl, however, thinks that she has found a fatal slip of mine in regard to the exceptions. She writes: «The Hien steamer is an interesting vessel in regard to A and B elements. Karlgren states: «Curiously enough, I have found no Hien steamer with an A-style décor.» I take it for granted that the upper and lower parts of this vessel were made at the same time. It would be an odd coincidence, indeed, if the two parts of the vessel were made centuries apart as Karlgren apparently thinks, for he makes no mention of the lower half of the Hien steamer. Yet if we take this lower half into account, we find the animal triple band appearing 21 times with every variety of fully developed and partially distorted bovine t'aot'ie. Here also we find the de-tailed bird and the S dragon, both late ornaments, appearing with the bovine t'aot'ie. These facts Karlgren ignores entirely».

¹⁾ New specimens on which A and B elements combine are certain to crop up, but it is my conviction that for each such mongrel vessel there will be 20 or 30 new vessels which strictly adhere to the one or the other of the two styles. The many new specimens which have been published since my paper appeared confirm this belief.

This is, to express it mildly, an untruth (unintentional, I am sure; it is quite common for critics to be so eager to go to the attack that they find no time to read through the books they criticize). In fact I wrote in NS p. 13: »The principal subject of our investigation will be the décor of the body of the vessels. I entirely disregard, for the time being, all other parts: legs, ears, handles, lids, stands (supports); *among the latter I include also the lower part of the Hien steamers.* — I shall also regard as belonging to such accessories of the bodies the protruding vertical flanges . . . and finally also the »free animal's heads» which protrude plastically from the body and are generally placed in the middle of the neck belt of the décor».

It is, of course, quite legitimate to investigate the ornamental styles of the adorned surfaces on the bodies of the ancient bronzes without consideration of other, more plastic parts of the vessels. In the same way Bernhard Sahlin, in his classical (and to this day authoritative) work *Die Altgermanische Thierornamentik*, in which he determined the styles of ornamentation (styles 1, 2 and 3), treated exclusively the surface décor of objects of the most varying types and classes. When I established that the Yin B style does not operate with a real t'aot'ie (mask, bodied or bovine) but only with deformed, dragonized or dissolved t'aot'ie, I expressly stated that I had in view exclusively the ornamentation on the surfaces of the vessels. It is, in fact, only from the décor of these surfaces that the realistic animal's head has been banished in the B style specimens. On other parts of the body, where a plastic representation of the animal's head is suitable, the B style artists by no means despised this kind of embellishment. On square Ting with a typical B-style ornamentation on the surfaces you find equally typical t'aot'ie heads, plastically executed, protruding from the upper part of the legs (e. g. NS pl. 28). On Kuei vessels with B-style ornamentation on the surface of the vessels you find animal's heads that are closely akin to or even frankly identical with t'aot'ie heads on the one hand plastically applied to the upper part of the handles, on the other hand protruding as »free animal's heads» in the middle of the neck bands (in order to mark the division of the vessel into four equal parts). These various animal's heads, applied in places where a plastic representation is well justified, can in no way invalidate my observation that in the décor on the flat surfaces of the bodies the B style has rejected the real t'aot'ie — since it has elaborated this motif further into various corrupt shapes. Now the Hien steamer is in principle (genetically) a Li tripod on which has been superimposed a big bowl to contain the rice to be steamed. But in the process of coalescence of the two parts, the proportions have been modified, so that of the original Li tripod there remain only the three bulbous legs. Tectonically, therefore, the achieved Hien is a big bowl with three rather squat, bulbous and curved legs. And these legs were just such rounded *limb* parts of the vessel as were eminently suitable for an adornment in the shape of an animal's head. Such heads, often identical with the t'aot'ie

head, were consequently applied, and the Hien therefore has three curved legs with plastically executed t'aot'ie heads. It is no more astonishing to find them there than to find them on the upper part of the legs of B-style square Ting. These plastic animal's heads on the legs have no connection whatsoever with the B-style decoration of the surfaces on the body of the Hien. In short, these alleged 2 »exceptions» to the general rule about the A and B elements' not being combinable, exceptions which »Karlgren ignores entirely», turn out to be quite non-existent.

In a lengthy discussion on various classes of vessels and their décor, Catherine Grassl tries to establish a chronology of the various vessel types, propounding a scheme showing, for each class, how early it started and how long it continued. On the fundamental point in this discussion the author makes one of her most ludicrous mistakes. She starts from the assumption that what I have called the »dissolved t'aot'ie» is not really an evolved type, produced by a gradual corruption of the real t'aot'ie, but an independent element; or rather (if I understand her rightly) that whereas some of them are really dissolved forms of a real t'aot'ie,¹⁾ other cases which I have labelled as »dissolved t'aot'ie», have really nothing to do with the real t'aot'ie. She says (p. 72): »Certain of the dissolved t'aot'ies we find upon the Tsüe and Ku cannot actually be called dissolved but may be considered the first creations of the Yin artist», and she proceeds to analyse them in detail. Her reasons for attributing this »pseudo-dissolved-t'aot'ie» to the earliest period, anterior to the creation of the real t'aot'ie (mask, bodied or bovine t'aot'ie) are the following: she asserts that the »dissolved t'aot'ie» (all of them, according to my classification) nearly exclusively occur on two classes of vessels: the Tsüe and the Ku (which is a great exaggeration; in the NS there are 31 vessels of other classes having the »dissolved t'aot'ie»: Ting, Li, Kuei, P'ou, Hu, Tsun, Ch'i, K'ue, Ho and Kuang). She says (p. 70): »What vessels do carry the dissolved t'aot'ies? They are the Ku and Tsüe, which together have 82 vessels with dissolved t'aot'ies and 118 that are either bodied or mask t'aot'ies. Turning to table 6, we may note that the Ku has 17 Yin inscriptions and no Chou, while the Tsüe has 26 Yin inscriptions and 1 Chou, the latter appearing with an animal triple band. What may be the significance of the fact that almost all the dissolved t'aot'ies appear only on two types of vessels?» And on p. 72: »Karlgren lists 118 vessels belonging to the Ku type, of which 17 have Yin inscriptions and none Chou. In the same manner he lists 198 types of Tsüe vessels, of which 26 have Yin inscriptions and 1 a Chou inscription. We may note further that the Ku and Tsüe have practically all the dissolved t'aot'ies, 26 and 56 respectively. These deformed t'aot'ies, incidentally, also have no Chou inscriptions. What is the

¹⁾ In fact, in 95 cases out of 100 of the »dissolved t'aot'ie», in which the casual observer only sees two eyes surrounded by a jumble of lines, spirals, S curves etc., the experienced eye will discern quite clearly various remnants of the original real t'aot'ie: eyebrows, horns (C shaped or S shaped), bodies with curled tails, the rolled-up nostrils, the drawn-up line of the mouth etc.

explanation of this interesting phenomenon? I believe the answer is that the Ku and Tsüe were the earliest types of vessels to be cast at the beginning of Yin culture. This opinion has been suggested by both Max Loehr and Sueji Umehara. To substantiate this opinion we find that, according to G. D. Wu, both the Ku and the Tsüe or their prototypes were already in existence in the neolithic period in China». From this she draws her conclusion as quoted above («certain of the dissolved t'aot'ies we find upon the Tsüe and Ku cannot actually be called dissolved but may be considered the first creations of the Yin artist»). The pitfall into which C. Grassl has fallen here is quite instructive — showing the risk of operating with data from a field (here: archaic Chinese epigraphy) which one has not mastered. The Yin inscriptions are mostly quite brief (one or two up to a few characters), and their Yin date is revealed by the occurrence in them of certain symbols (the *ya hing* and three more short legends) which, though occurring on hundreds of bronzes, yet as a rule are never to be found in the hundreds of inscriptions which contain Chou-time names and facts, and which thereby reveal themselves to be of Chou date. The brief Yin criteria just mentioned can easily be applied to Tsüe vessels, which regularly have but a small field under the ear reserved for inscriptions, and to the Ku vessels, the slender, trumpet-like wine beakers, which barely have sufficient space for a few characters. On the other hand, the inscriptions which can be ascribed to the Chou era are, as just stated, such as contain Chou-time names and facts. In order to reveal themselves as Chou inscriptions they must therefore, as a rule, be fairly lengthy — in an inscription of one or two or seven or eight characters there is rarely sufficient space for conclusive Chou names or facts. The reason why so many Tsüe and Ku vessels can boast Yin-time inscriptions while practically none have Chou inscriptions is not at all, as C. Grassl imagines, that the Tsüe and Ku belonged almost entirely to the Yin dynasty and barely survived in the earliest Chou time, but a very natural and commonplace practical one: the comparatively lengthy inscriptions which contain revealing Chou-time names and facts could not be applied to the very small space available for an inscription on a Tsüe or a Ku vessel. In the great thesaurus of bronze inscriptions *San tai ki kin wen ts'un* published by Lo Chen-yü, there are 222 inscriptions on Ku vessels. Out of these, 82 have only 1 character, 51 have 2 char., 53 have 3 char., 21 have 4 char., 1 has 6 char., 8 have 7 char. and 1 has 13 characters. And of these 222 inscriptions, 32 reveal themselves as being of Yin time (having *ya hing* etc.). As to the remaining 190 there is no possibility whatever of telling whether they are of Yin or early Chou time, since these inscriptions — owing to the limited space available on the Ku — are as a rule not sufficiently extensive to contain Chou-time names and facts. We cannot, of course, conclude from this negative evidence alone that, since there are no Chou names in any of these brief inscriptions, all or most of these 190 Ku are of pre-Chou date; that would be a palpable mistake. There is in principle nothing to prevent half the number, or more, of these Ku with brief inscriptions having been made in early Chou time,

though their inscriptions are, for lack of space, too short to reveal their age. We can learn absolutely nothing of their date from their inscriptions. But Catherine Grassl has committed precisely this appalling methodical error and has thereby entirely invalidated her elaborate structure of a «chronology» for the vessel classes. That the Ku class *a s s u c h* is of very early origin, connecting with prehistoric times, is quite plausible. But this does not of course imply that the Ku with «dissolved t'aot'ie» for ornamentation are anterior to the numerous Ku with real t'aot'ie (A style). On the contrary, the derivation of the dissolved t'aot'ie from the real t'aot'ie being certain beyond any doubt, the earliest Ku with dissolved t'aot'ie must be placed later in time than the earliest Ku with real t'aot'ie, from which they are (stylistically) derived.

A few concluding remarks. The reader of NS who first studies the 14 Ting-class vessels in plates 1—7 (A style) and then the 12 Ting-class vessels in pl. 28—33 (B style), will be at once struck by the enormous difference in style: there is a gulf between the two groups — infinitely greater than the difference in style between Sahlin's styles 1, 2 and 3 in the ancient Germanic ornamentation. If he then compares the 8 Kuei and P'ou vessels (A style) in pl. 11—14 with the 13 Kuei and P'ou vessels (B style) in pl. 36—42, he will likewise observe a great and fundamental stylistic difference. There is furthermore a world of difference between the 8 Yu vessels (A style) in pl. 15—18 and the 11 Yu vessels (B style) in pl. 43—48; and so on. But if he then compares the 14 Ting vessels (A) in pl. 1—7 with the 8 Kuei and P'ou vessels (A) in pl. 11—14 and with the 8 Yu vessels (A) in pl. 15—18, he will find that they agree admirably with each other in style. If, on the other hand, he compares the 12 Ting (B) in pl. 28—33 with the 13 Kuei and P'ou (B) in pl. 36—42 and with the 11 Yu (B) in pl. 43—48, he will likewise realize that they go very well together stylistically, forming a homogeneous group. In short, the fundamental division of the vessels into two great classes is certain beyond any doubt. But this, it should be emphasized, is only a very rough and general division. Within each of these two great style classes there are several sub-styles which my work discussed above did not pretend to determine. That is a task for future investigators.

THE SITES OF CH'I CHIA P'ING AND LO HAN T'ANG IN KANSU

BY

MARGIT BYLIN-ALTHIN

In 1931 Professor J. G. Andersson entrusted me with the task of publishing the results of his excavations in the site of Ch'i Chia P'ing in Kansu.

In 1936 a manuscript of mine giving a detailed account of the finds on this site was forwarded to China to be published there. The outbreak of the war between Japan and China prevented the realization of that plan, and it was only recently that I was in a position to take up the work again and revise my manuscript for publication in Sweden. At the same time I took upon me the task of investigating the materials from the site of Lo Han T'ang. In consequence the present paper consists of two separate parts, which, however, are intimately connected with each other. I take this opportunity of offering my sincere and respectful thanks to Professor Andersson for his invaluable aid and the interest he has taken in my work.

THE CH'I CHIA P'ING SITE, NING TING HSIEN, KANSU

In Kansu, Ning Ting Hsien, near the middle course of the T'ao, a tributary of the Huang Ho, there lies on the west river bank, at the edge of a steep ravine, an extensive cultural deposit, which is called Ch'i Chia P'ing after a village of that name in its immediate vicinity. A very small section of this dwelling-site was excavated in the summer of 1924 by Professor Andersson's collectors under the supervision of the professor himself, who gave the following report about the excavation:


»The Ch'i Chia P'ing site is illustrated by a sketch map on the scale 1: 8.000. (Fig. 1). The road which has run along the low modern ten-metre plateau on the west bank of the river for some 20 li here climbs to the top of the Ma Lan plateau through a ravine, which is shown on the map to the W of the figure 74 m. The road passes through the Ch'i Chia P'ing village, then crosses a big ravine bordering the village to the south and runs further south to P'ai Tzu P'ing. The site is situated to the N, NE and E of the modern village of Ch'i Chia P'ing. It is bordered to the northwest by the big ravine which marks the termination to the N of the plateau; to the NE where the culture deposit is best exposed the site is bordered by the steep and high cliff facing the T'ao river. To the SE the topographical conditions are rather complicated: from the T'ao river escarpment a ravine runs southwest, and a much bigger ravine, the mouth of which is at the escarpment to the east outside the area shown on the map, nearly joins the smaller ravine just mentioned,

Sketch map of
THE CH'İ CHIA P'ING SITE
NING TING HSIEN, KANSU

June 23, 1924, J. G. Andersson.

 Dark ashy earth with artefacts

 Ravine

 Cliff

Scale 1:8000

0 50 100 250 500 m

Magn. N.

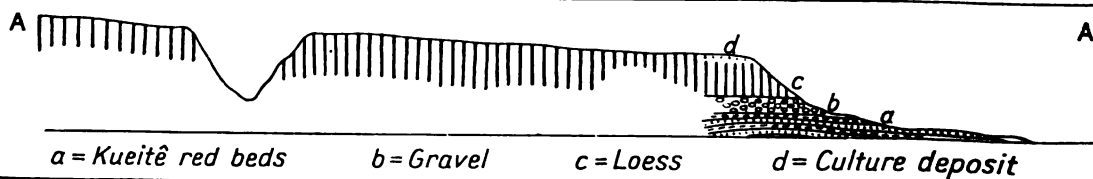
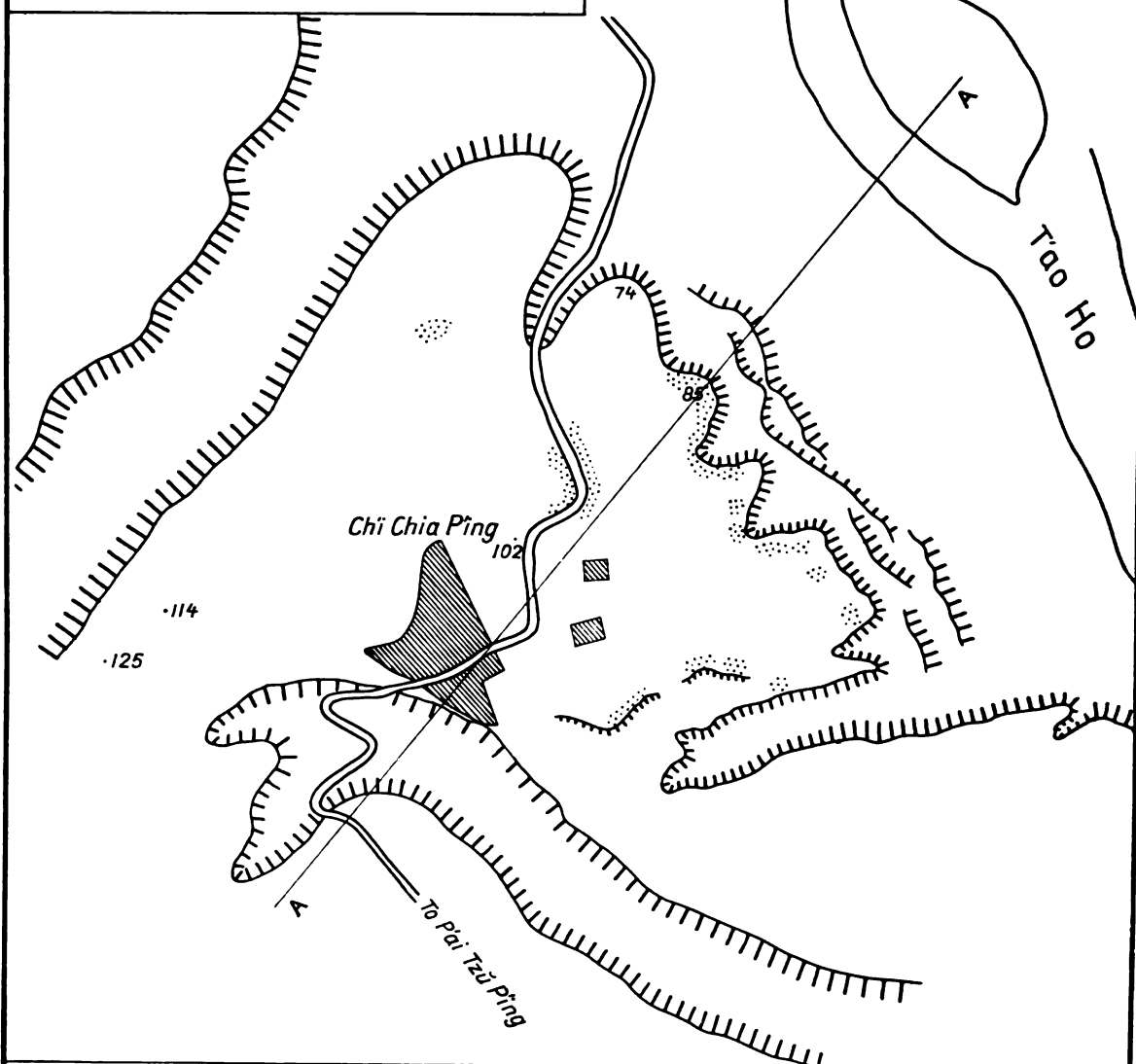


Fig. 1.

leaving between them only a passage of uneroded plateau less than 100 metres broad. This passage leads to a lobe of the undereroded plateau, which extends to nearly one km. east of Ch'i Chia P'ing, and scattered over this lobe there were also seen fragments of pottery, but no deposit of dark, ashy earth was noticed here.

As shown in the map, the big western and the big eastern ravines approach close to one another west of the village where the ground rises to the high hills further SW, as denoted by the figures 114 and 125, which indicate only the gentle beginning of the upward slope.

It has already been mentioned that there are large exposures of the dark ashy earth in the big road between the figures 86 and 102. Another group of exposures is along the edge of the escarpment from the point 86 southeastwards. A third group of good sections occurs in some low cliffs E of the village, one of these cliffs being marked 'pocket', referring to the pocket shown and described below. Some small sections in the culture deposit were also noticed due north from the village, W of the road. Fragments of pottery were also discovered in the fields N and E of the village. No diggings were undertaken in the level cultivated fields as the existing exposures offered ample opportunities for our excavations. Still, there is fairly good evidence that we have here a more or less continuous culture deposit extending 500 metres in the direction NW—SE and 250—350 metres NE—SW, representing an ancient monument of quite considerable dimensions.

The altitude of the deposit above the T'ao river is 90—100 m. The edge of the escarpment towards the river is at a height of 80—90 metres. The higher parts of the site near the village are at an altitude of about 100 metres. It will be observed that this site is topographically located much in the same way as other sites of this area, e. g. the Hsin Tien B and the Hui Tsui sites, upon a part of the dissected plateau which is largely protected by the steep and partly inaccessible cliffs of deep ravines. But in this case the isolation from the surroundings is less complete, as there is an isthmus connecting the Ch'i Chia P'ing lobe with the high land in the SW. As already mentioned, there is also a level isthmus leading to a big lobe E of the village, but this lobe might be regarded strategically as part of the site, as it is completely protected by the river cliff in the N and the big eastern ravine in the S.

Within this site the culture-deposit attains thicknesses that are uncommon in Kansu but resemble the big refuse deposit of Yang Shao Tsun in Honan. At the river cliff, the spot marked 86 metres, a thickness of 2.5 metres was measured and two metres was noted also at a place in the southern part of the site. Here was also noticed a real pocket very much resembling those at Yang Shao Tsun in Honan.

The pottery of this site is for the most part of the coarse monochrome type, very often blackened by fire. There were also found, though more rarely, fragments of monochrome vessels of a much finer type with very attractive *impressed* patterns, a type otherwise extremely rare in these Chinese sites.

Several times I observed small fragments of painted pottery of Yang Shao-type on the surface. These fragments might possibly be explained as a later surface addition, as painted pottery is very rare within the culture deposit. Still, at least one find may be said to have been made within the deposit under such conditions that it may be considered to belong to it. This is a large fragment of the Yang Shao chess-board pattern, which was found by Li at a depth of 1.5 m. together with the coarse sooted ware that is so characteristic of this site. It is possible that this site is slightly older than those typically Yang Shao sites containing an abundance of painted pottery, but the said find (and possibly a few other finds of painted fragments) seem to indicate that the difference in age cannot be great.

During my last visit to the Ch'i Chia P'ing site I took a walk across the wheat-fields

covering the site and noticed then several small sherds of typical Yang Shao-pottery scattered over the surface. From this observation it seems quite likely that here is a light surface infection of Yang Shao sherds over the surface of a pure Ch'i Chia site and that the Yang Shao sherds found in deeper levels are simply due to the farmers having moved masses of soil when laying out their cultivation terraces.

P'ai excavated a high grey foot made on the potter's wheel, which probably is of more recent date. It was said to have been found near the surface.

I noticed in one of the exposures a modern fragment with black glaze at nearly one metre's depth. These observations are mentioned to emphasize that the greatest caution should be exercised when dealing with these sites.»

The dwelling-site area has yielded a rich body of material consisting of pottery, artifacts of bone and stone, also a considerable quantity of animal bones.

The material discovered contains no metal whatsoever. As invariably where Chinese dwelling-sites are concerned, the artifacts occur in a cultural deposit that is distinguishable, it is true, from the untouched loess, but which is entirely unstratified. Owing to the intensive manner in which Chinese agriculture is carried on, with its terrace system, the soils are generally intermingled in a way that is less commonly found elsewhere, so that at the same level artifacts may be found dating from widely different periods. Thus, at Ch'i Chia P'ing there was discovered at a depth of 1 metre a modern sherd with a black glaze.

The above observations testify to the extreme difficulty involved in making a scientific study of the Chinese dwelling-site material. The stratigraphical data are often of but little value. As regards Ch'i Chia P'ing in particular, for special reasons there are extremely few data available as to the circumstances under which the objects were found.¹⁾ As mentioned above, the excavations were carried out by Professor Andersson's collectors, who at the same time were also engaged in other investigations in the neighbourhood, and consequently the hours at their disposal for excavating at Ch'i Chia P'ing were limited. The main object was to collect in a brief space of time as rich and representative a body of material as possible.

The collections thus brought together were subsequently shipped by Professor Andersson to Sweden, where they were catalogued and photographed. Half of the collection was then returned, by agreement, to China, and the other half is preserved in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm (MFEA).

I. POTTERY

It will be realized from what has been said above that in the present case it was *a priori* out of the question to make a stratigraphically substantiated division of the abundant and varied pottery finds into different chronologically determined

¹⁾ The material contains, *inter alia*, 34 objects of stone, bone and pottery, which according to the written particulars attached to them were picked up on the surface or bought in the district. This group has been marked with *letters* in order to distinguish them easily from the rest of the material, which bears consecutive numbers.

layers. Since the material which the excavations yielded contains only two entire vessels and for the rest consists merely of sherds of various sizes and fragments of vessels, it is hardly advisable to base the investigation of them upon the assumption of the existence of such vessel forms as it might conceivably be possible to reconstruct from them.

Under these circumstances I have considered that the only reliable premisses on which to base an investigation are the ceramic nature of the ware and the technical quality of its manufacture, and it is on this basis that I have grouped and classified the material, as it has proved to be far too heterogeneous to fit into an ordinary typological evolutionary series.

Accordingly, the pottery has been divided into three different qualitative classes,¹⁾ and two of them have several sub-divisions. These qualitative classes are based, in the first place, upon the nature of the ware, so far as it can be judged microscopically or with the naked eye without being subject to chemical analysis or other special method of investigation, and in the second place upon its technically high or low standard of manufacture. These two factors, the quality and technical standard of the ware, have served therefore as the basis on which the following system of classification has been founded. The correctness of the grouping into classes has been confirmed by an analysis of microscopical slides carried out by Dr. Gunnar Beskow, the results of which are published p. 427 below.

Seeing that the pottery consists mainly of sherds and fragments of various sizes, which it has in most cases been impossible to fit together to make entire vessels, it would have proved somewhat difficult to form any true idea of what the different forms of vessels looked like. Fortunately, however, I have been greatly assisted in the work of reconstruction by having at my disposal a score of complete vessels bought by Professor Andersson and his assistants in the city of Lanchou (Kansu) and its vicinity.

Most of them are identifiable with the aid of the dwelling-site pottery as forms belonging to the Ch'i Chia culture, and the complete vessels have in turn lent strong support to the probability of the various theories of reconstruction. The most important of these vessels will therefore be briefly described and illustrated in a subsequent chapter, but as we have no exact data as to their provenience and the circumstances under which they were found, they must be treated with the utmost caution and cannot without further evidence be grouped and classified amongst the Ch'i Chia P'ing material. Some of them, that is to say, those whose forms could not be identified amongst the sherd material, may perhaps have little connection with the Ch'i Chia culture.

¹⁾ Denoted by the symbols CC: I, CC: II and CC: III.

CC: I.

About 390 fragments.

This class not only exhibits the highest standard of quality, technically speaking, but also comprises the greatest number of sherds. As regards the formal design of the vessels, it offers the greatest variety and shows the most complex forms. Only in the decoration of the vessels is it surpassed by CC: III.

Within the class itself there are fairly wide variations as regards both the character of the ware and the technique; consequently for the sake of clarity it has further been divided into three sub-divisions.¹⁾ These sub-divisions are in many respects so intimately bound up with one another that there would be no justification in making individual classes of them; on the other hand, the lines of demarcation between these subdivisions are not so strict as between the main classes.

CC: I a.

About 90 fragments.

This group contains only a small number of sherds, but some of them represent technically the finest specimens that have come to light of the Ch'i Chia people's technical skill.

The Ware. In the matter of its ware the group is very uniform and is of extremely high quality. To the well-mixed clay has been added some lime in order to reduce its richness (though this is not apparent from the microscopical slide). The grains of lime have sometimes had an easily discernible expanding effect on the wall of the vessel. The ware is hard-baked (cf. p. 408.) and the colour varies on the different sherds between more or less pronounced brick-red and varying shades of light brown or pale yellow-brown. The exterior is frequently of a paler tone than the ware's inner layer. Owing to irregularities in the oxidation or an uneven distribution of the components of the clay mass, there are sometimes darker or lighter reddish spots on the exterior. For similar reasons there is sometimes a greyish core as against brighter surface layers. If, so, this phenomenon may concern the entire ware or else only certain sections of it. In the former case it depends on variations in the process of oxidization and in the latter case it is caused by disparities in the clay substance.

The Slip. Slip occurs on a number of the sherds (cf. p. 407). It has usually a pale-brown tone, which in some cases so closely resembles the ware that a doubt may arise as to whether any slip has been applied at all. In certain cases (e. g. Pl. 1,2) the surface has acquired a streaky appearance owing to the fact that the thickness of the slip layer varies, so that the ware's own colour is discernible beneath the thinnest parts. A dozen of the sherds differ strikingly from the rest of the

¹⁾ Unfortunately the differences in quality between the subdivisions are not brought out in the reproductions as clearly as might be desired.

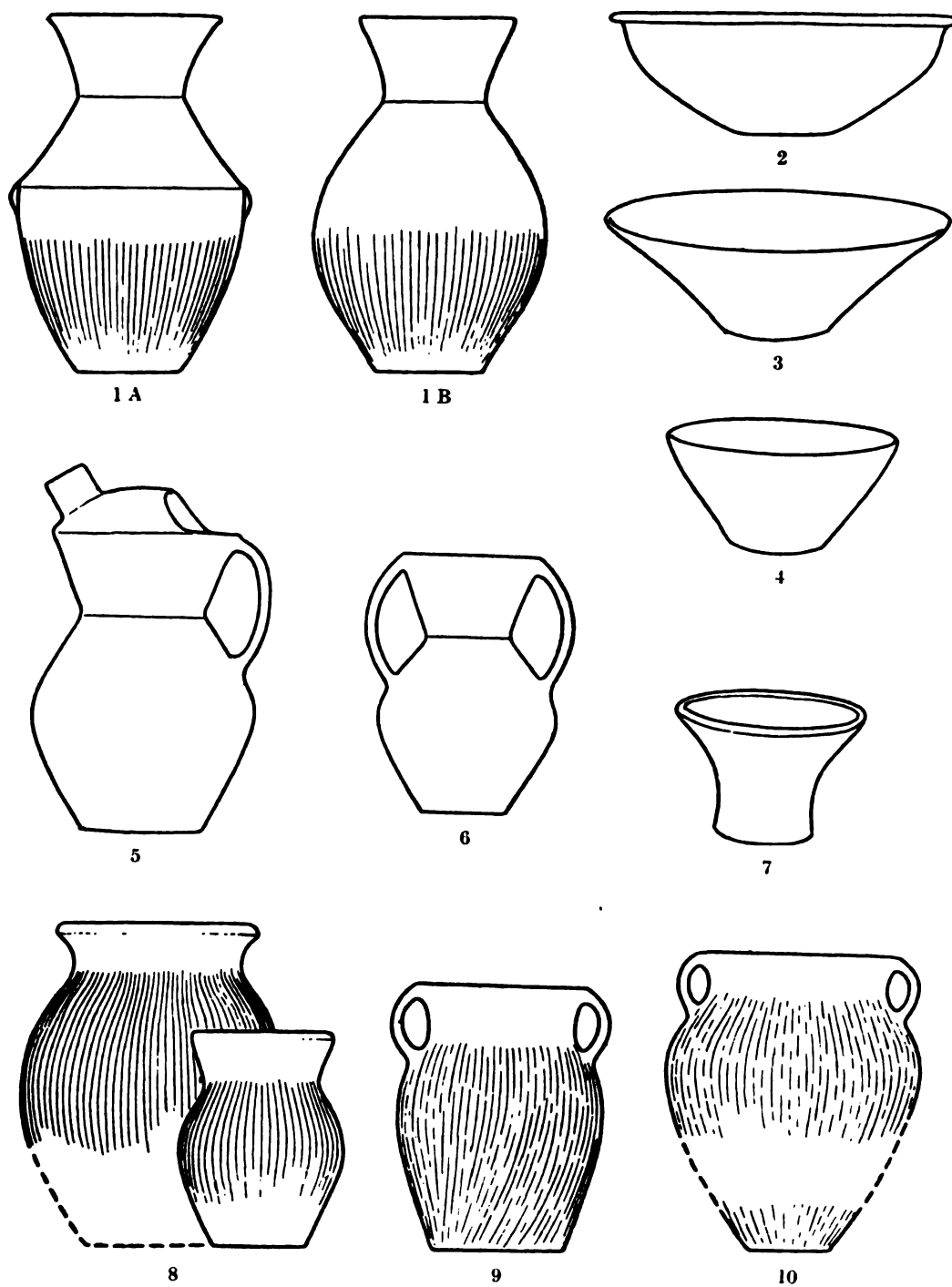


Fig. 2.

group in that they have a thickly applied whitish slip, probably of pipeclay, which completely conceals the underlying surface. (Pl. 1,6)

The thickness of the ware varies, but on an average it is about 4 mm. The maximum measured thickness is 7 mm.

Forms of vessels. The most common and most characteristic form of vessel within this and the following group is a bi-conical urn with a funnel-shaped neck, and it occurs in two different variants. In the one case the vertical plane of the body is distinctly broken (Type I a), in the other case the body's profile is slightly rounded (Type I b). The height of the neck varies between 4 and 7 cm. Like the upper part of the body, the neck is invariably smooth, and concentric striation is frequently discernible on these parts (see p. 406). The rim of the mouth is sometimes given a slight profile (Pl. 1,2) or in isolated cases is curved outwards (Pl. 1,4). Usually there are two short handles on the equatorial line. The lower portion of the body is generally covered with rush-mat or basket impressions (see p. 411), though there are also smooth forms (Pl. 1,6). The bottom surface is always clearly demarcated, and there are occasionally found on its underside the impressions of a woven mat (Pl. 2,12). In size the vessels appear to have most closely resembled the larger of the bought vessels (see Pl. 21 and 22), though two fragments of the upper part of a body seem to be remnants of very large specimens.

In addition, there belong to the group three fragments of wide bowls (Pl. 1,1), the rim of the mouth being annular, and these must technically have been the most perfect vessels in the dwelling-site. The interior is smooth and well finished, with concentric striations, and it is in striking contrast to the crudeness of the underside with its scratches and furrows. Whether these vessels had a demarcated bottom surface it is impossible to determine with any certainty, as the sherds only comprise parts nearest to the rim of the mouth, but considering that all the other vessels belonging to CC: I have a differentiated base, it is to be presumed that these also had a distinctly marked standing surface.¹⁾ (Type 2.)

To this group belongs also a fragment of a rim with its edge turned outwards, probably part of a large bowl. (Pl. 2,4). The inside has been carefully finished and a part of the thinned edge folded over and attached to the underside, which shows traces of basket impressions.²⁾ (Type 3.)

Pl. 2,2 and 2,3 show two fragments of a vessel's mouth, both having a slightly pronounced neck. In the former the actual rim of the mouth is clearly flattened and the belly is wide. In the other, of which only the short neck with its broad rim is left, the transition to the body is marked by a belt of incised squares. It is not possible to form any definite opinion as to the shape of the body, but it probably belonged to the amphora type common in CC: I.

¹⁾ The shape of the vessels has been reconstructed in text fig. 2 with the aid of related types from other sites preserved in the MFEA.

²⁾ The shape of the vessel has been reconstructed in text fig. 2 with the aid of two related bowls from Yang Shao Tsun, in Honan, which are preserved in the MFEA. (K. 6417 and K. 6247).

A third fragment of a neck (Pl. 1,3) is of a most exquisite shape and quality. The transition between neck and body is indicated by an interwoven band in relief. The exterior is covered with a thin white slip, which however is not of exactly the same kind as that discussed above.

To this group may also be referred three fragments of large, disclike handles (Pl. 1,11—13). Two of them (11 and 13) are made of a whitish ware with a somewhat darker, greyish-white core. The raw material was probably pipe clay. The exterior is decorated with an incised ornamentation. 1,13 shows traces of a supporting plug, which had been fastened to the completed but still plastic vessel between the handle and the wall, for the outside of the handle shows a finger-print in the ornamentation on a level with the point of attachment of the plug. The third handle (Pl. 1,12) is of yellowish red ware and has parallel ornamental incisions on the outside. These handles, at any rate the one illustrated in 1,13, have probably belonged to jugs with overvaulted mouth of a type resembling Pl. 22,5. It should be observed that the ware gives the impression of being to a certain extent alien to the milieu, although there are no convincing reasons to justify these handles' exclusion from the Ch'i Chia culture.

CC: I b.

About 245 fragments.

This group, which comprises the largest number of sherds in CC: I, is closely connected in form and décor with the I a group but differs from it in its technically lower quality and its coarser ware.

The Ware. The vessels are made of relatively good clay material possessing a high loess content and a fair abundance of lime. Its richness has been reduced by the addition of sand of alkali feldspar or quartz. The baking appears to have been done at a somewhat lower temperature than in the case of the preceding group. The ware is of the same colour as that of the I a group, although brick-red tints are not so extensive as in the latter. Zonal striation and flamminess occur on the exterior, as in the preceding group.

Slip has been found on about fifty sherds. It is usually of a pale yellow or brownish-yellow tone, generally very much the same colour as that of the ware itself. Some fragments have a pale yellowish-grey slip so unevenly applied that large patches of the brick-red surface have been left uncovered. The slip covers the exterior of the vessels, a usually thinner layer of it being also applied to the inside of the neck, sometimes however only around the rim of the mouth. In a few cases the interior of the vessel has also received a thin coating, this being particularly the case with low bowls possessing a wide mouth.

Vessel forms. This group does not differ very much from the preceding one as far as the forms of vessel are concerned, although during manufacture the same care has not been expended on shaping the details. No fragments of types 2 and 3 have

been found; on the other hand, some new forms have emerged, but within this group also the bi-conical or delicately rounded urn with funnel-shaped neck and the handles at the equator (Types 1 A and 1 B) is the most abundantly represented form of vessel. It is found here in far greater variations than in the preceding group. To judge from the size of the mouth and the bottoms, these urns appear in some cases to have been of quite considerable dimensions. The mouth is generally very wide. The diameter is on an average about 15 cm., but in one case a cross section measured over 23 cm. The neck is as a rule 7—8 cm. high, though both higher and lower necks occur. It widens upwards into a funnel shape, sometimes so strongly pronounced at the mouth that the profile is broken. The rim of the mouth may occasionally be profiled. The neck either passes imperceptibly into the body or else, as is generally the case, the transition is marked by a line (Pl. 3,2) or some other incised pattern, which may have the character of a belt of oblique scores. Another form of decoration occurring on several sherds is a row of incised crosses (Pl. 4,2) or oblique squares (Pl. 4,5) applied either at the actual transition to the body or immediately below it. Sometimes the squared pattern is bounded on either side by a deep furrow. Another ornamentation that is somewhat akin to the above-mentioned types is in Pl. 4,4. Here the upper part of the body is decorated with double rows of small triangles, their apices pointing downwards.

Only a few fragments of the upper part of the body are left, but it was apparently smooth throughout and shows concentric striations. The handles are attached at the equator, and vary in length and breadth in proportion to the size of the vessels.

The lower part of the body is usually covered with mat or basket impressions of varying character (see e. g. Pl. 3,3, Pl. 4,13—16, cf. the chapter on Mat and Basket impressions). In a couple of fragments the lower part of the body is covered with parallel furrows, which resemble, it is true, mat impressions, but which were probably stamped on to the ware with the idea of imitating mat impressions (Pl. 14,12).

As in the I a group, the bottoms are clearly demarcated, though they are executed with far less care. Joints and standing surface are not smoothed over (Pl. 4,18).

A couple of vessel forms that are absent from the I a group constitute a novelty here. In the first place, a couple of fragments appear representing a new type of bowl (Type 4). The specimen illustrated in Pl. 3,5, with its straight sides expanding uniformly towards the mouth and the pronounced thickening of the wall of the vessel towards the base, is typical of the group.

Two smallish fragments (one of them illustrated in Pl. 4,3) have been identified with the aid of a vessel bought in Lanchou (Pl. 23,1) and have proved to belong to a rare and peculiar type of jug with an overvaulted top forming a kind of roof (Type 5). The pieces that resemble one another represent fragments of the neck

and a part of the overvaulted top. Even a small piece of the spout is discernible on one of the fragments (cf. the reconstruction in our Fig. 3).

Pl. 4,6 is remarkable as it illustrates a lid (in a fragmentary state) that is unique within this group. As the illustration shows, the preserved portion is provided with a flat knob.

Among the fragments of pots excavated from the cultural deposits there is a small amphora (Pl. 3,1) with long discoid handles extending from the rim of the mouth to the upper part of the body (Type 6). The height of the vessel is 12.4 cm., and its breadth 8.3 cm. To judge from the close similarities between this and the small vessels bought in the district (see p. 426) we are probably justified in assuming that these belong to the Ch'i Chia culture, so that special importance is to be attached to this amphora.

Sherds that are fragments of small vessels within this group practically all belong to the above-mentioned type of amphora (Pl. 4,7—9). Otherwise they are related to some closely allied variant,

which also occurs among the bought vessels (cf. Pl. 23). The thickness of the ware is in general directly proportional to the dimensions of the vessels and these smaller amphorae consequently have very much thinner walls than the vessels of larger size.

Décor. As has been mentioned above, only the large urns possess a décor (Types I A & B), whereas in all the other vessels any form of decorative or constructive pattern is entirely absent. On the other hand, on some of the smaller vessels (e. g. Pl. 3,5) there are just discernible on the surface traces of deliberately effaced mat impressions, which are in curious contrast to the above-mentioned example of an imitation of a similar pattern (Pl. 4,12) — assuming that the latter is actually not a genuine impression, a point that it is difficult to decide from the evidence.

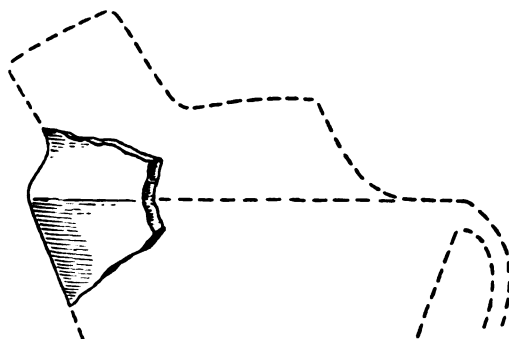


Fig. 3.

CC: I c.

About 53 fragments.

This group shows a distinct affinity to the preceding group as far as regards certain vessel forms and decorative details, though it differs from it in that the quality of the ware is lower, the technical execution poorer, and some of the vessel forms are new. On the whole the group is a difficult one to keep quite distinct, as it is in part associated with group I b and in certain respects assumes an intermediate position between the latter and the following class (CC: II).

The Ware. The comparative lack of uniformity exhibited by this group is also noticeable in the character of the ware. One feature, however, that is common to the different sherds is that they have all been subject to a low firing temperature — considerably lower in fact than in group I b. The quantity and nature of the substance added to the clay to reduce its richness vary, but in the main the quantity forms a greater percentage than in group I b. The ware is of a strikingly dark colour compared with that of the preceding groups — usually a dirty brown, though there also occur greyish and reddish-brown tints.

Slip. Only a couple of sherds show traces of any slip, which is here pale-yellow in tone.

Vessel forms. It has been possible to reconstruct only a very few forms out of the small number of extremely fragmentary sherds founds.

Three fragments of necks (Pl. 5,1—3) are reminiscent of the urn form (Type I) that is so common within the previous groups, although in view of their decoration and remarkable size the neck fragments in question belong to a somewhat divergent type, which occurs in Lo Han T'ang.¹⁾ Fig. 2 has a comparatively low neck (33 mm.), the rim of the mouth being bent slightly outwards. The transition between neck and body is marked by an imposed band with incised squares. Fig. 1 has a belt of incised crosses. Fig. 3 has a similar marking, but here the crosses, which are arranged in double rows, form a squared pattern demarcated on both sides by a shallow furrow. — Of the amphora type referred to above there remain only one or two fragments of a body and a base and a few lugs of the short and broad type that is characteristic of this form.

Further, there belong to this group some fragments of the form of bowl described above as Type 4.

Pl. 5,10 illustrates a fragment of the rim of a vessel the original size and appearance of which it is difficult to estimate. It may be presumed, however, that the vessel was fairly large and its shape straight and resembling a flowerpot, the rim of the mouth curving inwards. The exterior is covered with impressions of some kind of plaited work. If our reconstruction is correct, we have here a form that is new to the Ch'i Chia culture.

A number of small bowls standing on a foot (Type 7) are likewise new additions. The specimen illustrated in Pl. 5,4 is 5.5 cm. in height and both exterior and interior show slight traces of red colour. To judge from the shape it seems likely that the bowls were used as lamps, this supposition being supported by the fact that the bowl referred to above has on its inside a network of dark veins which might possibly be traces of oil.

A further feature characteristic of the group is a collection of lids (7) varying in type and size. The diameter ranges between 6 and 15 cm. Some are smooth (Pl. 5,5), but the upper side of the edge is occasionally ornamented. The vessel shown in Pl. 5,7 is decorated with crescent-shaped impressions facing one another

¹⁾ These fragments are closely akin to a very large urn from Lo Han T'ang. see Pl. 25.2.

in pairs, and the specimen in Pl. 5,6 is ornamented with simple slanting furrows. All the lids have had knobs, that shown in Pl. 6,8 being decorated with plait-like incisions. Pl. 15,6 illustrates a large knob with a similar ornamentation, and it is also, probably, a fragment of a lid belonging to this group.

Finally, we may refer to CC: I c three fragments of »ring-feet» (Pl. 15,7) and a hollow leg of a small tripod (Pl. 15,8).

Décor. The group possesses two kinds of décor: incised patterns and ornamentation in relief. As will be gathered from what has been said above, the incised patterns occur on the necks, where they mark the transition to the body (Pl. 5,1 and 5,3). Incisions appear on the lids as an edging. It should be observed that they are always placed on the upper side, indicating that the objects in question were actually lids and not, as might otherwise have been assumed, small bowls.

An incised ornamentation occurs in conjunction with relief in Pl. 5,2, in which a band running round the neck is decorated with incised squares.

Finally, among the vessels ornamented in relief must be placed the sherd Pl. 5,11, which forms an important link in our study of Ch'i Chia. Here we find on a lug of the short, broad type the remains of a snake coiling upwards and fashioned in relief. The direction taken by the snake is indicated by a contraction that marks the head on the surface of one of the broken edges. That this should be placed upwards is obvious from the appearance of the fragment. The lines of the animal's body are marked by deep impressions, arranged so as to indicate the sinuous movements of the reptile.

An impression of some indeterminable plaited work occurs on another handle of the same form as the preceding (Pl. 5,9). It is possible that this was permitted to remain for ornamental purposes.

Purely constructive impressions of mats and such-like are found on some bowl-fragments, but they are of very little significance in the material grouped under CC: I c.

In Pl. 5,13 is illustrated a fragment of a rim made of unusually thin, brown ware. The sherd appears to be part of a very high and quite straight neck. In the middle of the rim of the mouth the ware is pinched in, giving to the marginal edge the shape of a double arc.

The closest resemblance to this construction is found in a unique little jug from Ho Yin Hsien, Chih Kou Chai, see Andersson, RPC. pl. 35,1.¹⁾ This vessel, thin as an egg-shell, has a proportionally very high, straight neck with a spout formed by two pinches in the clay, similar to that referred to above. It is reasonable to assume that Pl. 5,13 illustrates a fragment of a similarly shaped vessel, though much larger than the jug we have just described.

The fragment in question differs from the Ch'i Chia material in its peculiar shape

¹⁾ J. G. Andersson, *Researches into the Prehistory of the Chinese*, BMFEA 15, 1943; henceforth quoted as RPC.

and its uncommonly thin ware, but the differences are not sufficiently great to warrant its rejection from the group without further evidence. The sherd has accordingly been dealt with in conjunction with CC: I c, the group in which it fits best.

Supplement to CC: I.

In this class may also be grouped a number of objects that are not remnants of vessels. There is consequently some difficulty in placing them in the respective sub-divisions of the potsherds, and they will therefore be discussed here separately.

Pl. 15,2 shows a rather badly damaged piece of animal sculpture, of which have been preserved, besides the body, remains of the neck and legs.

There are furthermore six balls of burnt clay (Pl. 15,3). Their purpose is not known, but they may possibly have been used for grinding colours or some similar purpose.

Pl. 15,1 shows a lump with a hole in it, which however does not go right through the centre, so that it is unlikely that the object was used as a spinning-whorl, which otherwise might have been surmised. On the other hand, the one half of a spinning-whorl is reproduced in Pl. 15,9, as also in Pl. 15,10. The former shows traces of mat impressions. The latter, although mentioned here, belongs to CC: II on account of its coarser ware.

CC: II.

266 fragments.

A very uniform class, within which, however, there is some justification for distinguishing two groups: one, here called II a, comprising some sherds which, owing to their décor or the higher quality of their ware or, usually, to both, are manifestly to be differentiated from the main bulk of the sherds falling within this class. These last have here been brought together to form group II b, which thus happens to comprise the great majority of the low household utensils belonging to the Ch'i Chia P'ing culture.

CC: II a.

About 65 fragments.

The ware. Compared with group II b, the sherds contain relatively little reducing substance. The colour is fairly light, usually yellowish, though pale brick-red or brown tints also occur. The colour of the exterior is generally uniform, but occasionally there is a red flaminess such as we find in CC: I. In contrast to the succeeding group, the fractures are fairly smooth in spite of the porosity of the ware. The temperature at which it was fired was probably comparatively low. In the case of a couple of sherds, however, it must have been as much as about

900° C. In these cases the fragments show close similarity to CCI : a, b, though they differ in the unusual size of the particles of lime.

Slip. One or two sherds are covered with a pale-yellow slip, applied either on the exterior only or else on both sides.

Vessel forms. The normal form both for this and for the succeeding group is that of an urn with gently rounded profile and fairly low neck expanded slightly upwards (Type 8). The body is covered with cord or mat impressions (cf. p. 412). It is difficult to gain any exact idea of the size of these vessels owing to their fragmentary state, but they appear to have been smaller than the urns classified under CC: I (Types 1 A and 1 B), from which they also differ in their having a lower neck and the *whole* of the body covered with mat or cord impressions.

The height of the neck varies, the average being about 3 cm. It is usually smooth, but there are also forms with ornamental patterns.

Only in exceptional cases do handles occur on this type of vessel. Pl. 6,3 shows a unique rudimentary boss-handle, which could hardly have had any practical purpose.

Four fragments of mouths (Pl. 7,3—5) reveal a new type of vessel, but it is now difficult to gauge its appearance when complete. To judge from the profile of the fragments, it might be guessed that the vessel here concerned had straight sides and perhaps resembled a flower-pot. In all cases the rim of the mouth was much thickened (see (Pl. 7,3). In all, too, the actual rim of the mouth is ornamented.

Another new and complicated form of vessel is reproduced in Pl. 6,1. Inside the rim of the mouth runs a broad groove, into which a lid has probably fitted. The vessel has a spout, which partially intersects the circular line of the groove, so that, if there were a lid, it must have had a corresponding excision. Below the rim of the mouth projects a disc-like handle. The part nearest the rim of the mouth is smooth, and from here begin cord impressions bounded at the top by an ornamental edging of crescent-shaped ridges.

Finally, it has seemed expedient to place in this group *in toto* a collection of eleven fragments (Pl. 8,4—9), two of which, however, are on the border-line between this and Group II b. The vessels are here brought together to form a unit on account of the puzzling manner in which they have been treated.¹⁾ Prior to being fired they were, either wholly or in part, slit by means of a thin cutting implement. In the latter case the fracture shows a shiny cut, from which it can be clearly seen how the «knife» has passed through the wet clay (Pl. 8,5, 7). On one vessel one can observe, along the border between the wall and the base, how the point of the implement was stuck in diagonally time after time (Pl. 8,4), and was finally drawn through the interior layer of the base. The exterior layer, which was not penetrated, shows a rough fracture, from which it may be assumed that the vessels were subsequently broken in two. This rough fracture lies, in the case of

¹⁾ A similar fragment of a vessel of grey ware and provided with a handle is known from Yang Shao Tsun, Honan (K. 6446).

nine of the fragments, on the inside. In the case of one fragment of a mouth-rim the cut surface is on the outside (Pl. 8,6), and another fragment, that of a base, has been cut right through the wall of the vessel (Pl. 8,8). Still another base fragment, which exhibits the most common type of section, was originally wrongly cut, the mistake being subsequently corrected without any care being taken to smooth over the traces of the first cut (Pl. 8,9). With the exception of one fragment (Pl. 8,6), which shows a slight bulge, these fragments of vessels are straight in profile. Moreover, in every case the exterior wall is covered with cord impressions, which in some fragments continue up to and over the flattened rim of the mouth. In the fragment illustrated in Pl. 8,6 the rim has a profile resembling a *cavetto*.

The purpose of these vessels may always remain an insoluble problem, though one or two possible hypotheses will be suggested below. The straight form that characterizes these vessels has no doubt some connection with their function. Seeing that, as stated above, the vessels have been split into two parts, it is conceivable that the two halves could be fitted together and thus be used in combination as moulds; in that case they were covered inside with grass fibres or grass or straw mats more or less carelessly joined together, or else with cords or a rough sacking made of cord (cf. the chapter on Technical details). On the other hand, the possibility should not be excluded that the vessels might have an association with some ritual custom, e. g. a ceremonial crushing, which would be facilitated by the cross-cut. For my part, however, I consider that this explanation is not very plausible, since we are here concerned with a dwelling-site material, and the Ch'i Chia people's burial customs are unknown to us. Finally, it should be pointed out that we cannot possibly be dealing here with the remains of double vessels containing a dividing wall of wood or some such material, since the incision is not sufficiently broad to permit of the insertion of a partition. Besides, in one fragment the cut surface is on the outside.

Décor. The décor, which in this group is confined to the rim of the mouth and the neck, or the transition between the latter and the body, consists for the most part of incisions or patterns made with an engraving stick. Décor in relief does not occur very often as the sole motif. The engraved patterns occur partly as a belt of incised crosses (Pl. 7,1), partly as oblique furrows (Pl. 7,2). These patterns may also be combined with bands in relief (Pl. 7,7, 9). The decorative forms just mentioned are also found in CC: I, whereas the ornamentation of the mouth-rim shown in Pl. 7,4 is of a type that is peculiar to CC: II. Here indentations have been made in the edge of the vessel by means of an engraving stick, thus giving to the edge the character of a wavy line. A similar motif recurs in Pl. 7,3, 5.

Ornamentation in relief occurs in the form of a dentated edging. A sherd shows such ornamentation applied to the rim of the mouth, while that shown in Pl. 7,10 has been placed lower down on the neck. A fine ornamental relief with a succession of rhombi is observed immediately below the rim of the mouth in Pl. 7,1.

In one or two cases within this group the constructive pattern has been made to serve an ornamental purpose. This has been done in its simplest form in Pl. 7,4, where it has been deliberately smoothed over by means of a fillet just below the mouth. The same idea has been further developed in Pl. 7,2,5 in which the cord impressions have been curtailed by furrows or lines, between which the constructive pattern has been allowed to remain as ornamental ridges.

CC: II b.

About 201 fragments.

This group embraces the main bulk of the coarsest ceramic material of the Ch'i Chia P'ing culture.

The ware. The richness of the clay used for this ware has been heavily reduced by an admixture of sand, as is clearly seen from the inner side of the wall of the vessels, whereas only an occasional grain is observable on the outside. The fractures frequently have a flaky appearance, the stratification being in the vertical plane. Some fragments appear to have been made of several layers of different kinds of clay. The most common colour is a dirty brown or dirty grey tone; brick-red and yellow tints also occur though with less frequency. The temperature at which the vessels were fired must have been very low, probably between 500 and 600°.

Most of the sherds within this group show signs of soot. This occurs either in the form of spots or else as a real, sometimes very thick coating. The soot is usually found on the outside, but occasionally on both sides and now and then on the inside only. It sometimes occurs also on the actual fractures. The coating is so heavy that it must be assumed that the soot was produced during cooking or some such process. The abundant presence of sand in the clay mass may also conceivably have some connection with the use of the vessels for cooking, since the sand particles would prevent the ware from cracking when overheated.

Vessel forms. As has been mentioned above, in this group also the most common form of vessel is an urn with a gently rounded profile and a smooth, not very high, neck expanding slightly upwards. The entire body is covered on the outside with cord or mat impressions (Type 8). To this type belongs one of the two complete vessels excavated at Ch'i Chia P'ing (Pl. 6,6). It is of relatively small size (Type 8), but it is clear from the fragments that larger specimens of the same type occurred (Pl. 6,5).

A closely related form of vessel (Type 9) is provided with two short, broad handles, which project from the rim of the mouth to the upper part of the body. The body and the outside of the handle are covered with cord impressions. Of this type only fragments (Pl. 8,2) were found at Ch'i Chia P'ing, but a fairly complete specimen was discovered at the closely related dwelling-site, known as Hsin Tien C (see p. 419 below). This pot, illustrated in Pl. 20,5, shows that the vessels were of relatively small size.

Under this group must further be placed, owing to its thick ware, containing a strong admixture of gravel, a small bowl, which otherwise differs from the uniform bulk of thick domestic ware in its slender form. It is provided with a foot (Pl. 5,14), which is ornamented with oblique notches and thus differs from the type of small bowls (Type 4) classified under CC: I.

In Pl. 8,3 a fragment of a rim is illustrated with a thick edge round the mouth. This is probably derived from a type of vessel that is found in Hsin Tien C, cf. p. 419 and Pl. 20,1. The vessel must have been fairly large and have had straight walls, possibly expanding upwards (reconstruction in fig. 4).

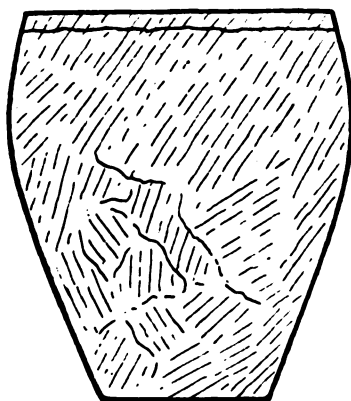


Fig. 4.

The group also contains three fragments of tripods. A solid leg is illustrated in Pl. 7,16. It consists of an inner core around which an outer coating of clay has been smeared. The exterior shows traces of mat impressions. The other fragment of a tripod illustrated here (Pl. 7,14) is a piece of the part where one of the legs is attached to the body. The outside shows basket impressions, representing the wicker-work technique.

In regard to the basket impressions and the ware, the fragment of a mouth illustrated in Pl. 7,13 is very closely related to the tripod fragment described above, but the points of resemblance are not so close as to justify the assumption that they belong to the same vessel.

Finally, mention should be made of two fragments of perforated bases. (Pl. 7,18). The inner uneven edge of the holes proves that they were made with an instrument that had pierced the bottom of the vessel from the outside. These vessels had cordimpressions on the body. Professor Andersson in *An Early Chinese Culture* (p. 61) explains the purpose of these vessels by assuming that they were used in conjunction with tripods for steaming food. Another possibility might be that they were used as braziers.

In this chapter we shall also deal with two fragments of the bodies of large vessels with strong handles (Pl. 7,6). The ware is very similar in the two fragments, and it is therefore not out of the question that they belong to one and the same vessel. We do not know what this vessel looked like originally when complete, except that the profile of the body at the points where the handles were attached was broken, and that the upper part was probably smooth while the lower part had on it quite fine mat impressions. Fragments of exactly the same type are met with in large numbers at the dwelling site of Hui Tsui. They resemble one another not only in shape but also in the ware and in the mat impressions. On the other hand, they do not differ so widely from the rest of the material as to warrant their being

classified apart, seeing that the stratigraphy lends no support to the argument either way.

CC: III.

About 93 fragments.

A scanty but strongly uniform group which is clearly differentiated from the preceding one in its décor, formal design, technical quality and ware.

The Ware. The clay mass contains, according to the microscopical slides, varying quantities of loess and mica and is characterized by a fairly uniform mixture of sand rich in felspar. The petrographical character of the sand entirely distinguishes the ware within this class from that of the preceding group. The ware is porous and appears to have been fired at a fairly low temperature. The colour varies between dirty brown and brick-red or pale-yellow and grayish-yellow tones. The pale-coloured ware is often flamy on the surface and sometimes has brick-red spots. Several sherds show a coating of soot, some of them both on the walls of the vessels and on the fractures.

The walls of the vessels are remarkably thin, their thickness being only a couple of mm. The necks exhibit no traces of being turned by hand, and in spite of their tasteful appearance the vessels give a general impression of a not very perfected technique, although the best specimens have obviously been executed with some care.

Vessel forms. In regard to form this group offers but few variations. The form of vessel that with one single exception predominates is a 30—40 cm. high pot with a low neck (Type 10). Occasionally it is provided with short, broad handles which extend from the mouth to the upper part of the body (breadth in the middle about 3 cm., distance between the points of attachment about 4 cm.). The bases comprise: 1) a type with a separate standing surface (Pl. 12,6, 8), although of a kind other than that occurring in the rest of the Ch'i Chia material; 2) a type in which the base is formed by compressing the lowest part of the vessel wall (Pl. 14,11). (The same method of making the base was employed in the Hsin Tien and the Sha Ching periods.)

The only divergent form of vessel is illustrated in Pl. 14,1 and differs, partly in its smaller proportions and partly in the neck's having a vaguer profile, from the type of vessel that is most common in this class. On the other hand it exhibits a certain association with a form (Type 9) occurring in CC: II b. Cf. also Pl. 8,2 and 20,5.

Décor. Most of the vessels have some kind of ornamentation. Only a couple of fragments indicate that entirely undecorated vessels also occurred (Pl. 13,6 and 14,2). The ornamented vessels may be divided into two groups. The one is characterized by a highly developed »Kamm» and stamp ornamentation combined with relief and incised lines, while the other has a simple décor in relief at the rim of the mouth. All ornamentation shows up against impressions, covering the

entire surface, of grass or vegetable fibres (which were possibly knit into rough mats). This mat pattern is constructive in character and if it possesses any ornamental significance that is purely secondary.

In the Kamm group all the patterns were applied according to a special ornamental system consisting of a horizontal division of the neck-part and the upper part of the body into zones. In those cases in which the lower part of the body is ornamented the grouping is vertical.

Kamm ornamentation. This occurs probably only on the upper part of the vessels, either alone or combined with other decorations. Alone it has been found only on a couple of fragments (Pl. 13,1 and 13,8—10), where it is applied to an attached band which either runs round the neck (13,1), in which case it is of considerable breadth and marks the transition between neck and belly, or else it decorates the belly as a horizontal band (13,8). In 13,9 the band in relief, which is only faintly discernible, shows horizontal Kamm impressions of an uncommon type.

Kamm impressions are combined in various ways with all the other types of pattern, one or several at the same time, that occur within the group. The Kamm impression itself may have a varying character; thus, we find horizontal (e. g. Pl. 13,4) or oblique lines (e. g. Pl. 13,2, 4), bands of consecutive triangles (Pl. 12,12), and squared patterns with a filling of incised cowrie shells (Pl. 13,5). The bands with Kamm pattern occur either accompanied by other patterns or else combined with one another, thus producing horizontal division of the upper part of the body into zones (e. g. Pl. 13,5). Finally we find narrow lines of Kamm pattern impressed on a relief band, such as that illustrated in Pl. 12,1—3.

Ornamentation in relief. Lines in relief occur also without Kamm impressions. These, which themselves have a decorative function, are of a different character from those previously mentioned. Generally, as e. g. in Pl. 12,2, 3, they run vertically in sharply defined ridges down over the belly. They are combined into groups, thus producing a rhythmical division of the belly. On the middle of the vessel there are occasionally formed, out of the lines in relief, meanders having right angles (Pl. 12,5, 8) or acute angles (Pl. 12,4). The intermediate spaces are sometimes filled with a zig-zag line in relief (Pl. 12,2).

The relief ornamentation may also assume the curious form of knobs, which occur in pairs on the handles and round the neck (Pl. 13,3). They are generally provided with a central knob and a circular incision forming a boundary (Pl. 13,3, 4). In Pl. 13,5 the décor on the knob consists of crescent-shaped impressions in imitation of cowrie shells. Pl. 14,1 illustrates a unique form in which the knob in the middle has an indentation.

On a separate group of simpler vessels the ornamentation occurs only round the mouth in the form of bands in relief. These are either in the shape of knob-like handles with a dentated ornamentation (Pl. 14,3—5), or they may develop into a dentated border running all the way round (Pl. 14,8), or a wavy or twisted band (Pl. 14,6, 7).

Incised ornamentation. Incised patterns are carried out either as simple straight lines (Pl. 12,13 and 13,11), wedges (Pl. 13,2) or angle-lines (Pl. 13,11). These may be combined to form an ornamental system such as that shown on the handle in Pl. 13,11. Incised ornaments are also executed in the form of double halfmoons facing one another, probably imitating cowrie shells and sometimes in combination with Kamm lines to form a surface pattern (Pl. 13,5).

Stamp ornamentation. This occurs in the form of drops or grains of corn, invariably with the points facing one another (Pl. 12,1). Stamped rhombi and angles also occur (Pl. 12,10).

Painting. On a couple of neck fragments we find an entirely different type of décor. These have on their inner sides ornamental painting in reddish or brownish violet tones. Pl. 13,5 b illustrates broad vertical lines on the inside of a neck. On the exterior of this vessel are traces of the same reddish violet colour at the rim of the mouth and on the upper part of the handle. For the rest, the outside is covered with a heavy coating of soot. On the fragments reproduced in Pl. 13,7 b and in Fig. 5 the décor consists of triangles with the points downwards. The colour is the same as in the preceding case.

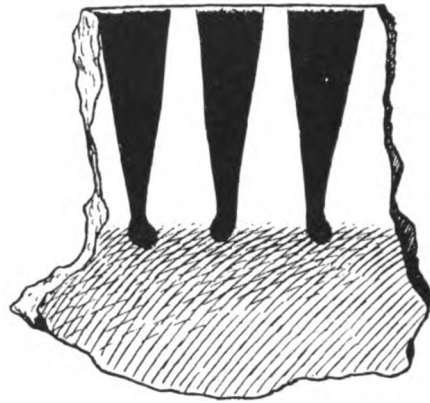


Fig. 5.

In one or two fragments this reddish-violet colour has been applied as a coating of paint covering the entire surface. In Pl. 12,1 it is confined to the inner side of the neck, whereas in Pl. 13,3 there are also traces of it on the outside.

Technical details of manufacture.

In treatises on ceramics, the method of manufacture is often entirely neglected as being too difficult or unprofitable a field of enquiry or else the subject is merely dismissed in a few brief words. Though fully realizing the risks involved in entering upon this subject, to which all too little attention has been given and in which any conclusions drawn must be more or less hypothetical, I shall nevertheless venture a few remarks on the Ch'i Chia P'ing pottery from the technical point of view.

All the numerical data regarding the firing temperature and such-like are very approximate as I have not had an opportunity of having any chemical analysis made. I have however, obtained much valuable information from consulting experts, artisans and others engaged in the manufacture of modern pottery. My investigations have proved fruitful insofar that the divergences that exist in regard to the different ceramic classes become especially conspicuous when we examine the technical processes employed in the manufacture of the pottery.

CC: I.

The clay mass is extremely fine and well elutriated. Substances for reducing the richness of the clay are found in all groups, although in extremely small quantities in group I a. Regarded as a whole, however, the clay in CC: I contains, compared with the other classes, only small quantities of a »degraisant».

The technical method employed in the manufacture has naturally depended to a certain extent upon the form and size of the vessel to be produced, and the ambition to construct new and complicated vessel forms has probably been a powerful stimulus to the attainment of increased technical skill.

The process which, so far as one can judge from the few traces of manufacturing technique that are still preserved, was employed in making most of these vessels differs from the constructive method commonly used in making Stone Age pottery: the method of a band wound round upon itself spirally. In Ch'i Chia, we find in the very smallest vessels another technique common in neolithic pottery, viz. the vessel fashioned out of a single lump of clay, e. g. Pl. 5,4. It is possible that some of the bowls were made on this principle. Pl. 2,4 has been fashioned with the thumbs against basket work which has left traces on the outside beneath the turned-over edge. It is impossible, however, to determine whether the clay was smeared on directly or whether it was first formed into layers. The body of the small vessels was also probably hollowed out of one piece, though no definite conclusions can be drawn from the small fragments available.

In the case of other vessels, however, another kind of technique was employed. The first thing the potter did was to roll out strips of clay the width of which was made proportionate to the size of the intended vessel. Then on the inside of a mould or a supporting form (a basket, mat or other plaited material) these strips have been placed one on top of the other and the joints closed up with the thumbs, after which the joints have been carefully smoothed over either with the fingers or with some kind of spatula.

It is also conceivable of course that, at least in the case of some of the smaller vessels, the under part may have been made out of a single broad strip, though to judge from marks, impressions and cracks, the vessels were as a rule produced in several layers. It is difficult to gain any exact idea of the nature of the form or mould used in the manufacture of the vessels, but the impressions that are left on them and which pass more or less uninterruptedly across the under side of the body are evidence that some such form or supporting framework was actually in use. Had these impressions arisen when the layers of clay were being rolled out, on a mat or such-like, the joints would have been discernible. It has already been pointed out that in all probability the vessels were built up of a number of layers superimposed upon one another.

Nothing definite can be said as to the nature of the material of which this form was made. Moreover, it is very probable that in the group CC: I only the under part of the body was fashioned in the mould and that the upper part was then

built up on it. Some traces of partially smoothed-over impressions on the upper part of the body may be explained by their being derived from some mat or similar material used for pressing down the layers of clay.

The mould was probably fairly straight in profile in order to enable the potter to press the layers of clay against its wall. The mould may have been made of unfired clay, in which case it could easily be broken to pieces. But a vessel may also have served this purpose. It is possible that the split vessels mentioned above (p. 397) were actually moulds. This would naturally explain their straight profile and the peculiar character of the sherds.

Nevertheless, whether the mould was fired or unfired it must have been covered with some material in order to make the clay adhere to its wall. Vegetable fibres or some simple basket work have been used in CC: I and CC: III (cf. the chapter on Impressions), whereas in CC: II cords were pressed against the wall of the mould so that they adhered to it.

Still another type of mould, however, is conceivable. These plaited materials, or in isolated cases these baskets, may themselves have served the purpose of moulds, but if so we have to explain how they acquired the necessary rigidity. It is conceivable that clay was smeared over the exterior of the framework, but it is doubtful whether that would have been sufficient to give it the required strength. The theory that real moulds were used seems therefore to be the more plausible one.

In Pl. 5,12 there is seen on the inside near the base a row of triangular depressions, which may possibly be marks left by a tool used for pressing the clay against the plaited work. In this process the vessel was allowed to rotate, the impressions thus being given an oblique direction. When the body of the vessel produced by this means was sufficiently dry, that is to say had acquired the necessary degree of rigidity, and besides had contracted sufficiently to detach the vessel wall from the mat-covering, then this latter and the mould were removed.¹⁾

¹⁾ A similar method of manufacturing clay vessels occurs amongst the Zuñi Indians and is described by Cushing in: *A study of Pueblo pottery as illustrative of Zuñi culture growth* (4th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology), Washington 1886 pp. 497 seq.: 'The bottom part of the vessel was shaped in a basket, the inside of which had been bespread with sand, after which the rest of the vessel was built up with clay rolls until it eventually projected above the rim of the basket-mould. Through shrinking in the course of its drying the vessel loosened itself from the basket, this being facilitated by the sand's having prevented the clay from forming too intimate a contact with the basket work'. See also Gustaf Nordenskiöld: *The Cliff-dwellers of the Mesa Verde*, Stockholm 1893; Holmes' *Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States* (20th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington 1903 (pp. 58—59); Hunter: *Manners and Customs of several Indian tribes located west of the Mississippi*, Philadelphia 1823; Joyce, Th. A. *Mexican Archaeology. An introduction to the archaeology of the Mexican and Mayan civilizations of pre-Spanish America*. New York and London 1914, p. 185; Linné: *The technique of South American ceramics* (Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps och Vitterhetssamhälles handlingar. Fourth Series. Vol 29 No. 5. Gothenburg 1925 (p. 93). Thus we can trace evidences of clay vessels made on this principle (basket-moulded clay vessels) from North America, Mexico and the region of the Andes right down to Brazil.

It is noteworthy that the bottom of the vessel was not fashioned in the mould but separately and was attached to the body from outside after the latter had been detached from the mould. The marks left by the body's attachment are clearly visible on the lowest part of the vessel (e. g. Pl. 2,10 and Pl. 4,18), and only in exceptional cases has care been taken to smooth over the joint. This is the case in some vessels with a smooth body, concerning which it is impossible to say whether they originally bore impressions of any mould; if they did, these marks have been removed in order to give the vessel a more attractive appearance.

Like the bottom, the neck was made separately and then joined to the body of the vessel. In group I a in particular the shape of the neck is extremely regular and almost circular. It is probable that at any rate the best types of necks were produced by means of a profiling or other shaping tool. Some fragments in I a show, on the inside, at the rim of the mouth a triple profile (Pl. 2,1), so far similar in the different specimen that it may be assumed that the same implement was used for them all. Most of the neck fragments and the best sherds from the upper part of the body have concentric striations; at first glance these appear to be marks left by the process of throwing, but on closer examination it is found that the concentricity is not complete and that frequently the striations, so to speak, lose direction. Consequently these striations cannot have arisen through a rapid rotary movement such as is given by throwing in the true sense of the word, seeing that that process leaves absolutely regular concentric marks. It will be seen from what has been said above about the construction of the vessels that a throwing process on modern lines out of a single lump of clay is *a priori* out of the question. Probably, however, we are confronted here with an early stage in the process of throwing, most closely comparable with what C. L. Wooley¹) calls »hand-turned ware», i. e. the vessels is built up on a more or less circular substructure, which is rotated in the course of manufacture. A similar process is known, e. g. from Phylakopi,² in which round plaited mats serve as a rotary base which has left impressions on the bottom surface of the vessels.³)

At Ch'i Chia P'ing the potter probably used a wooden block, the base of a broken pot or something similar, for a clear impression of matting on the exterior of the base occurs in one case only (Pl. 2,12), and then in the form of clearly defined twill-

¹) Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East* London 1924, p. 8.

²) Excavations at Phylakopi by the British School at Athens. London 1904.

³) Similar primitive substitutes for the potter's wheel are known from America. Cushing (Loc. cit. p. 504) mentions that during the process of manufacture the vessel was placed on the bottom portions of a broken clay vessel (cf. Torii: *Les aborigènes de Formose*. Journal of the College of Science, Tokyo Imperial University, Vol. XVIII art. 6. Pl. LXIII B) or as found amongst the Zuñi Indians (*Handbook of American Indians* Vol. II p. 295) on a block made for the purpose. In North Yucatan a wooden block was used which was rotated with the foot (Mercer, H. C.: *The hill-caves of Yucatan*, Philadelphia 1896). Similar methods of procedure occur in our own day amongst the South American Indians (Linné, loc. cit. p. 947).

plaiting — curiously enough there occurs in one case on the interior of the base an impression of some sort of plaited work, but it is so incomplete that it is impossible to draw any definite conclusions from it (Pl. 2,9). During this process of levelling and smoothing over the surface, the vessel was treated with some kind of tool suitable for the purpose. At Ch'i Chia P'ing no instrument has come to light that would appear to be specially suited for the purpose, although objects such as those reproduced in Pl. 15,5 may conceivably have been used. There are preserved in the MFEA crescent-shaped mussel-knives and rectangular knives made of pot sherds, collected from other prehistoric dwelling-sites in China. These two types might very well have been used in the manufacture of pottery, seeing that they are far too fragile to be employed as ordinary knives. Of course, simple instruments of wood or bamboo might also have been used.

As regards the smaller vessels, it should be mentioned that these underwent a finishing process of being scraped, which usually left vertical marks over the entire vessel except on the middle part of the body, where the marks run in horizontal lines.

One or two sherds have a shiny surface, indicating that they were subjected to some actual polishing process.

The handles are all affixed in a simple manner. They have been stuck on the outside of the vessel by smearing, the one hand being kept pressed against the inside, where finger prints are often observable in conjunction with a slight buckling of the vessel-wall. The handles must in such cases have been attached while the wall was still in a comparatively plastic condition.

The décor, in so far as it is found in this class, in the form either of applied bands in relief or of incised patterns, was executed before the vessel had had time to become too dry.

Prior to firing, some of the vessels were covered with a thin coating of slip. Some of them are completely covered with it both inside and out, after being dipped in a slip-bath, whereas on others the slip was merely applied with the hand or with some implement over the outside of the vessel and the inside of the neck. The colour is usually yellowish-brown, but some sherds in group I a are distinguished by a characteristic whitish-yellow tone (cf. p. 390) which is not derived from lime but possibly from pipe-clay. Occasionally the tone of the slip coincides with that of the ware, in which case it is very difficult to decide whether there really is a coating of slip. It should be noted that the existence of a coating of slip on a sherd does not necessarily imply that it has been deliberately applied, for when a wet hand or a moist object is rubbed against an unfired vessel a kind of slip forms on it. Whether the slip was of a functional or of a decorative nature it is difficult to decide. At any rate in those cases in which its colour does not differ appreciably from that of the ware, it is most natural to regard it as functional, whereas the white slip may have had an ornamental value. It may possibly have been used in order to give the vessels the appearance of being made all of the same material

as the vessels illustrated in Pl. 11,13 (probably pipe-clay, which appears to have been rare at the place).¹⁾

To judge from the often strong brick-red colour and hard quality of the ware, it was no doubt fired at a high temperature in a closed heating chamber regulated by a draught, as a result of which oxidization took place. In the case of the hardest baked vessels the temperature probably ranged between 900 and 1.000°; at any rate it did not exceed the latter figure. Of course the temperature varied somewhat in the firing of the different vessels, but the mean temperature was no doubt round or slightly below 900°. Owing to irregularities in the supply of air the oxidizing process was occasionally not uniform or sometimes ceased altogether, so that deoxidization may have set in. These variations are discernible in the zonal striation noticed in some fragments, to which reference has already been made above (p. 388). Flaminess in the surface layer of the ware has also been caused by lack of continuity in the supply of air, ascribable, of course, to imperfections in the construction of the kiln. We are still ignorant on this latter point, but it may be assumed that the kiln was of quite a primitive type — constructed for instance somewhat after the fashion of a charcoal stack (cf. L. Franchet: *Céramique primitive*, Paris 1911).

CC: II.

The technical process employed in this class does not seem to differ essentially from that of CC: I. The fundamental principle governing the construction of the vessels is the same. The clay, which in this class usually contains a rich mixture of particles of gravel, is so porous, especially in II b, that the fracture has a slaty appearance.

Although here, as in the preceding class, the vessels have been built up on the inside of a mould or supporting basket-work, contrary to what was the case in CC: I, the latter has left impressions over the entire exterior of the vessel. These impressions, which will be discussed in the next chapter, are of an entirely different kind from those in CC: I.

The class under discussion provides the most definite evidence that the vessels were built up in layers. Pl. 6,4 reproduces a vessel that typologically is a transitional form between CC: I and CC: II. This fragment shows on its inside a horizontal crack 35 mm. in length representing the fracture between two layers. In the present case these layers do not appear to have been higher than 25—30 mm. The crack does not apparently run horizontally through the wall of the vessel but obliquely downwards when viewed from the inside. This isolated case offers, however, evidence far too slight to justify the assertion that the surfaces where the layers join one another were in any way faced, although it is probable that this was often done, seeing that it facilitated the joining of the layers. In any

¹⁾ A similar imitation is pointed out by T. Arne on painted pottery found in Honan. Arne: *Painted Stone Age Pottery from Honan*. *Paleontologica Sinica*, Vol. I Fasc. 2. Peking 1925, p. 15.

case, the adjacent layers must have been thumbled over one another, and this may have given rise to the formation of a crack such as that referred to. One of the cleft vessels likewise exhibits a crack between two strips (Pl. 8,7), but in this case it runs horizontally through the wall of the vessel. Among the materials collected at Hsin Tien C, those which are related to CC: II afford still further evidence of this method of construction. Here we find on the inside of a vessel (illustrated in Pl. 20,1) a straight crack about 130 mm. long. This unusually large vessel seems to have been built up of layers about 60 mm. high, thus still further confirming the theory that the height of the layers is in direct proportion to the size of the vessel.

In CC: II, unlike what we find in the preceding class, the neck is sometimes attached from the outside as well. This is clearly seen in Pl. 8,1, in which no care has been taken to thumb over the joint properly. The fragments reproduced in Pl. 10,1 and 9,2 reveal the fact that the neck was in this case shaped while the vessel was still in its mould. No joint is observable between the neck and body in these and similar sherds, and the impressions on the belly of the vessel continue uninterruptedly up to the neck. On the first-mentioned fragment, however, a separate band has been attached to the mouth, and the joint, ornamented with a dentated border in relief, is clearly visible through a deep crack. When the neck is made separately, which is usually the case, it has sometimes — probably after being attached to the body — been levelled and smoothed over, besides which the rim of the mouth has often been given a slight profile (e. g. Pl. 6,5). Marks resulting from this finishing process are often observable in the form of a slight concentric striation.

In the few cases in which handles occur, they have been attached in the same way as in CC: I. This applies also to the specimen illustrated in Pl. 7,6, in spite of its unusual size. Moreover, on the surface where the layers join there are the same mat impressions as on the body, this being noticeable as a piece of the wall of the vessel has been broken off. These impressions may be due either to the fact that the potter desired to enlarge the connecting surface or that the handle was fashioned on a foundation of matting. It may be mentioned in passing that on a couple of the bought vessels there is a similar mat impression on the under-side of the long disc-like handles, and in one case the impression apparently came from a raw hide. Within this class we also have bottoms of vessels attached both from inside and from outside (cf. Pl. 7,15 and 7,17). In the former case the lower edge of the vessel-wall has been folded round the bottom, as can be seen from the fact that a ring has been left on the under-side, in which case the mat or cord impressions on the body extend right down below the edge. When the bottom is attached from the outside, the process is the same as in CC: I, but here the joint is usually far more clumsy. To judge from the fragments, both methods of attachment were equally common.

Slip occurs sometimes in this class as well. Its generally somewhat inconspicuous colour and its often considerable thickness, notably on the inside, afford evidence

that its function was purely practical, namely to prevent the exceedingly porous ware from absorbing too much moisture.

As has been mentioned before, a coating of soot is extremely common in CC: II. It is generally found on the outside, though sometimes also in patches on the inside or on the fractures. When the soot occurs in large quantities and adheres firmly to the wall of the vessel, it is probably the result of the vessel's being used for cooking purposes. The coating on the fractures can be explained by the fact that the vessel has cracked when in use. The vessels' firing temperature appears generally to have been decidedly lower than in the case of CC: I. Sherds of group II a show pale-yellow and occasionally brick-red tints, and we may therefore assume that they were fired in a kiln. The dirty brown and grayish, very uncompact ware of group II b indicates that it was baked at an open fire, the temperature hardly exceeding 600°.

CC: III.

In this class it is very difficult to arrive at any definite result as regards the technical process of manufacture, and most of our conclusions must be regarded as hypothetical.

No distinct joints or marks left by the process of thumbing over the layers of clay are discernible except in the case of Pl. 14,1.

The other fragments of vessels show indications of another method of construction. The wall is only a couple of mm. thick and the inside is smooth and even without any marks left by joints or fingerprints. It is probable therefore that in regard to these singularly thin-walled vessels we are confronted with some kind of casting technique. The clay has been smeared direct against a mould or supporting basket work without being first rolled out into layers. Slight impressions of the same kind as appear on the outside of the body are occasionally found on the inside of the vessel-wall. The explanation may be that in order to get the clay to adhere to the mould a piece of the same material was pressed with the hand against the vessel-wall. The neck was made separately, but sometimes it consists merely of a low strip round the mouth. The actual rim of the mouth was flattened and, like the other details, was frequently not fashioned with very much precision. On the inside of the neck the surface has been smoothed over, but this manipulation has not left the regular concentric marks that are found in the preceding classes. The exterior of the neck is, like the body, covered with mat impressions.

As to the four fragments of bottoms, the basal surface of two of them is clearly differentiated (Pl. 12,6, 8). In these cases the loose bottom plate has been attached from inside. The two other fragments of bottom (Pl. 14,11) are in appearance reminiscent of vessels from the Hsin Tien period. Here vessel-wall and bottom seem to be all in one piece. The convex basal surface has the appearance of having been clamped together, owing presumably to the mould's having been made of a soft material which lay folded under the bottom of the vessel. Further evidence

that the vessel was made in one piece is offered by the fact that the mat impression continues over the basal surface. The handles, which have been fashioned with great care, are attached in the ordinary way to neck and body, but all traces of joints have been smoothed over. They show the same impressions on the outside, and sometimes also on the under-side, as are found on the body.

The vessels were decorated after the clay had become so firm that the supporting material could be removed, leaving a distinct impression covering the entire exterior. The whole decorative design has been superimposed on these impressions (see Pl. 14, 9). In some cases, where the wall of the neck has tended to become too thin, after the removal of the support the surface has been coated over with a thin layer of clay-wash, which sometimes also forms a ground on which relief-work and Kamm décor have been applied, though the background for such designs is generally the constructive mat impressions. The relief bands are made up of applied strips and ovals of varying thickness and are frequently bordered by an incised line. Amongst the dwelling-site material no object has come to light that might conceivably have been used for producing the Kamm pattern.

The painted décor on the inside of two fragments of a neck (Pl. 13, 5 b and 13, 7 b) was done prior to firing, and the reddish-violet colour was probably made of manganese dioxide. On the exterior of the upper part of the body of some vessels (Pl. 13, 3) and also on the inside of the neck, there is a reddish colour. This colour, apparently oxide of iron, was likewise applied before the vessel was fired.

The vessels appear to have been fired in a kiln, and, to judge from the colour, at about the same temperature as CC: I. The exterior of some vessels is covered with a thick coating of soot.

Mat and basket impressions.

The supporting material that enclosed the vessels or covered the mould during certain phases of their manufacture has left impressions the appearance of which depends on the method by which it was plaited or »sewn». On the whole the different classes are distinguished by their own particular impressions. In order to have a technical term applicable to them all we have given these different impressions the common term »mat impressions», though the »mat» is not of course to be conceived of as a real textile fabric consisting of threads running lengthwise and regularly crossed by woof, but rather as warp-threads sparsely joined together.

CC: I.

In CC: I the most common impression has been made by plait-work in which the warp has consisted of relatively broad, smooth vegetable fibres laid without any particular regard to orderly arrangement and held together by binding-thread or tape, which has been twined round the warp at irregular intervals. The binding

technique may best be compared with what Mason¹⁾ calls »wrapped work«, but in actual fact it is done in such a manner that the woof forms a straight line.²⁾ The carelessness with which the warp was sometimes laid will be seen, for instance, in Pl. 2, 7—8. In order to enable the binding or wrapping to show up conspicuously in the impression it is necessary that the woof or binding-thread must be drawn so taut as to make a slight depression in the fibres of the warp. The absence in most impressions of any marks left by the stitching together of the fibres may be due partly to the fact that it was done somewhat loosely and partly to the thread itself having been thin or at any rate flat, like bast or some such material.

Professor J. G. Andersson reproduces in *An Early Chinese Culture* Pl. 16, 1, a vessel from Yang Shao Tsun which shows impressions made by these bindings on the upper and under side of the body. Whether this indicates a thick woof-thread or whether the impressions were made by some implement for ornamental purposes it is impossible to say. Nor can we decide the question whether the fabric was in the form of a basket, with or without a bottom, or of a mat, possibly stitched together into the shape of a bag or muff. The latter assumption is however discounted by the fact that no marks left by any joint or stitching are definitely discernible on any of the whole vessels, although from one's general impressions this would appear to be the most obvious theory. A variant occurs (Pl. 3, 3, Pl. 4, 14—16) in the form of a fabric the impression of which leaves close transverse lines, though it is impossible to observe from their appearance the nature of the woof-threads. This latter type is not found in Hsin Tien C or on the bought vessels.

Evidence that woven mats in the ordinary sense of the term also occurred in the Ch'i Chia culture is offered by the impression left on the underside of the bottom of a vessel (Pl. 2, 12), which reproduces a typical twill weave with a warp of narrow fibres and a broad bast-like woof.

CC: II.

The vessel mentioned below (p. 420) as being a transitional form between CC: I and CC: II carries an impression which, although coarser in character and covering the entire body, is nevertheless closely akin to that which is apparently most typical for CC: I (Pl. 6, 4). We find a similar impression, though still coarser and likewise covering the entire body, on a vessel from Hsin Tien C (Pl. 20, 4), which must be classed under CC: II on account of its shape and the quality of its ware.

The most common impression occurring in CC: II is seen on the vessels (see Pl. 7) as a quantity of cord impressions lying close together in the vessels' longitudinal direction and covering the body right up to where the neck begins, disap-

¹⁾ Mason, *Aboriginal American Basketry*. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1902. Part II, p. 230.

²⁾ Copies have been taken of a number of the most typical impressions by means of »negocoll« composition, which produced a positive picture of the fabric that was originally impressed on the clay vessel.

pearing into the clay that has been smeared over the neck (Pl. 6,3, 5, 6, 8,1). The same thing recurs at the base in cases in which the bottom has been attached from outside (Pl. 6,2, 6; 7,17). These are possibly cord impressions. As the impressions are very regular it is possible that cords were joined together to form a kind of muff or sack. Torii¹⁾ illustrates from Korea a cord sack of a type that still survives there. The cord sack was made of a long warp crossed by relatively sparse stitching threads — the same principle in fact as in primitive rush-mats. We are thus not concerned here with a real textile fabric consisting of warp and woof. The Korean sack was sewn together in such a way that the warp threads run horizontally, whereas in Ch'i Chia P'ing they run vertically. Further, as regards the latter it should be observed that, to judge from the impressions, the stitches were very far apart and often irregular (Cf. Pl. 6,3, 5—6; 7,4; 9,3). The impression shown in Pl. 11,1 a, b is derived from a similar material, though the cord was more tightly twisted. Another interpretation of these cord-like impressions is not quite excluded: they may have been caused by baskets executed in the technique known as »sewn basketry» (see Mason, *Aboriginal American Basketry*); but our cord-like impressions run in straighter lines than is usual in that technique.

In CC: II there are several examples of basketry. For instance, there are two cases of wicker-work (see Mason l. c., p. 228); they are reproduced here in Pl. 9,7.

We also find coiled basketry represented in the material. The most distinctly impressed specimens come from Hsin Tien C and are illustrated in Pl. 10,3 a, b, also in Pl. 20,2 (see Mason l. c. p. 244). These two impressions might also conceivably have been derived from a simple linen fabric, but to judge from the clear depressions left by the supporting material on the wall of the vessel they appear to have been made by some comparatively hard, firm stuff, so that it is not very likely that they are the impressions made by real cloth material. Ch'i Chia also provides a number of more or less typical specimens of this basket technique (Pl. 9,2 a, b; Pl. 10,2 a, b). It is often quite difficult to decide whether the impressions are derived from cord impressions or from coiled basketry (e. g. Pl. 10,2 a, b).

The origin of one or two impressions cannot be determined with any certainty. Pl. 9,4 shows a specimen of net-like and somewhat irregular plaited work as to the material and construction of which it is impossible to form an opinion. Pl. 11,3 likewise illustrates an impression the nature of which is indeterminable. It may possibly be derived from basketry, the technique of which in that case most closely resembles some kind of coiled basket-work, though another possibility is worth considering. The sherd might also be regarded as representing a specimen of »Treibkeramik», in which case the impression would be the marks made by a corrugated implement with which the surface of the wet clay was worked over.

¹⁾ R. Torii et Kimiko Torii: *Populations primitives de la Mongolie Orientale*. Journal of the College of Science, Imperial University of Tokyo, vol. XXXVI. Article 4, p. 60.

CC: III.

As in all other respects, this class is singularly uniform in regard to the impressions. One vessel only (Pl. 14,¹) diverges somewhat in this respect, as also in its method of production, from CC: III and shows some association with other periods (Hsin Tien and Sha Ching).

Apart from the impression just mentioned, there is in this class only one type of impression and it has no appreciable variations. Its appearance will best be seen in its entirety in a vessel illustrated in Pl. 14,¹². In view of the uniformity of the pattern only one negocoll impression of this type is reproduced (Pl. 9,⁵ a, b). As the illustration shows, the impressions on the sherd consist of a quantity of fine, closely aligned furrows, which on the negocoll positive resemble fibres or straw. If, as might conceivably have been the case, these latter had been combined to form a mat, the woof threads must have been concealed or else laid at considerable intervals. It is impossible to say what this construction was like, but being aware of the important part played by mats in the making of pottery by the Ch'i Chia people, we cannot entirely reject the idea that a mat alone formed the supporting material in the process of manufacturing these vessels. Possibly, however, there may be another explanation. As mentioned above, these vessels have extremely thin walls and appear to have been produced by means of some kind of casting technique. It is conceivable, then, that, in order to facilitate for the clay to adhere to its walls, a mould was covered on its inside with a matting of fine fibres or grass. In that case the absence of connecting threads can easily be explained by the fact that the straw was baked in or loosely applied.

Since it is beyond all dispute that the clay vessels were made in moulds, the question arises how the mould was removed when the vessel had become sufficiently firm to stand alone. The explanation that the supporting material was destroyed in the firing is untenable owing to the fact that not only the handles and bottoms but also the relief décor were attached and applied after the removal of the support but prior to firing. If the support were of soft material such as matting, cord-sacking or such-like, the explanation would be obvious, for in that case one could simply have severed the connecting threads nearest to the neck, and then removed the vessel. On the other hand, if the support consisted of firm, hard basketry, or of a baked clay mould, the only possible explanation is that the vessels must have shrunk in drying (cf. p. 405).

II. STONE IMPLEMENTS.

On the whole the stone material does not yield anything of peculiar interest. It does not differ appreciably from the stone artifacts that are generally found⁴ in other Chinese dwelling-sites, and several of them are of so stereotyped a character

that one might come across similar specimens in practically any Stone-Age dwelling-site.

The main bulk of the material consists of roughly made axes and rectangular stone knives. The axes are 32 in number, most of them being in a more or less fragmentary state, so that it is sometimes difficult to form any idea of what they originally looked like. Very little care seems to have been taken in making them and the majority appear to have been used as simple hewing axes. The material consists for the most part of greenstone. The method employed in their production was that of hammering the stone into shape. The axe was then usually polished, either wholly or in part. The process of grinding was generally confined to the edge, although the appearance of some fragments seems to indicate that sometimes the entire surface was polished. The size of the axes varies considerably. The largest entire specimen (Pl. 17,1) measures 180 mm. in length and 57 mm. in breadth (at the edge). The smallest (Pl. 18,5), on the other hand, is not more than 84 mm. long and 35 mm. broad. The type is, generally speaking, more or less markedly thin-butted. The edge takes up the maximum breadth of the axe. In a curious variant the upper part of the axe narrows considerably, the result being a handle-like shape (Pl. 17,2). Axes of this type were apparently fixed in a drilled haft which in hewing was supported by the shoulder formed by the narrowing-down of the upper half. The possibility of the axe's having been wielded with the hand direct must not, however, be overlooked. This fragment of a neck, the sole representative of this type, bears some resemblance to an axe from Somrong Sen in Cambodia, reproduced by Mansuy.¹⁾ This latter is the prototype of the shouldered celt that is so characteristic of the Neolithic age in India. The specimen found at Ch'i Chia P'ing is, however, far too fragmentary and indistinct a type to be regarded as a representative of the shouldered celt. Nevertheless there is another axe that gives some indication of belonging to this type (Pl. 18,8) being thinned-out at the neck. It is made of polished argillite (clay-slate) and its narrowed-down neck part resembles somewhat the neck of a shouldered celt (cf. Mansuy, *op. cit.* Pl. II,13).

Another curious form of helve attachment is seen in Pl. 18,3. The axe has a hole for the helve, probably oval originally though its fragmentary state prevents our drawing any definite conclusion on this point.

A small number of chisels have been found (Pl. 18,6, 7). Some have an edge faced from both sides, while the other type is faced on one side only (cross-edged).

Pl. 18,9 illustrates an artifact of quartz, the edge of which is formed by polishing a surface that was already naturally smoothed. The implement was probably used as a scraper.

There are no arrow-heads but there are two specimens of dagger- or spear-heads made of slate. (Pl. 18,1, 2). 18,2 has the form of an isosceles triangle, the sides of

¹⁾ H. Mansuy. Contribution à l'étude de la préhistoire de l'Indochine III. Mémoires du Service géologique de l'Indochine Volume X. Fasc. I Pl. II: 12-a and b.

which constitute the sharpened edges. 18,1 has broader edges than the preceding one, and there is affixed a broad and somewhat irregular helve-tang. Just above the middle of the point can be seen the beginning of a bi-conical hole, which might indicate that the implement was intended for use as a harpoon. The type has hitherto been unknown in China, but similar specimens occur in Formosa (see BMFEA 4 pag. 105 seq.) and in Indo-China.¹⁾

The site of Ch'i Chia P'ing has further yielded about 30 specimens of rectangular stone-knives, 8 of which are provided with holes. The knives without holes frequently have corresponding recesses on the short sides, which appear to have served as grooves used for fastening (Pl. 19,2). The long sides are fashioned into edges. Some of those which have no recesses might be interpreted as unfinished specimens (9,1).

In those knives that are provided with a hole the latter is placed on the knife's vertical median line. Probably the holes were originally drilled in the true centre, but owing to wear and tear and to sharpening, the cutting edge has in many cases come nearer and nearer to the hole (Pl. 19,6).

As has been pointed out by Professor J. G. Andersson (An early Chinese Culture, pp. 4 and 5), the type still survives in the «kaoliang region» of North China in the form of iron knives (cf. Andersson, RPC p. 223 seq.).

The area of distribution of the rectangular and the closely allied crescent-shaped knife goes far beyond the boundaries of China. (See Torii op. cit. p. 41).

Pl. 19,8 reproduces an oval stone object provided with two grooves crossing one another in the middle, probably used for fastening purposes. The use of the implement is uncertain.

Another object, the function of which it is difficult to guess, consists of an irregularly shaped pinion made of porous sandstone and provided with a hole running obliquely through the middle, its direction refuting the otherwise possible assumption that the object is a spinning-whorl.

On the other hand, a fragment of a spinning-whorl is reproduced in Pl. 18,10. It is made of beautiful white marble and is singularly regular in shape.

Finally, the Ch'i Chia P'ing material contains a pestle.

III. BONE IMPLEMENTS.

The Ch'i Chia P'ing material contains (Pl. 16) 31 artifacts of bone of which there are:

13 needles of various size. Four of them are provided with an extraordinarily fine eye (16,10—12). The remaining needles have no eyes but are remarkable for the same elegant shape. (16,1—7, 9).

¹⁾ M. Bylin, Notes sur quelques objets néolithiques, trouvés à Formose BMFEA 4; H. Mansuy, Contribution à l'étude de la préhistoire de l'Indochine II; Bulletin du service géologique de l'Indochine. Volume VII. Fasc. II. Pl. IV: 4—6.

8 bodkins (16,13—20). 16,13 has a groove for fastening purposes near the base and originally had a slanting point, which, however, was subsequently broken off so that a new point had to be made. The shininess caused by wear indicates that the second point was actually used. The original point is preserved in the other bodkins.

5 bone implements (16,22, 24—26) which may conceivably have been used in weaving or plaiting as weaving sticks (16,24—26), beaters (16,22) or such-like.

The chisel-like implements (16,21, 23) may have had a similar purpose though it is not impossible that they were used as bone chisels.

A small cylindrical bead of bone, the only definitely demonstrable ornament found at Ch'i Chia P'ing, is reproduced in 16,27, unless an irregularly shaped bone-disc with a hole in the centre is likewise to be regarded as an ornamental object.

The exquisitely fine bone needles and the weaving implements mentioned above are evidence of a comparatively high standard of culture possessing a highly developed textile art, but the scanty bone material is of too general a character to permit of our drawing from it any conclusions regarding the chronological position of Ch'i Chia P'ing and its cultural relations, although similar implements have been found both in China and in the bordering territories.

IV. VARIA.

In the first place, we have to record 17 sherds of a grey ware. In view of their paucity, they could not very well be made to constitute a separate class in the Ch'i Chia P'ing material. Since they differ in their firing process (reducing flame) from the rest of the pottery discussed above, I have not attributed them to any of the classes described there, although they show a considerable affinity with class CC: I.

Among these sherds we observe a fragment which probably formed part of the bottom of a vessel (Pl. 24,1). The characteristic feature of this fragment is the remains of holes, an inch in diameter, probably made with a stick with which the wet clay was pierced and which was then moved from side to side, thus giving the walls of the holes a convex rounded shape and causing small portions of the pressed-out clay to project all round the edges. The remains of two such holes appear on this fragment, but it is impossible to determine how many the original bottom contained.¹⁾

In Pl. 24,2 we have another fragment provided with a hole and made of grey, well smoothed ware. This piece is pierced with comparatively small holes (6—7 mm. in diam.) made after firing.

¹⁾ Cf. MFEA, K. 6549: a vessel from Yang Shao Tsun, a high bowl of reddish ware with the edge of the mouth profiled and with knob-like handles. In the bottom are 6 holes an inch in diameter, one in the centre and the rest in a circle round about it.

Pl. 24,3 reproduces what is probably a fragment of the neck of a small vessel. Thin, grey ware. The exterior decorated with an incised pattern of squares bordered on both sides by parallel lines. The decorative method is reminiscent of the dwelling-site pottery of the Hsin Tien period. Pl. 24,4 shows another fragment of the neck of a small vessel of grey ware. Mat impressions are visible on the outside. (Cf. Hsin Tien C, p. 419).

Further, there should be mentioned here 5 fragmentary rings of greyish ware. (Pl. 15,11—15). The diameter of none of them is large enough to permit of the rings being passed over the hand of a grown person. If they were used as armlets, they must already have been passed over the hand of the bearer in childhood. In four of these specimens the section is triangular (Pl. 15,11—14), in one it is rounded (15,15).

Finally, the excavations at Ch'i Chia P'ing also yielded 20 sherds with a painted décor. Four of these (Pl. 24,6, 13, 23, 24) were gathered on the surface of the soil or purchased in the neighbourhood. The painted sherds shall be discussed below. In the dwelling-site were furthermore excavated fragments of a lid (Pl. 24,27) and a foot (Pl. 24,8) belonging to a vessel of the Han era. The latter is stated to have been discovered near the surface.

V. FINDS FROM HSIN TIEN C.

In the dwelling-site known as Hsin Tien C in T'ao Sha Hsien a body of material was excavated similar to that of Ch'i Chia P'ing. These finds were all (acc. to Professor Andersson's report) »collected by Chuang in a small pocket with charcoal earth».

The material consists of 6 more or less incomplete vessels and 15 potsherds. The find further comprises a mushroom-like smoothing implement made of burnt clay (Pl. 15,5).

△ Curiously enough, the material permits of incorporation in the same system as the Ch'i Chia P'ing finds, though with the noteworthy and significant difference that there is not one single specimen of type CC: III.

Thus CC: I is represented by 2 fragmentary vessels and 12 sherds. One of the vessels is a distinctly bi-conical urn (Pl. 22,1). The upper part is smoothed, the under-part covered with sparse mat impressions.

Pl. 3,4 shows an amphora with a smoothed body, its ceramic quality being related to CC: I.

The sherds consist of fragments of necks and bodies, some of which must have belonged to remarkably large vessels with a distinctly bi-conical body. Fragments of the under-part of the body bear the same mat impressions as in CC: I. (Cf. Pl. 1,5 and 1,9 with Pl. 22,1).

Three fragments show the same characteristic whitish slip as that observed in CC: I a. All the sherds just mentioned are remarkable for their extremely fine ware with brick-red or pale-yellow tints, and for their very high technical quality, so that they may be directly associated with CC: I a.

CC: II is represented by four fragmentary vessels and three sherds. All types of vessels in CC: II b have their counterparts here. There are some specimens of the urn of type 8 (Pl. 20,2—4). In 20,3 the body is covered with cord impressions, whereas 20,2 which has already been discussed in connection with Ch'i Chia P'ing (see above page 413) shows impressions of coiled basketry. It might also be derived from some simple textile but, since to judge from the depth and distinctness of the holes the impressions may perhaps have been made by some harder material, the former interpretation is more probably correct. — A variant of the above-mentioned type of urn is also reproduced in Pl. 20,4. The neck is ornamented just below the rim of the mouth by a dentated band. The body is curiously enough covered with a sparse impression akin to that of CC: I, although both ware and form refer the vessel to CC: II. It might best be compared with the transitional form between CC: I and CC: II which is illustrated in Pl. 6,4.

Type 9, which belongs to CC: II, is also represented by a relatively undamaged specimen (Pl. 20,5). Pl. 20,1 reproduces the upper portion of a large vessel, the walls of which probably narrowed down somewhat towards the base. Below the broad flattened rim of the mouth runs a band, now partially disappeared, which had been firmly pressed against the wall of the vessel. The body is covered with cord impression.¹⁾

CC: II also includes, as mentioned above, three sherds, from among which one fragment represents the transitional part between the body and leg of a tripod. All the sherds have cord impressions.

Finally, a small fragment of grey ware belongs to this material. The sherd agrees in every respect with the fragment illustrated in Pl. 24,4 which forms part of the finds from Ch'i Chia P'ing.

The Hsin Tien C finds are in very close agreement with the Ch'i Chia P'ing ✓ material, although they contain no pottery of type CC: III. It may be pointed out *en passant* that a coating of soot occurs on vessels and fragments that are in accord with CC: II but not on such of type CC: I — this fact still further confirms the resemblances between the two sites. It is further to be observed that the frequency with which the two classes are represented is about the same as in Ch'i Chia P'ing. This fact must not however be too strongly emphasized on account of the paucity of the materials, due to the fact that the Hsin Tien C site has not yet been exhaustively examined.

¹⁾ We probably find a form corresponding to that of this vessel in a vessel from Shansi, Yang Chü Hsien, Yang Chü Chen B (K. 5932), and with the aid of this the vessel might be reconstructed.

VI. THE INTERRELATION BETWEEN THE CLASSES OF POTTERY IN THE SITE OF CH'I CHIA P'ING.

A decisive answer to the question whether the different ceramic classes established above represent different chronological periods or simply different modes of employment (vessels produced for different purposes), cannot be given since there are no stratigraphical data whatsoever which could furnish us with some *points d'appui*.

The classes CC: I and CC: II are found to differ in ware, form and mat impressions. The vessel in Pl. 6,4, however, is a transitional form between the two classes, and in spite of their dissimilarities CC: I and CC: II must be considered as one chronological group. This is emphasized by the fact that the dwelling-site material of Hsin Tien C, which forms a distinct unity (all found in one small »pocket», see p. 418) contains sherds and vessels proportionally divided between the two classes.

The dissimilarities between them may be due to the vessel's having been made for different purposes, those of CC: I perhaps being preserving and drinking vessels, whereas the coarse, thick-wared specimens of CC: II would undoubtedly be most suitable as cooking utensils. This assumption is supported by the abundant presence of soot on sherds of the latter group.

If any of the three classes differed from the rest chronologically, that would certainly be CC: III, which diverges from the other groups in its peculiar décor, its fine mat impressions and its unusually thin ware. It is true that the vessel in Pl. 14,1 has a certain affinity with CC: II (cf. Pl. 8,2 and 20,5); but this specimen is in fact unique within group CC: III both in form and in the mat impressions. The other vessels in CC: III exhibit no real affinity with those of the other classes either in their general character or in any peculiar features. It should be remembered that CC: III has a comparatively low technical standard, although its décor is of an advanced character. Here again the testimony of the material in Hsin Tien C — all of it forming a »unity», since it was all found in one »pocket» — is very significant, since this material does not contain a single representative of group CC: III but exclusively such as correspond to groups CC: I and CC: II.

Certain associations with other prehistoric Chinese periods can be demonstrated, though they are few and slight.¹⁾

In the first place the technical execution and the quality of the ware show a striking resemblance to a large portion of the materials from the Hsin Tien stage (Andersson's »4th period») and the Sha Ching stage (Andersson's »6th period»), which, on the whole, exhibit a lower standard of quality than the other periods.

¹⁾ To the Kamm décor there are no Chinese parallels whatever, it is entirely limited to Ch'i Chia P'ing.

On the other hand, in regard to the forms of vessels there is no apparent connection between our materials here and that of the 4th or 6th periods.¹⁾

Secondly, in regard to the décor, the Hui Tsui dwelling-site material (Andersson's period 4) has as one of its most conspicuous features the same kind of band in relief as that which characterizes a part of the CC: III specimens. In this respect the similarity is so great that certain sherds of the two sites may be said to be identical in type, and cannot be distinguished. Period 4, however, has no other parallels to the décor of our gr. CC: III, with one exception: the knob-like ornaments. A fragment of a Hui Tsui vessel (K. 11240: 23) has knobs with a depression in the centre (cf. our Pl. 14,¹) close to the mouth; this sherd also shows the same mat impressions as are found in CC: III (knob-like ornaments without depressions or incisions occur on small tripods in Hui Tsui). For the rest, the unpainted pottery of Hui Tsui offers no parallels to the materials of Ch'i Chia P'ing.

The finds from period 6 (Sha Ching) likewise offer some further points of contact, besides the mat impressions already adduced. A sherd found at Sha Ching shows close affinity to the fine relief décor of CC: III (though the typical Kamm impressions are lacking); the ware of this sherd resembles that of CC: III, though it is fairly thick; the exterior is covered with the usual ground pattern of mat impressions, against which the relief décor (now in part obliterated) stands out, the arrangement being the same as in CC: III (Pl. 12, 2, 3, 5). The coating of paint described p. 403 above recurs as a characteristic feature in period 6, and the painted triangles found on a couple of vessels in CC: III recall the simple geometrical décor of period 6, which also occurs on the inside of the neck. The patterns, however, are too simple and elementary to allow of any definite conclusions as to an historical connection, all the more since both the ware and the pigment are different in CC: III and period 6.

Against a theory that would assume some connection between the dwelling-site of Ch'i Chia P'ing and those of Hui Tsui (period 4) and Sha Ching (period 6) — both bronze-age cultures — could be adduced an apparently very strong argument: no metal whatever was found in Ch'i Chia P'ing, and this site should consequently be defined as frankly neolithic. But this argument may not be absolutely conclusive, seeing that only a very small part of the site has been investigated — the entire culture deposit extending over more than five hundred metres; the absence of metal in the present finds may thus be due to mere chance.

It has sometimes been assumed that the Kamm ornamentation in CC: III had some association with the Russo-Baltic pottery with a Kamm décor. This theory²⁾ was enounced by Professor Andersson.²⁾ He finds that there is a striking

¹⁾ A future detailed examination of the materials of these stages may modify this statement. We might point out that two of the CC: III fragments of bottoms exhibit the same concave, undemarcated type that occurs in periods 4 and 6. The other bottoms of CC: III, which have a more pronounced standing surface, likewise differ entirely in construction from the bottoms of CC: I and II.

²⁾ Preliminary Report, p. 12; RPC. p. 40.

resemblance between the vessels with a Kamm ornamentation found at Ch'i Chia P'ing and similar vessels from northern Europe.¹⁾

✓ For my part, however, I cannot find the similarity convincing. The feature they have in common is confined in my opinion to the technical method employed in producing the ornamentation, viz. the use of Kamm impressions. In its very nature the delicate Chinese material is essentially different from the Russo-Baltic Kamm pottery with its off-shoots in Siberia. In the first place the vessel forms have no features whatsoever in common. In the second place the Chinese ware is both thinner and of higher quality. In the third place we find in our Chinese pottery no coarse hole-ornamentation, which commonly occurs in connection with the Russo-Baltic Kamm décor. Finally there are no essential similarities in the design and general composition of the patterns. Nor, indeed, do the artifacts in general exhibit any common characteristics. All this, however, does not exclude the possibility that the Baltic-Siberian and the Chinese Kamm pottery — without having any direct cultural interconnection — may represent different branches of one and the same tree or emanate from the same ideology.

I venture to offer the same objections to Menghin's views. He considers²⁾ that »die Ergologie der Hoang-ho-kulturen erinnert sonst vielfach an den früharktischen und kammkeramischen Kreis«.

He finds it significant, *inter alia*, that the stone implements are for the most part made of slate. As, however, will be seen from the chapter on stone implements, this is not the case, at any rate as far as regards Ch'i Chia P'ing, for here specimens of green-stone predominate and only a few chisels and spear-heads are made of slate.

Ailio³⁾ was of the opinion that the influence derived from the Kamm décor »finds itself up against a Chinese wall at Ulan-Chada«. However, Professor Andersson's excavations had not yet been carried out at the time of the publication of Ailio's work, so that the peculiar Kamm pottery of Ch'i Chia P'ing could not be taken into account in his book. Nevertheless, Ailio would appear to be right in so far as the Ch'i Chia P'ing Kamm pottery has no direct associations with the true Russo-Baltic Kamm décor.⁴⁾

¹⁾ He quotes as comparative material figs. 14 and 15 in Ailio, *Fragen der russischen Steinzeit*, *Zeitschrift der Finnischen Altertumsgesellschaft* XXIX: 1, figs. 14—15.

²⁾ A. Menghin: *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* p. 290 et seq.

³⁾ Ailio, *Fragen der Russischen Steinzeit*. *Zeitschrift der Finnischen Altertumsgesellschaft* XXIX: 1 p. 68.

⁴⁾ It is just possible, on the other hand, that a parallel can be drawn with a special type of Siberian Kamm pottery. This is mentioned by Ailio in his above-cited work (pp 66—67). On the subject of Kamm pottery in Siberia he says, *inter alia*: »In derselben Weise kanellierte, von der Kammkeramik abweichende Gefäßstücke sind beispielsweise in der Umgebung von Irkutsk angetroffen worden (*Zap. Arch. Ges.* XI, Bortwin T XIV: 1). — In demselben Zusammenhang sind die in Cuwaskij Mys unweit Tobolsk gefundenen schönen kragförmigen mit einer Standfläche versehenen aus feinkörnigen graugelblichen Ton gefertigten Gefäße zu erwähnen, die in ihrem oberen Teil regelmässig und sogar schön mit

It should be pointed out in this connection that there is some slight resemblance between the Ch'i Chia P'ing Kamm pottery and one or two fragments of vessels belonging to the Tripolje culture. These fragments may be referred to Ailio's »mixed style«, i. e. Chwoika's style I. They are decorated round the rim of the mouth with a delicate band of dentations or pearls.¹⁾ Below the neck are seen dot-like impressions arranged in rows, and these may have been done with a Kamm-like implement.²⁾ So far as one can judge from the illustrations, which do not throw much light on this point, the vessels exhibit some features in common with the Kamm pottery of type CC: III, the resemblance showing itself primarily in the form and in the impressions. Perhaps, however, it is merely a chance resemblance without any deeper significance.³⁾

VII. THE ORNAMENTATION AND ITS SYMBOLICAL SIGNIFICANCE.

In scrutinizing the ornamentation in the material here under discussion we find that it is of two kinds. In the first place we have the ornamentation that occurs in CC: I and CC: II and which, with a few exceptions, may be said to have a purely decorative function; in the second place we have the ornamentation to be found in CC: III, the spirit of which appears, on the whole, to be symbolical. The essential difference outlined here in the ornamentation of the different classes of pottery still further emphasizes the divergence which we have already stressed between CC: I and CC: II on the one hand and CC: III on the other.

The neck ornamentation found in CC: I and CC: II — if not merely decorative — may be explained as a relic of a primitive method of manufacture dating back to a time when the material of which the neck was made differed from that of the body. In that process it had by some means or other been affixed to the body. The marks left by this method have since been allowed to survive, thus giving

Kammotiven und teilweise nach den Traditionen des Kammstiles verziert sind. Ähnliche Gefässe sind am Ural im Gouvernement Kasan und in Südrussland angetroffen, aber nie im Kammkeramischen Kulturgebiet sondern sie müssen einem südlicheren Kulturkreis angehören. In Karadzar, im Gebiete Semipalatinsk, sind aus feinkörnigem Ton bestehende, mit Kamm- und breiten Kanelüornamenten verzierte Tongefässfragmente angetroffen worden, die auf die tief ornamentierte Gefässe der Tripoljekultur hinweisen; aus demselben Gebiete liegen auch Gefässfunde vor, die an die Kammkeramik erinnern, deren Ton aber rötlich gebrannt ist und deren Gefässform einen platten Boden und die nicht der Kammkeramik zuzuzählen sind.» As I have unfortunately not had an opportunity of seeing these finds, no account of which, so far as I am aware, has been published, I cannot venture to do more than point out that there may exist here a material reminiscent of Ch'i Chia P'ing (CC: III).

¹⁾ T. Passek, *La céramique tripolienne*, Moscow 1935, Pl. X: 12—13.

²⁾ Cf. Ailio, *op. cit.* fig. 31.

³⁾ Professor T. Arne has kindly brought to my notice the fact that there is preserved in the Sevenko Museum in Kiev (Cat. 16506) a sherd of Tripolje pottery from Iljintsy, district of Lipovets, Govt. of Kiev, on which are genuine Kamm-impressions, although, to judge from a sketch I have seen, the way in which these impressions are arranged is quite different from the Ch'i Chia P'ing designs.

rise to a development parallel to that of the Nordic »collared» bottle (Kragen-Flasche).¹⁾

Another possible explanation would be that ornaments such as the plaited pattern applied to a band in relief (Pl. 5,2) represent the last traces of a plaited leather strap or such-like, which at an earlier evolutionary stage had been tied round the neck of vessels of this type.

Other simple incised patterns have been regarded by me either as a degeneration of the decorative types just referred to, e. g. Pl. 4,2, or as serving a purely ornamental purpose (e. g. Pl. 1,12 or Pl. 4,10).

When studying the constructive patterns described above, one is inclined to ask why in type CC: I these patterns occur only on the lower part of the vessels.²⁾

There may perhaps be a simple explanation of this of a practical order. Amongst the Chinese collections in the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm there are some baskets which are covered, on the inside entirely and on the outside to the extent of the upper half, with pitch, the actual basket-work thus being visible on the lower part of the body only. If we conceive the possibility of clay vessels of type CC: I having originally evolved out of vessels made of basketry, we can imagine the constructive pattern surviving on the lower part only as an ornamental reminiscence of an earlier method of production.

Another possibility would be that the pattern on the lower part of the vessel was deliberately not made smooth, the corrugated surface affording a better grip for the hands.

It is difficult to explain why the pattern has been eliminated from the upper part of the vessel in this class but not in CC: II. This circumstance indeed still further emphasizes the difference between the classes.

As indicated above, it is evident that some ornaments in Ch'i Chia P'ing are essentially symbolical of certain vital aspects of primitive life.

This applies almost entirely to CC: III. There is, however, one single instance in the first two classes of an ornament that may possibly be traced back to some kind of symbolism. The snake illustrated in Pl. 5,11 (cf. p. 395) might have some connection with a primitive fertility cult. This snake shows a striking resemblance to several representations of snakes from Susa II (Observe particularly figs. 415 and 416 in Toscanne, *Etudes sur le serpent figure et symbole dans*

¹⁾ Cf. also M. Schuchardt, *Das technische Ornament in den Anfängen der Kunst. Praehistorische Zeitschrift* 1909.

²⁾ In this connection it may be pointed out that in the painted pottery found in other sites in China the decoration is generally confined to the upper part of vessels of urn type. It is also worth noting that in a few cases (Lo Han T'ang) the lower part has been made of thick ware mixed with gravel and this part of the body has a constructive pattern, whereas the upper part is made of fine clay and has a painted decoration. The quality of and impressions on the under part, however, most closely recall CC: II.

l'antiquité Elamite, *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, Tome XII). Snakes executed in relief are likewise known from the G temple in Assur,¹⁾ where they occur on models of houses²⁾ made of fired clay.

It should be pointed out that the Ch'i Chia P'ing snake is not the only representation of this animal in relief occurring in prehistoric China. The MFEA owns a lid with a representation of a human head, on the back of which is a snake. See Palmgren, *Kansu Mortuary Urns of the Pan Shan and Ma Chang Groups*, Pl. XIX: 9. Cf. also A. Salmony, *Eine neolitische Menschendarstellung in China*, Ipek. V 1929, who finds a connection between this representation and the Indian culture.

In contrast to the décor of CC: I and II, that of CC: III may be assumed to be of a symbolical nature, the ornaments in question being either in relief (lines and nipple-like knobs) or Kamm impressions or other impressed patterns. The ideas symbolized seem to refer to fecundity and fertility. In Pl. 13,⁵ a we find a handle covered with symbols which might have such a significance: triangles (made by Kamm impressions) antithetically placed combined with representations of cowries, have often been interpreted as sexual symbols. This explanation seems to be confirmed by their combination, in this case, with pairs of nipples which might represent the female breasts. For that same combination of triangles and »breasts» see also Pl. 12,¹⁴.

Sometimes triangles combine with patterns which appear to symbolize fertility in a wider sense; thus, in Pl. 13,² we find them in conjunction with lightning and fertilizing rain.³⁾

VIII. BOUGHT VESSELS.

As mentioned before, there were bought or excavated, in the city of Lanchou and in the neighbouring district, twenty vessels, whose exact provenience, and the conditions under which they were found, are not known.

Their chief significance as far as the Ch'i Chia P'ing material is concerned, is the assistance they afford in reconstructing the types of vessels occurring in this culture. Through comparisons with the ware, technique and form of the sherds it has been possible to fit the bought vessels into the class CC: I. It is a curious fact that only this group can come into question for their classification.

¹⁾ W. André, *Die archaischen Ishtar Tempel in Assur*.

²⁾ Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* I, fig. 159.

³⁾ The meander patterns of our class CC: III (differing from those of other Chinese periods) may be interpreted as depicting down-pouring rain; observe that the meanders run vertically across the belly of the vessel, and that they do not form a continuous pattern. — There are further (Pl. 13,²) a zigzag line probably depicting lightning, and a wavy line designating either water or a snake. For the same combination in the Hsin Tien period (per. 4), see Andersson, *RPC*. Pl. 137. The polychrome pottery of Susa has zigzag lines symbolizing water.

The above-mentioned vessels are urns, appearing in several variants. Just as in Ch'i Chia P'ing proper, there occur two types of this vessel (type I A and B). In the one case the vertical profile is more or less distinctly broken, and the vessel has handles attached to the broadest part of the body (Pl. 21,1). These handles appear to be rudimentary, and on the under-side of the body there are mat impressions which are more or less completely erased. The second urn, which has a gently rounded profile and handles at the equator, is illustrated in 22,2 (type I B), there being several specimens of this type. Pl. 21,2, 4 show a broad-bellied urn, on which the mat impression does not reach to the middle of the body. One of the two specimens has no handles, while the other has well-advanced handles attached to the neck.

In regard to the nine small vessels, of which eight are reproduced here (Pl. 23,2—9), it might be possible with a greater degree of certainty to arrange them according to types. Making 23,2 our point of departure, we may draw two lines of evolution. In the one series we observe how the neck grows at the expense of the body, which thus becomes increasingly rudimentary; moreover, the handles follow the course of development of the neck (23,2—23,5). The second line of development proceeds via a more and more rounded belly (23,6—8) to the vessel illustrated in 23,9, whose shape has become emaciated, and in which the pear-shaped body entirely predominates, so that the neck has practically disappeared, while the ears have survived throughout the process of development.

It should be observed that, as in CC: I, the small vessels lack mat or basket impressions. There is ornamentation on vessel 22,7, which has a painted pattern in violet, consisting of groups of angles pointing downwards, starting from the boundary line between neck and body. In another case an incision gives this line an ornamental function (22,8).

The handles are also provided with an ornamental motif on two vessels. On 22,5 this décor consists of an impressed hour-glass-like ornament surrounded by four dots. On the other vessel (22,2) it consists of two groups of incised lines between which have been placed three ornamental strokes.

There is still one other form among the bought vessels (type 5) which is represented in CC: I by two fragments (cf. Pl. 4,3 and p. 392). This consists of a jug with a gently rounded body and funnel-shaped neck which continues over the mouth of the vessel, covering it to the extent of two thirds. From the mouth a spout projects obliquely upwards. In the profile of the neck and the body and in its technical execution this jug, which is provided with one broad, disc-like handle, is very closely reminiscent of the small vessels described above.

In their design all the vessels just referred to appear to be traceable to metal prototypes, although otherwise no traces of any metal culture have been found in Ch'i Chia Ping.

Akin to this jug mentioned above, although typologically of later date, is the vessel in Pl. 22,5. Moreover, the ware differs from that of the other vessels

in its grey tone and its well-smoothed surface, which strongly recalls the fragments described on page 417 above. There are slight traces of red on the entire exterior of the vessel. Compared with the jug described above (type 5) the shape exhibits mannered forms. Thus, the extension of the rim over part of the mouth covers so much of it as to leave only a small kidney-shaped opening, in front of which, close to the edge, there projects obliquely upwards a spout ornamented with rivet-like knobs. Just as the body which became compressed through the extension of the neck, makes a bulbous and inflated impression, so this cover appears bulbous and «swollen». When the body acquired its swollen form the under-part of the belly did not follow suit but formed a foot-like base. On the other hand, as the neck became extended downwards, the broad disc-like handle did the same. The fact that the handle is attached to a portion projecting from the over-vaulted rim, this part being decorated with two knobs resembling rivet-heads, lends force to the general characterization of the vessel as a direct imitation of metal ware.

Finally, among the bought vessels are two specimens (22,3, 4) which cannot be classified with reference to our sherd material. Even the very porous, strongly yellowish-brown and brick-red ware differs somewhat from that of Ch'i Chia P'ing. The form is that of a big-bellied vessel with a wide mouth and four handles at the rim standing on a circular foot pierced with four holes. Typologically, I am inclined to place 22,3 before 22,4 owing to its markedly broken profile.

IX. ANALYSIS OF MICROSCOPICAL SLIDES.

(by Dr. Gunnar Beskow)

The following features are the most important characteristics:

- I. The admixture of sand:
 - a) Quantity, b) Coarseness, c) Shape of grains, d) Mineral composition.
 - II. The clay mass:
 - a) Natural admixture: Particles of loess, organic material.
 - b) Structure and optical characteristics (especially mica content).
- In the material under analysis organic matter is entirely absent.

CC: I a.

Nos. K. 11242: 90, 285, 101, with addition of No. 232 from group I b.
An exceedingly uniform group (in particular 90 and 285 are very similar).

Characteristic features:

a) *Intermixed material*: Extremely little. All the microscopical slides are almost entirely lacking in mineral sand. No. 101 contains a considerable quantity of brown, amorphous, dense lumps about one mm. in size, of which the others show only a very sparse admixture.

b) *The clay mass.* Rich in grains of quartz of sizes between 0.05—0.04 and 0.02—0.01 mm., most frequently about 0.02 mm. This size of grain is the most frequently occurring one in the loess soils; the quartz grains in question are thus to be regarded as loess material (wind sediment) which was embedded in the course of the precipitation of the clay.

In Nos. 90 and 285 the clay substance possesses a finely agglomerated structure with a rich content of mica or micaceous mineral scales: the amount of loess is considerable, being greatest in No. 285.

No. 101, on the other hand, shows an almost entirely opaque, »structureless» clay mass, with only isolated scales of mica; the loess content is likewise lower.

One sample from group I b is entirely associated with group I a, viz. 232. This sherd likewise contains no admixture of sand, but the clay mass has an abundant loess content. The structure of the actual clay substance and the abundance of mica are in full conformity with those of Nos. 90 and 285.

The extended group I a is thus a relatively uniform group, characterized by an extremely small content or else an entire absence of admixed sand, and also by a relatively large content of loess material in the clay. Nos. 90, 285 and 232 are extremely alike in every respect, notably in their high loess content and the fineness of the microscopical structure of the clay, which is rich in mica. No. 101 differs from the above-mentioned in having a lower loess content and in the clay substance being dense and practically structureless.

CC: I b. (two specimens).

A very uniform group, characterized by an extremely high sand content. The sand consists chiefly of quartz but also contains a fair amount of alkaline feldspar. Strikingly fresh appearance; the grains angular and only slightly rounded.

The clay mass of both specimens is rich in loess particles, the clay substance showing a light structure as having a moderate content of quite small scales of mica. It is striking to note the high calc-spar content, appearing in the form of rounded grains, the size of which is the same as that of the loess (mostly about 0.05—0.02 mm).

CC: I c. (214, 265, 84).

A not very uniform group.

The most characteristic feature is a high content of coarse sand, the grains of which are considerably more rounded than I b. Moreover, the composition also differs from that in I b, since from a petrographical point of view the sand is a far more heterogeneous mixture. A characteristic feature of all three microscopical slides is also the presence of *grains of sandstone*.

As regards the composition and distribution of the sand, 214 and 265 are very similar. 84 differs from the others in that the composition of the sand varies very considerably, there being only quite a low content of quartz and feldspar grains and a high content of small lumps of different kinds of sedimentary rock species.

In all three samples within this group the composition of the clay varies considerably.

In 214 and 84 there is present a rather high percentage of quartz-loess particles, although in 84 they are smaller than usual (0.02—0.015 mm. being the predominant size; particles larger than 0.025 occur extremely seldom). The quartz-loess content in 265 is very small, while that sample is particularly rich in rounded limedust of the size of fine loess.

Also the content of mica scales, as also the structure of the clay substance, is different.

CC: II a. (642 and 503).

A very uniform type, characterized by its admixture of sand, which is very coarse (2—3 to 4 mm.), its grains being exceedingly rounded (river sand — river gravel). Its petrographical composition is also similar: sandstone, quartz and lime (more or less fine-grained and coloured calc-spar).

The clay mass is not quite uniform, though fairly homogeneous. The loess particles are of normal size, fairly abundant in 642, sparser in 503. The clay substance in ordinary light is very similar; between crossed nicols, on the other hand, 642 proves to be practically black, the mica content being extremely scanty; 503 is fairly dark, but its structure is clearly visible (a considerable content of mica scales).

CC: II b. (591).

This group differs entirely from II a in its sand. The abundant admixture of sand consists of strikingly fine grains (maximum size 0.5 mm.) chiefly of not very rounded quartz.

In the clay mass there is an abundance of loess particles, also a good deal of fine loess about 0.01 mm. in size, and a very considerable proportion lime-dust. The clay substance appears to consist almost entirely of micaceous substance.

CC: III. (729 and 738).

Fairly uniform as far as regards the admixture of sand, consisting in both slides of coarse (> 1 mm). angular (not rounded) sand, rich in quite fresh-looking feldspar. One dissimilarity however, is that 729 has — besides the coarse sand — an abundance of sand ranging from middling coarse to fine (down to one or two 1/10 mm.), which is almost entirely lacking in 738.

The clay mass is also somewhat different, 738 having a high and 729 a low content of loess particles. The clay substance, on the other hand, is quite similar, although the mica content is larger in 738.

But the one feature that absolutely and definitely characterizes the group and differentiates it qualitatively from all the others is the petrographical nature of the sand. In both these samples it contains — besides the not very weathered feldspar — a very typical iron-rich pyroxene, pleochromatic in pale green and brown, partially converted into an intensely dark-brown biotite; in addition there are small grains of epidote.

The nature of the ware, as ascertained from the microscopical examination, permits of the division of the material under investigation into a number of natural groups, each of which, although of different degrees of uniformity, differs from all the others in the existence as a distinct gap in the multi-dimensional variable system.

LO HAN T'ANG WEST SITE, KUEI TE HSIEN, KANSU.

Professor Andersson describes the site of Lo Han T'ang thus:¹⁾

»This site is located 240 km W. from Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, in the section of the Huang Ho where that river descends from the Tibetan highland into the Kansu plain. Because of its steep fall the river has here cut down a canyon some

¹⁾ J. G. Andersson, RPC. p. 84.

800 m. deep through »horsts» of old crystalline rocks and through sunken blocks of the soft Pliocene Kuei Te beds.

The exact position of the site is about 20 km W of the small town of Kuei Te in a side valley on the north side of the Huang Ho.»

A picture of the site and its surroundings were published by Professor Andersson.¹⁾ The site is on the top of the vertically sculptural cliff behind the two white tents of the explorer.

The site was examined by Professor Andersson and his Chinese boys during the late summer of 1923. The explorer writes about his field work in a still unprinted manuscript:

»On the 16th August 1923, when we were encamped at Lo Han T'ang village, Chen²⁾ heard from a Tibetan of the existence, only a couple of li from our camp in a NNW direction on the other side of the valley, of a place where good prehistoric pottery was to be found. He visited the place on the following day and found it very promising. On the 18th we all worked there and found that the yield from this site would be far beyond our highest expectations. Above all, there occurred here painted pottery of Yang Shao type in larger numbers and better quality than anything we had so far encountered in NW China. This place, which is located 3 li N 35° W from our camp at Lo Han T'ang village, I have named Lo Han T'ang West. The surroundings of the site are shown in the map BMFEA 15, p. 83, surveyed on the scale of 1: 5,000 with 10-metre equidistant contour-lines.

We worked at the excavation of this deposit during two different periods, August 18—19 and August 29—September 10.

In the eastern part of the map we see a narrow triangular spur separating the main valley through which we came down from the Tibetan grassland, from a side valley on the western side of which the site is located. The village of Lo Han T'ang is situated on the eastern side of the main valley, SE of the area shown on the map. The terrace upon which the village lies once formed together with the said spur the Malan river-plain of the main valley.

During our second and longer stay we settled down nearer to the site at the spot marked »Camp» on the map. This camp I selected as the zero point of the survey.

The surroundings of the site consist of these four physiological elements:

- 1: The modern river-plain, relatively flat, gravel-strewn, sloping downstream at a gradient of about 1: 30.
- 2: The precipitous cliffs of the Malan terrace with a height of 20—30 m. In many cases, as for instance the eastern side of the big spur, this cliff is nearly perpendicular. Its lower part everywhere consists of the Kuei Te beds, the upper of gravel and loess-like material. Thus below the site here in question the lower two-thirds of the cliff are formed of the clays of the Kuei Te series, whereas the upper one-third is gravel with a cap of about six metres of loess-like material, possibly a redeposition of the Kuei Te beds.
- 3: The Malan terrace plain, best shown upon the eastern spur of the map. The site itself is also part of this old river-plain.
- 4: The steep, richly dissected hill-slopes rising above the Malan terrace plain. Only some of the adjacent hill-slopes, rising on one side above the Malan terrace spur, on

¹⁾ J. G. Andersson, o. c. Pl. 1.

²⁾ One of Professor Andersson's collaborators.

the other above the prehistoric site, are indicated on the map up to heights of 100—150 metres, but these dissected hills, which are throughout built up of the Kuei Te clays, rise in many places to much greater heights.

As already stated above, the place where the people of the Yang Shao time once lived is part of the old Malan surface. In fact, the narrow space occupied by the site forms an island of Malan ground surrounded everywhere by precipitous cliffs or steep slopes. As stated above, the cliff facing the modern river-plain is 31 m. high and nearly perpendicular. To the south and southwest the slope is also very steep. The site is most easily accessible from the northwest, but even here the slope served as a kind of natural fortification. Every indication goes to show that the topography 4—5000 years ago, when the place was inhabited by the Yang Shao people, was much the same as it is today and that this spot of the old Malan surface was deliberately chosen on account of its difficult approach.

The area of the site is located as shown on the map. Its length is 90 m. in a NE—SW direction and 55 m. in NW—SE. The level containing artifacts belongs to the uppermost loess-like stratum mentioned above. It contains very few pebbles. Its thickness and stratification can be judged from the following sections:

Section 1:

- a. (uppermost) Yellowish-grey, homogeneous, unstratified, loess-like sediment with numerous grass-roots. No artifacts. 0.36 m.
- b. Yellowish-grey sediment, like a, but containing numerous pieces of charcoal and patches of a white substance. This is the stratum that is rich in artifacts. At top and bottom there is a thin zone where the earth is chocolate-brown, as if burnt. 0.25 m.
- c. Yellowish-grey loess-like sediment. In the uppermost part the sediment in numerous small spots is coarser, like fine sand. No artifacts anywhere in this layer, but even at this depth numerous grass-roots. 0.42 m.

Section 2, in the western corner of the site:

1. (uppermost) — (a of section 1). Yellowish-grey, homogeneous, unstratified loess-like sediment, in the lower part some few white spots and artifacts. 0.66 m.
 2. Same kind of sediment as bed 1 but containing numerous pieces of charcoal, white spots and splendid artifacts. 0.72 m.
- Below this level no artifacts.

In the course of this excavation we came across a feature which we never met with in any other prehistoric site: apparently the bases of two kilns, probably for the firing of pottery. (One is shown in fig. 6.) One diameter is 1.05 m. Of the other one, at right angles to the first, only 0.61 m was still preserved. The bottom and what remains of the sides (13—22 cm. in height) are smooth and hard packed on the inside, with some scratches on the surface. Both the bottom and the sides consisted of several layers, apparently formed in such a way that a new layer was smeared on over the inside from time to time as required. The bottom was black from charcoal soot, the sides grey. Beneath the grey surface the wall was burnt a reddish brown to a depth of 7—8 cm. Under the bottom the burning had penetrated to a depth of 11 cm., and here was a regular layer of flat pebbles, 10—20 cm. long.

The second kiln base was smaller. For the rest, it was similar in every feature to the big one, with the single difference that in this case the basal flat pebbles were only 7—10 cm. in length.

This is beyond comparison the richest prehistoric site that has come to our knowledge in the Kuei Te valley. It yielded large fragments of vessels painted in beautiful and varied patterns. Specially characteristic features are winged stone knives and roughly hewn discus-like stone objects, 10—14 cm. in diameter.»

As professor Andersson has mentioned above, the site has not been systematically excavated all over the cultural deposit, so that we have no regular account of the different strata or other data of importance for the classification of the artifacts, except professor Andersson's description quoted above. The conclusions we might

draw from examining the artifacts must therefore be very uncertain, although the cultural deposit of Lo Han T'ang, situated in the pasture district of the Sino-Mongolian borderland, is intact and undisturbed by farming, while the locality of Ch'i Chia P'ing has probably been disturbed by the Chinese agricultural system.

The furniture from the dwelling site of Lo Han T'ang contains about

1500¹⁾ pottery fragments of varying size, among which have been excavated only a couple of entirely or partly intact vessels. Further, 108 stone objects belong to the material, such as rectangular or crescent-shaped stone knives, axes and pebbles. There are 90 fragments of fine bone implements, such as knives with flint flakes, awls and sewing needles. Finally, it should be mentioned that the cultural deposit has yielded an abundant material of animal bones which will be examined in a special chapter.

X. POTTERY.

When we consider the above-mentioned lack of scientifically examined strata in the excavation it is manifestly very difficult to draw any definite chronological conclusions about the pottery. If we examine the pottery, three main groups may be noted:

1. Unpainted pottery, of high quality in regard to ware and shape. The outside is sometimes covered with mat or basket impressions.

¹⁾ Some bigger fragments, reconstructed out of several small sherds have only a single diary number so it is difficult to give exact statistics about the whole record.

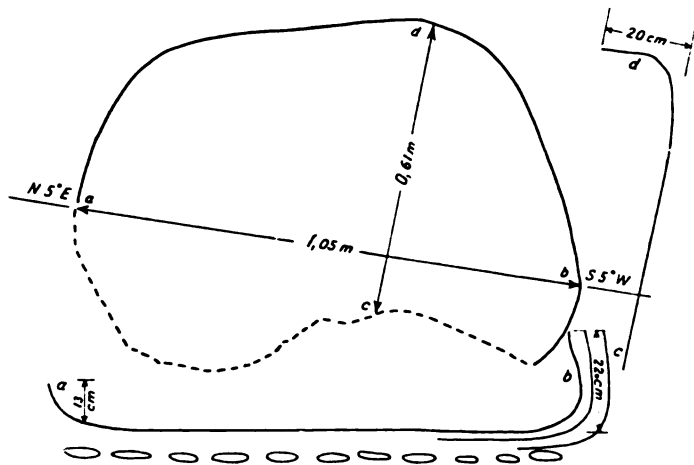


Fig. 6.

2. Unpainted pottery of coarse ware. The outside is covered with cord impressions.
3. Painted pottery of high quality.

LHT: I. Unpainted pottery of high quality.

About 178 fragments.

The ware. The pottery is made of well-purified clay, free from any admixture¹⁾ of »dégraissant» in large quantities. An admixture of lime or quartz in small quantities could be noticed on most sherds. Only a few sherds, for several reasons attributed to this group, are made of porous ware mixed with mica or quartz gravel in large quantities. Some of these fragments might also be attributed to group II, since it is sometimes very difficult to classify small, undecorated fragments.

Colour. The colour varies from pale yellowish brown to brick-red and various shades of grey. About one third of the sherds referred to this group have a more or less pronounced grey colour.

It should be noted in this connection how difficult it is to draw any definite conclusions about the colour of the ware as Dr. Wu²⁾ for instance has frequently done in his book on prehistoric pottery in China. The pottery might through its thousands of years of conservation have absorbed materials in the earth capable of discolouring the pottery in a remarkable way. Thus there belongs to the furniture from Lo Han T'ang part of a bowl, reconstructed from several small sherds (Pl. 27,2). Most of the sherds have a bright yellowish-red colour, whereas one of the fragments is brown. Another bowl (Pl. 28,1) reconstructed from three pieces shows the same subsequent discolouring, which is unfortunately not clearly visible in reproduction. Other examples of discoloured sherds are seen in Pl. 28,2 and Pl. 29,6 (N. B. three pieces). In all the cases mentioned not only has the surface changed colour, but the discolouring process has penetrated to the core of the fragment. Consequently if we are to draw any conclusions from the colour, we have to proceed very warily. It might happen that under certain conditions the whole of the material has become discoloured during its long rest in the deposit.

The colour of the ware is often homogeneous. Some sherds, however, have a darker, grey core surrounded by brighter outer layers. The greyness of the core is caused by irregularities in the process of oxidation during the firing (cf. p. 408).

Technique. The method of manufacture seems to have varied with the form of vessel required. Small vessels were obviously shaped from a single lump of clay, which was treated with the hands until the desired form was obtained.

The bowls and basins that frequently appear in the material are probably shaped

¹⁾ Frankfort points out the difficulty to determine if well purified clay in a certain case depends on the occurrence of naturally purified clay or if the high quality of the clay is due to an intentional purifying process. See H. Frankfort, *Studies in early pottery of the Near East I*, London 1924, p. 5 seq.

²⁾ G. D. Wu, *Prehistoric pottery in China*. London 1938.

on a mould, although no marks from the mould are discernible. In fig. 7 is reproduced a bowl fragment of decorated ware on which may be observed cord impressions partly smoothed away. I interpret the cord impressions as being marks from the mould, which might have been covered with cords in order to facilitate for the clay to stick to the mould. It is scarcely credible that the elegantly shaped bowls could have been made from a single lump of clay without the aid of a mould. The objects would in that case have been thick and clumsy and without homogeneous walls. There remains the possibility of the bowls having been constructed by the thumbing method *e. o.* by adding layer to layer and thumbing together

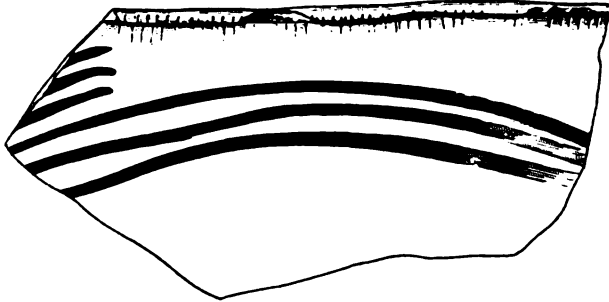


Fig. 7.

the joints. But if this method had been used, we should have been able to discern here and there the junction between two layers.

When the bowl has a bi-conical profile, the upper part must have been added after the bottom portion had been removed from the mould.

I would suggest that the small amphora reproduced in

Pl. 25,1 has been constructed in the following way. The belly was made of two different pieces joined together. The joint between the two parts is clearly visible. The collar is made separately and joined to the inside of the body by thumbing. On the outside of the collar vertical scratches are clearly visible. On the inside of the collar appear concentric striations after a template which has rotated in order to smooth the surface and correct the profile. The length of the tool must have been 15 cm., while the marks left by its edge are clearly discernible. The long handles have been attached to the body after the vessel was completed. It seems likely that the larger amphorae (for instance Pl. 25,2) have been constructed in the same way, layer upon layer, by the thumbing method, whereas the base may have been built up in a mould (*cf.* p. 404). The lower portion of the amphorae have the same impressions as those familiar to us in Ch'i Chia P'ing.

After manufacture, the surface was carefully smoothed and sometimes polished. Only the impressions on the base are left intact. It is difficult to know whether they are left on for ornamental purposes or for some practical use, for instance to facilitate handling.

As already mentioned, the necks of the amphorae and sometimes also the bowls have been smoothed over with a tool. The vessel was evidently kept in rotation during this finishing process.

The concentric striation visible on the neck of the amphorae and on the bowls from different Chinese localities have been interpreted by some archaeologists as

marks from the potter's wheel. Professor Andersson¹⁾ is of the opinion that the bulk of the painted vessels from Yang Shao Tsun were turned on the potter's wheel. He likewise suggests that a vessel from Chih Kou Chai was made²⁾ on the wheel. Professor Arne, moreover, believes that the Honan pottery was thrown.³⁾ I doubt, however, whether the inhabitants of the prehistoric sites in China were familiar with the potter's wheel; in any case, there is no real evidence that the throwing method was used at Lo Han T'ang, although the ware as seen in a cross-section of some of the finest specimens is so homogeneous that it might be queried whether they were not made on the potter's wheel. It seems to me highly improbable that if the throwing method was known, the potters did not employ it for every vessel. There is, however, no doubt that the bulk of the pottery is built up, layer upon layer, by the thumbing method, which is a technique quite different from throwing. It seems to me that archaeologists dealing with the matter of technique have often failed to realize that concentric striation does not always indicate that a vessel has been made on the potter's wheel. There is a considerable difference in construction between a vessel built up layer upon layer by thumbing and a thrown vessel, even if the former was smoothed over with a tool during rotation and in the course of this process has obtained striated zones on the surface. A thrown vessel is shaped directly from a single lump of clay by centrifugal force and shows traces of the process of manufacture in form of regular striae all over the inside. Sometimes the wall of thrown vessels is divided into sections.

Dr. G. D. Wu,⁴⁾ who has closely studied the technique of the pottery from the prehistoric sites of China, suggests that the striation has arisen during the shaping process, while the vessels have been rotating on a turn-table. However, Dr. Wu apparently is of the opinion that prehistoric pottery has been built up layer upon layer, by the coiling method or with the aid of a mould, wherefore the »turn-table» in Dr. Wu's sense only implies a means of smoothing the vessel and removing the joints. In this case the turn-table does not signify a method of construction and it is therefore unimportant whether the vessel itself has been turned by hand or whether it has been put into rotation on a special turntable.

Firing. It is very difficult to draw any definite conclusions about the firing temperature. We can only operate with approximate calculations and theories of probability based on comparisons with modern ceramics. I estimate the firing temperature of this group to be about 900°, at any rate not higher than 1000°⁵⁾. In

¹⁾ J. G. Andersson, *An Early Chinese Culture*. Bulletin of the Geological Survey of China, N:r 5, Peking 1923, p. 53.

²⁾ RPC. p. 78, Pl. 35,1.

³⁾ T. J. Arne, *Painted stone age pottery from the province of Honan, China*. *Palaeontologica Sinica*, Vol. 1, Fasc. 2, Peking 1925, p. 11.

⁴⁾ G. D. Wu, *o. c.* p. 28, 47, 91.

⁵⁾ Dr. Nils Palmgren considers the firing temperature of the Pan Shan urns to have been about 900°—1000° C. See Nils Palmgren, *Kansu mortuary urns of the Pan Shan and Ma Chang groups*. *Palaeontologica Sinica*, Series D. Vol. III. Fasc. 1. Peiping 1934. p. 5. — The prehistoric pottery from

any case the pottery is well baked and often has a reddish shade which indicates that the clay contains iron and that the firing temperature must have been quite high. A very high temperature could only be produced in a kiln with a powerful draught. In the digging report it is stated that the inhabitants of Lo Han T'ang evidently used kilns for pottery baking. During the excavations the diggers came across the base of two kilns. Professor Andersson describes them in his introduction on page 431.

Vessel forms. Within this group appear the following vessel forms:

a) *Small amphorae* with long handles, well known from Ch'i Chia P'ing. Only one intact vessel of this type has been found. This vessel, already examined on p. 434, is reproduced in Pl. 25,1. A few sherds are obviously remnants of the same type, although this vessel form does not seem to have been very common.

b) *Large urns* with gently curved profile and lugs attached at the equatorial line. Some specimens may also have had a bi-conical body of the same type as that we know from Ch'i Chia P'ing, but owing to the fragmentary state of the artifacts it is impossible to draw any definite conclusions. We have been able to reconstruct only one vessel of this type.

The big urn already published by Professor Andersson is reproduced in Pl. 25,2. This vessel, reconstructed from many sherds, in part secondarily discoloured, has a brown shade with light brown and reddish spots. The collar is slightly flaring and the transition to the body is marked by a superimposed band, which is divided by diagonal incisions into small raised rhombs. Below the equatorial line two lugs are attached (partly reconstructed). The upper part of the body is smooth. The lower portion is covered with mat impressions. The impressions must originate from a mould or some fabric which has covered the mould. This vessel gives clear indications of its lower part having been built up in a mould. On that part of the belly where the impressions begin, a border or fold is visible, which obviously must emanate from the mould. Owing to the pressure from the upper part of the body its lower part has settled a little after the upper section had been joined to the base. This has resulted in the edge of the base portion bending slightly outwards.

This type of urn is represented by several fragments from bellies (about 10 large sherds), collars and bases (Pl. 26,1—4, 29,10). The size of the urns may have varied from very large specimens, such as the urn mentioned above, to medium-sized vessels such as the urns from Ch'i Chia P'ing. The lower portion of the body generally has mat or basket impressions of the same type as is well known from Ch'i Chia P'ing (about 10 belly fragments with this type of impressions) but even smooth bellies appear, e. g. the fragment reproduced in Pl. 29,6 and 28,5. If we were to judge entirely from the base fragments, most of the urns would be assumed

Honan has been subjected to chemical analysis by Dr. Paul Meyersberg, who assumes a temperature of 1300°—1400° C for this pottery. These figures seem to me to be surprisingly high. See T. J. Arne, o. c. p. 38.

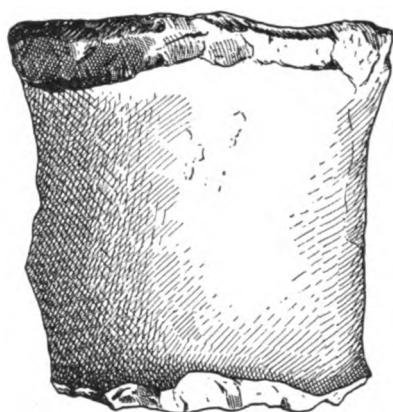


Fig. 8.

to have had a smooth belly without impressions on the lower part but we must not forget that the bottoms might be remnants of painted urns. Anyhow, the bottoms are always clearly defined, e. g. the specimen reproduced in Pl. 29,10.

Only a few collars occur in this material. The shape varies, but the rim is generally flaring and sometimes annular (Pl. 29,5). The big collar-fragment reproduced in Pl. 29,1 might belong to a large urn. Other big collar fragments are reproduced in text figures 8 and 9. Two collar-fragments reproduced in Pl. 29,2, 3 are interesting on account of their flattened,

outward-curving rim. This type of collar is quite unknown amongst the Ch'i Chia P'ing material but occurs in Ma Chia Yao.¹⁾

To judge from the reconstructed specimen (Pl. 25,2), the urns have been provided with lugs. A lug-fragment reproduced in Pl. 29,4 is ornamented with a superimposed wavy band. Another handle to a vessel of unknown shape, reproduced in Pl. 29,7, is shaped like a wavy ridge, but generally the lugs seem to have been undecorated.

c) *Bowls and basins* of varying size and shape. Not a single specimen of this type is intact. The ware of these vessels is generally of the highest quality, pure and well baked.

Some sherds have a dark interior core. On a few sherds, probably fragments of the same vessel, the ware as seen in a cross-section of the wall is so homogeneous that the vessel might have been conceivably made on the potter's wheel, but as I have already pointed out, it seems very unlikely that the wheel was used for making a few vessels only.

Some of the best specimens of bowls are reproduced in Pl. 27,2, 4, 28,1—4 and 30,3—6. There are many variations in profile and margin. Some bowls expand towards the mouth; in other cases the wall of the bowl contracts towards the mouth. The profile of the body is often gently curved. The rim may be annular (Pl. 27,3), simple (Pl. 30,3) or flattened and curved

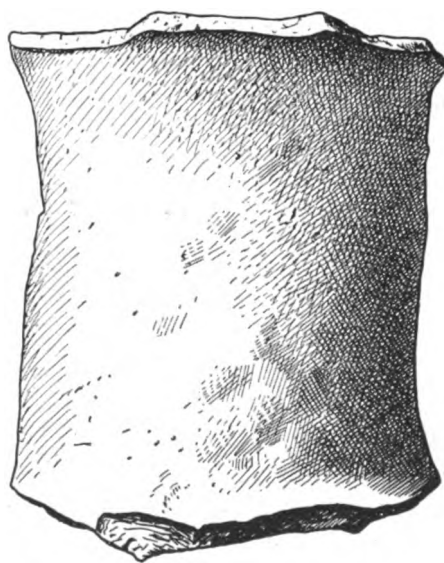


Fig. 9.

¹⁾ Cf. J. G. Andersson, RPC. Pl. 56,1—2, 62,1.

outwards (Pl. 30,4—6); only one single fragment has a piece of the bottom left (Pl. 27,4). The bottoms have evidently been clearly defined.

Some bowls (e. g. Pl. 27,3, 30,1) are shaped with less care and skill than the majority of the bowl-fragments. No striation is discernible. The surface is not smoothed, so that scratches and scores are clearly visible. The small bowl reproduced in Pl. 30,1 has the shape of a flower pot and is the only fragment of that type attributed to this group, but in regard to vessel form it is closely related to the coarse specimen in Pl. 31,1.

The fragment in Pl. 30,7 is a transitional form between bowl and urn. The vessel has a bi-conical shape and wide mouth but no collar. Unfortunately there is no piece of the base portion left, wherefore it is impossible to reconstruct it in its entirety. This vessel may be compared with a neck fragment of a very large vessel with rudimentary collar and wide mouth (Pl. 27,1), the latter also being a hybrid.

The fragment of a small bowl in Pl. 30,2 has, on the inside, two stripes of a reddish-brown colour, probably applied for testing purposes. I do not interpret them as constituting a decoration.

In Pl. 26,5, 6 are reproduced two unique fragments. 26,5 might be a piece of a small amphora or urn with very prominent belly and narrow collar. The ware is well-baked and of high quality. Colour brown. 26,6 is made of comparatively pure clay but not very well fired. The shape of the vessel is unknown, but the profile of the wall is straight. The outside is ornamented with a superimposed wavy clay band.

Finally, mention must be made of about fifty sherds of dark grey or greyish ware. Most of them are fragments of bowls or pieces impossible to classify. The rest of the sherds which have a brown or reddish-brown shade are, for the most part, only small pieces without character, so that it is difficult to draw any conclusions as to the size and shape of the vessels.

2. LHT: II. Coarse unpainted pottery.

About 632 fragments.

This group is uniform in vessel forms, quality of the ware and décor. Most of the fragments consist of coarse yellowish-brown, yellow or red ware. Sometimes the colour is grey or dark brown. Many of the fragments are covered with soot, probably not emanating from cooking. It may be a later infection from the earth, or perhaps we have here traces left by a contemporaneous conflagration, because it is often only the margin or the upper part of the body that are sooty (K. 12003: 962, K. 12003: 934). The bottom pieces belonging to this group show no traces of soot on the outside, but one specimen (K. 12003: 1120) has, on the inside, a sooty belt near the bottom, a fact which proves that the soot did not result from cooking.

The ware. Generally the quality of the ware is inferior to that of the preceding group, consisting of unpurified clay rich in mica or quartz.

Burning. The ware is uniformly baked at a temperature which, to judge from the porosity of the ware, must have been very low, probably about 600° C.

To this group belongs a broken urn, which we have been able to reconstruct (Pl. 31,4). It seems that this vessel represents the most common form of vessel in this group. It is therefore of interest to examine the technique of that specimen.

Technique. This vessel has been built up in a mould. The bottom part has been made separately in one mould, the upper part in another mould. Afterwards the two separate parts have been joined together and the junction smeared over with clay. The joint is now clearly visible, since the vessel has cracked just at the delicate point of junction. The joint is accentuated on the vessel by a wavy clay string probably applied for the purpose of covering the junction. In order to give the surface a symmetrical appearance, wavy bands decorate the body at regular intervals. In order to obtain a collar, the mouth of the vessel has been bent outwards, before the clay was dry. The outside of the body shows impressions of twisted cord. The cords may have covered the mould in order to facilitate the clay's adhering to the mould, or they may have been applied for the purpose of preventing the vessel from cracking, after manufacture but before the vessel became dry. In any case the vessel was not decorated with the above-mentioned wavy bands until after the cords had been removed. On one of the vessels belonging to this material the cord marks are visible even on the outside of the bottom.

On the specimen in Pl. 32,2, marks of the manufacturing process are clearly visible in the form of cracks between the different clay strings. From this we may conclude that the upper part of very large vessels has been built up by the coiling method. The fragment shown above is certainly not moulded. It seems probable that other big vessels have also been made in the same way.

Vessel forms. As mentioned above, we have been able to reconstruct only one complete specimen which represents the most common vessel form within this group of the material, although the profile may differ slightly from one vessel to another. The reconstructed vessel (Pl. 31,4) consists of an urn 235 mm. high with slightly curved profile and a low collar with a slightly flaring rim. Max. diam. of the vessel 258 mm. Diam. of mouth 160 mm. The surface is smooth below the mouth, the rest of the vessel is covered with regular cord impressions. At equal intervals wavy clay bands are attached to the body.

Vessels far larger than the urn now described also belong to the material. We have been able to reconstruct part of a large vessel, urn or amphora of an unusual size. The upper part of the body is smooth, the lower part has been covered with

vertical impressions of crossed cords. The ware is hard but to some extent mixed with mica and quartz. The colour is brownish-red. It is doubtful whether this vessel should be attributed to this group or to the first one. In Pl. 33 and 35, 4 are reproduced other specimens of large vessels probably of an urn type.

Two collar fragments (Pl. 35: 1—2) also represent large vessels, but in this case it is impossible to draw any definite conclusions about the shape of the body.

12 marginal sherds of varying colour — grey, brown, yellow — are fragments of bowls having a simple margin and a slightly curved upper part with contracted mouth. On most of the fragments the zone below the margin is smooth and bordered with a deep furrow. The rest of the body is covered with diagonal cord impressions (Pl. 34, 1—2, 4 and 6). The bowl reproduced in Pl. 34, 4 has on the inside a coat of red colour (not slip). These sherds may be fragments of bowls of the same Honan type as Professor Andersson reproduces in *An Early Chinese Culture* Pl. XIV: 3 and 4, although the Lo Han T'ang bowls have no painted décor and the mouth may be wider. 7 marginal fragments of varying colour have less curved profiles than the sherds mentioned above (Pl. 34, 3, 5—8). They seem to represent vessels of medium size except the specimen reproduced in Pl. 34, 8, which must be a fragment of a very large vessel of coarse grey ware. The thickness of the wall is 14 mm. The flattened margin and the outside of the body are covered with diagonal cord impressions. 15 mm. below the margin is a fragmentary lug or knob. Pl. 34, 5 has a wavy ridge below the rim. The profile is slightly curved and the outside of the body below the ridge is covered with diagonal cord impressions. Pl. 34, 3 is closely related to Pl. 34, 5. The ridge is ornamented with oblique fossae. The fragment reproduced in Pl. 34, 7 has a knob forming a handle.¹⁾

Many fragments attributed to this group represent a type very common within this material, an urn resembling the reconstructed pot reproduced in Pl. 31, 4, although the profile of the fragments is weaker and the brick-red ware is of a higher quality. Nevertheless mica and quartz grains are clearly visible. The collar curves slightly outwards. The neck and the outside of the body are covered with cord impressions in two directions (Pl. 36, 1—3, Pl. 38, 11). Some fragments are remnants of small urns (for instance Pl. 38, 1) of thin ware. The outside is often decorated with horizontal clay bands below the neck and the belly. Between them are portions of small diagonal clay bands (Pl. 37, 1).

Though our class LHT: II is defined above as «coarse unpainted pottery», we have to include in it a few specimens which are, after all, not quite «unpainted» but have a few ornaments in colour.

Some marginal sherds (Pl. 37) are fragments of delicate vessels decorated with bands in relief, with designs painted in violet or incised lines. They are

¹⁾ The same kind of handle has been found on the site of Chu Chia Chai. BMFEA 17, Pl. 12, 18.

undoubtedly all fragments of urns with wide mouth and slightly curved profile. Some of the specimens are provided with lugs of varying size (Pl. 37,2—5). The fragmentary urn in Pl. 38,1 gives some idea of the form of the vessels. I refer to the Kamm-decorated vessels from Ch'i Chia P'ing, to which they are related both in form and in size. The same kind of violet painting also occurs on the neck of specimens from both groups (cf. 403).

The vessel in Pl. 37,3 has at one side a lug attached to the outward curving rim. The body is covered with diagonal cord impressions. Below the neck a wavy clay band. The thin ware is mixed with mica and quartz but is hard and well baked. The thickness is about 4 mm.



Fig. 10.

The specimen in Pl. 38,8 is made of grey ware, hard and mixed with a remarkably high percentage of quartz. Thickness 5 mm. On the outside diagonal cord impressions. The outward-curving rim has on the inside a décor of oblique violet-painted triangles (text fig. 10). The outside is decorated with a small wavy band in relief and below it, at equal intervals, groups of small strings in relief. All painted in the same violet tone as the triangles.

The marginal sherd in Pl. 37,7 has the same groups of strings in relief as the neck fragment referred to above, but no painting is discernible. The fragment in Pl. 37,5 has a distinctly profiled rim provided with a small lug on the outside. The inside of the rim being provided with a ridge, I suggest that the mouth was covered with a lid. Below the rim and on the upper part of the body are two zones of incised horizontal lines. The area between them is decorated with a wedge in relief. The decorative system is cognate to the Kamm and relief ceramics of Ch'i Chia P'ing, although there are no Kamm impressions.

The marginal fragment in Pl. 37,9 is made of brown hard-baked ware, the surface of which is grey. The rim is flaring, curving outwards. Immediately below the margin a decoration of horizontal and vertical zones containing incised lines. In the centre of the horizontal zone a knob.

This kind of incised decoration is known from Wu lan Kou, Fu Ku Hsien, Shensi¹⁾ and Tsao Chiao Tsun, Chao Hsien, Shansi.

In Pl. 37,2 we see the upper part of a vessel, probably a small amphora. The colour is yellow. Below the lug a white spot. Grains of mica and quartz are discernible even on the surface. Inside, the vessel has a peculiar bi-conical shape which does not correspond to the soft curvature of the outside. On the outside indistinct cord impressions. The lug is decorated with numerous small wavy clay bands. Round the neck and belly the same sort of wavy band. On the inside are traces of violet colour. Since the vessel probably had a narrow rim, I cannot explain the spots of colour on the inside as a kind of decoration. I suggest that a liquid paint has been preserved in the vessel.

¹⁾ J. G. Andersson, RPC. pl. 94,6, 98,5.

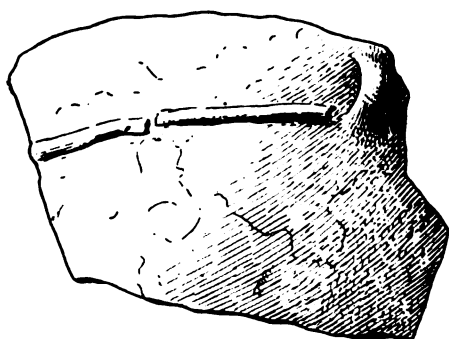


Fig. 11.

Before ending this description of the small vessels decorated in relief I have to point out a single fragment of dark grey ware (text fig. 11). The outside is polished, provided with a rudimentary lug and ornamented with a small horizontal ridge—a kind of decoration which recalls the ornamental style of some Ordos bronze vessels exhibited in the MFEA.

Two neck fragments (Pl. 35,1—2) 413 ornamented with oblique fossal below the rim are closely related to those Pl. 9,1—2,

Pl. 10,1 and are obviously fragments of the same type of vessel. Another marginal fragment has a decorative clay band with crescent-shaped incisions below the rim (Pl. 35,3).

To this group belong about 70 different body fragments, probably remnants of urns (cf. p. 440). All are covered on the outside with traces of cords or similar impressions. Many of them are decorated with clay bands (Pl. 36,1, 3; Pl. 38,4, 9, 11) or broad flat ribbons (Pl. 40,2). Some specimens are provided with a small lug (Pl. 35,5, 7). Sometimes a wavy ridge forms a kind of lug (Pl. 35,6). Even the lugs are ornamented with wavy bands in relief.

One sherd should be mentioned for its extremely interesting ornamentation. The sherd (Pl. 36,4) is made of brick-red ware, has indistinct surface-impressions, the direction of which is, I presume, horizontal and is decorated with a snake (unfortunately fragmentary) in relief. The dark spots on the animal are marked by incisions (Cf. p. 424). Another body fragment, fig. 12, has also probably snake ornaments.

The bottoms of the vessels belonging to this group are well set off. (Pl. 38,1, 4, 11; Pl. 39,1, 4). Cord impressions often occur even on the bottom or, as in Pl. 41,4, marks of real plaiting are discernible on the outside of the bottom surface. It should be pointed out that even on the small vessels belonging to specimens vaguely resembling the Kamm ceramics of Ch'i Chia P'ing as, for instance, the small vessel with saddle-shaped mouth reproduced in Pl. 38,1, the bottom is always clearly set off, whereas the corresponding vessels from Ch'i Chia P'ing often have a carelessly executed and undefined bottom.

Further, we have to note two neck fragments reproduced in Pl. 31,2—3. The

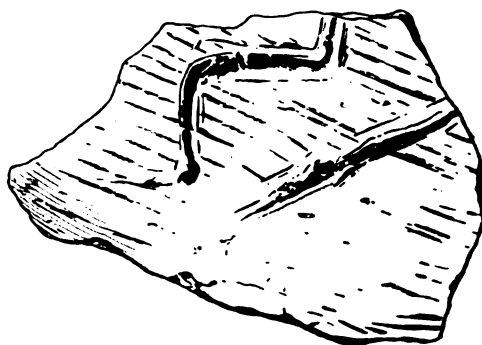


Fig. 12.

first one must be classified as an oblique spout, the kind of which Dr. Palmgren in his work on Pan Shan urns (Pl. 20) describes as »chamber-pot for men». The second fragment quoted seems to be a neck of a medium-sized vessel reminding of some urns from the burial site of Chu Chia Chai.¹⁾ I have examined both the vessels published by Professor Andersson and compared with them the neck fragment from Lo Han T'ang. In regard to ware, technical treatment and profile this collar is obviously closely connected with the urns from Chu Chia Chai.

Finally should be mentioned 5 fragments of legs of Li tripods (Pl. 38,3, 5, 8, 10). All of them are fragments of the very base of the leg. No fragment of the bulbous part of the legs has been preserved.

3. LHT: III. Painted pottery.

About 630 fragments.

The painted pottery forms a very uniform group as regards technical quality, vessel forms and décor.

The ware. All vessels belonging to this group are made of well purified clay offering a superior material for forming the beautiful urns and the fragile bowls which we are able to reconstruct from the fragments and small sherds of the Lo Han T'ang deposit.

Some fragments (8 pieces) are from the technical point of view quite unique (Pl. 43,4—5, Pl. 44,1—2). They are all fragments of large vessels, the upper part of which is made of fine purified clay, whereas the lower part is constructed of coarse clay mixed with quartz. All the fragments have a painted décor on the smooth upper part, while the bottom portion shows impressions of cord or plait-work. The sherd reproduced in Pl. 43,3 differs from the other fragments in being made throughout of coarse ware. There is black painting below the relief ridge, whereas we should expect to find the painting above the ridge-shaped handle. As far as I can judge from the direction of the furrows on the ridge, the painting must have been applied to the lower part of the vessel, but I interpret this as an exception, suggesting that the unknown part above the handle was made of fine clay and painted. The painting below the ridge might thus have belonged to the decorative system of the upper part although placed below the equatorial line.

I would suggest that this curious way of constructing a vessel of two different clays is uniquely a matter of technique. All the fragments seem to be parts of large vessels, and I believe that a bottom portion built up of coarse clay is better adapted for carrying a heavy upper part than a vessel constructed throughout of the same fine clay.

¹⁾ J. G. Andersson, The site of Chu Chia Chai. BMFEA N:r 17, Pl. 7,7 and 8,11.

Some very big undecorated fragments of large vessels are made of the same type of ware and bear the same impressions as the lower part of the fragments dealt with above, wherefore I suppose they are remnants of this kind of vessels consisting partly of fine and partly of coarse ware. The profile of the lower part of these vessels seems to have been almost straight, although to some extent expanding from the bottom towards the upper part. The bottom portion reproduced in Pl. 39,¹ might, in spite of its grey colour, be attributed to this type. The shape of the upper part of these vessels is unknown, but I suppose we are here concerned with very large urns.

Technique. Both the urns and the bowls forming the main types of this group seem to have been built up in the same way as the vessels described in the preceding groups. I have not observed any evident trace of the potter's wheel when examining the bowls of the painted pottery. Some of them are shaped with very little care, for instance the specimen reproduced in Pl. 46,².

On a bowl fragment (text fig. 7) are traces of half obliterated cord impressions visible below the outside of the rim, which proves that the bowls have been formed with the aid of a mould or muffle. In any case, the cord impressions are of a constructive character.

The visible surfaces of the vessels are polished. In some cases the state of the fragment is badly corroded, so that it is impossible to draw any conclusions about the original character of the surface.

Colour. The ware seems to have been fired at a comparatively high temperature, perhaps about 900° C. Most of the fragments have a pale-brown or yellow colour. Some sherds are brick-red and a few pieces have a dusty brown or grey colour. In some cases brick-red or grey spots are visible on the otherwise homogeneously coloured surface, due possibly to irregularities in the firing process or the composition of the clay.

The colour of the painted décor is entirely black or, in a few cases, violet or brown. In one case the black pattern is combined with a heavy white colour, but a combination of black and violet never occurs in the painted décors such as is found in the material from the Pan Shan graves.

Vessel forms. The bulk of the painted sherds are fragments of big urns (Pl. 42, 1, 3, 4) or bowls with wide mouth. The urns have been of varying size, most of them large, though small specimens also occur (Pl. 44, 8). Unfortunately no urn is intact and we have not been able to reconstruct a single vessel from the small fragments at our disposal. But if we look at the painted pottery from the site of Ma Chia Yao, we get a good idea¹⁾ of the shape of the Lo Han T'ang urns. The neck seems to have been high in most cases and the rim curving outwards (Pl. 44, 5, 6, 11), but specimens with low collar also occur (Pl. 43, 1). Some of the vessels, obviously the urns as well, have been provided with lugs (Pl. 45, 1—4).

The size of the urns may have varied from large specimens such as the fragments

¹⁾ J. G. Andersson, RPC. Pl. 56, 2, 57, 1 5.

reproduced in Pl. 42 to very small vessels from among which two neck fragments are illustrated in Pl. 44, 7—8.

The profile of the body seems in most cases to have been gently rounded. The profile of the big fragment in Pl. 42, 4 is sharply broken where the horizontal zone of the painted design begins. Comparing the pattern of the painted décor and the relief band on this fragment with the decorative elements on the fragments constructed of two different clays (Pl. 43, 4, 5 Pl. 44, 1), I suggest that we here have the upper part of an urn built up of two different qualities of material.

Beside the fragmentary urns, some sherds of *bowls* and *basins* (Pl. 45—48, Pl. 50—51) are found. Owing to the fragmentary state of the majority of the material it is often difficult to decide whether a sherd is a remnant of a bowl or a basin. The profile of the vessels varies from widely expanding walls to specimens contracting towards the mouth. The mouth is often provided with a rim (Pl. 48, 3, 6). On many fragments the rim curves outward and is decorated (Pl. 50, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21).

On the bowl fragment reproduced in Pl. 44, 9 the wall of the vessel contracts towards the narrow mouth, which has no rim. This is a unique variation among the bowls that ordinarily have a more or less wide-open mouth. Another fragment of a rim (text fig. 13) has a narrow mouth, but it is also provided with a rudimentary collar. They are closely related, both being fragments of vessels with narrow mouths, and I suggest that we here have a transition form between the urns and the bowls.

About 15 *bottom pieces* were found among the sherds. Some of them are reproduced in Pl. 51, 10—13. The bottom surface is always clearly demarcated (fig. 14) and of the same type as that of the bowls from Ma Chia Yao.



Fig. 14.



Fig. 13.

As has already been mentioned, some of the urns and, in a few cases, even the bowls have been provided with *lugs*. On the large urns the lugs are short and broad (Pl. 45, 1, 4), on the smaller specimens they are diminutive (Pl. 45, 2, 3). The bowl fragment reproduced in Pl. 48, 4 has a fragmentary lug, which is placed horizontally. Another bowl fragment has a wavy ridge forming a kind of fragmentary handle (text fig. 15). The same

type of handle is known from Chin Wang Chai. Some of them have been published by Professor Arne.¹⁾

A quite different type of handle is represented by 6 fragments (cf. p. 457). They are all long, flat and slightly curved. The breadth varies from about 1.5 to 3 cm. The outside is decorated with horizontal lines (Pl. 51,15, 16) or crossed lines (Pl. 51,14). I suggest that they are remnants of small amphorae with long handles. Professor Andersson²⁾ has published a handle from Ma Chia Yao which seems to be connected with this type.

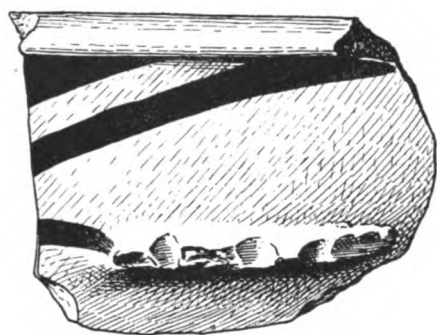


Fig. 15.

Before ending this description of the vessels I should like to point out a very peculiar ceramic object reproduced in Pl. 51,18. It is probably the handle of a bowl. It is decorated on both sides with black lines on the inside combined with an oblong spot. As far as we can judge from the fragmentary state of the object, the handle is in shape closely related to that of a bowl published by Professor Andersson.³⁾

Designs. Both the urns and the bowls have a rich black décor of varying character. The colour is, with a few exceptions which will be described later, entirely black. The pigment is applied to a carefully smoothed

and polished surface. Only in a few cases is painting found on a rough surface (Pl. 43,3). On a body fragment not reproduced (K. 12003: 1384) is a broad band of violet paint applied to the rough surface which is covered with intersecting cord impressions and decorated with a superimposed wavy clay band. This kind of painting is quite unique but may have some connection with certain vessels having been composed of two different kinds of clay (cf. 443).

As we have no complete urn extant, it is difficult to get any idea of the entire decorative system on these vessels. The belly fragment reproduced in Pl. 42,1 has no collar left, but we may presume that the neck was decorated with horizontal rings or zones as is the case in Pl. 44,6, 7, 10. Other collar fragments have the horizontal lines combined with circular dots (Pl. 44,4), oblong dots (Pl. 44,5) or circle a segments (Pl. 44,11). One single neck fragment of coarse ware is decorated with horizontal lines, between which is a zone with vertical lines (Pl. 44,3). The small neck fragment reproduced in Pl. 44,7 has on the flaring rim a very attractive décor of garland-shaped lines and tendril figures. The outside of the neck is ornamented with parallel horizontal lines. To revert to the urn reproduced in Pl. 42,1, the design of the belly shows the most frequently occurring

¹⁾ T. J. Arne, *Painted Stone-Age Pottery from Honan*, Pl. VII: 20 and IX: 30.

²⁾ J. G. Andersson, *RPC*. Pl. 52,5.

³⁾ J. G. Andersson, *RPC*. Pl. 182,2.

component of the decorative patterns from Lo Han T'ang, the horizontally grouped, parallel lines. Here they alternate with black bands and at equal distances are interrupted and bordered by oblong spots. The centre of the lineal zone is ornamented with two diagonal lines. The lower part of this urn is undecorated.

This combination of groups of parallel lines interrupted by *oblong dots* appears on some fragments (Pl. 50,16 and 23, 51,3, 18) which are remnants of both urns and bowls. Sometimes parallel lines, bands or circles are combined with circular dots (Pl. 49,6, 7, 9). On a few sherds the zone of horizontally grouped lines is bordered by dots, combined with trellis work (Pl. 49,1; compare Pl. 42,1).

On the belly fragment in Pl. 42,4 the central zone of the parallel lines is replaced by groups of diagonal circle segments and a triangle with elongated apices. These two elements, *diagonal circle segments* and *triangle-shaped figures*, sometimes combined with inscribed dots (Pl. 43,1) are very common elements in the designs both of the urns and of the bowls and appear combined with zones of parallel lines. (Pl. 49,10, 14). A belly fragment reproduced in Pl. 42,5 shows what appears to be a big circle, crossed by a horizontal line and combined with a group of circle segments. Another belly fragment in 42,2 has a simple décor consisting of a zone of broad vertical lines on the lower part of the body succeeded by horizontal lines (2 sherds of this kind). Sometimes on the urns the lowest part of the zone with horizontal lines is bordered by a *garland* (Pl. 42,4).

On some sherds there is a simple décor formed of *alternating horizontal lines and bands* (Pl. 49,15, 16). Pl. 49,15 seems to be closely related to a sherd from Chu Chia Chai.¹⁾ On other belly fragments there are groups of lines combined with bands or triangle-shaped figures (Pl. 49,8, 14).

Before ending the description of the urn fragments we have to examine some very important belly fragments reproduced in Pl. 49,2, 11—13. They all have a dentated band, in 49,2 combined with vertically radiating groups of lines and big dots, on the other sherds combined with circle segments. The dentated band is kindred to the well-known »death-pattern» but is here entirely executed in black.

As I have already mentioned, the ceramic material is very fragmentary, wherefore it is sometimes difficult to know whether a sherd is a remnant of a bowl or an urn. Nevertheless there is little doubt that most of the sherds now examined are fragments of urns.

As to the decoration on the *bowls*, some specimens have a very poor ornamentation, combined with black painting on the rim (Pl. 46,2). Other bowls have a simple décor of parallel lines (Pl. 51,1) sometimes concentrated within the upper part of the body (Pl. 46,1). Often the lines form garlands on the outside (Pl. 45,5, 46,3—5, 50,3). Sometimes the garlands consist of heavy lines, the spaces between which are filled with finer lines (Pl. 50,3, 6) in the same manner as on the Ma Chia Yao bowls. The points of junction between two festoons sometimes have a hook

¹⁾ J. G. Andersson, The site of Chu Chia Chai, BMFEA N:r 15, Pl. 101,7.

(Pl. 50,3), a ring (Pl. 46,4 b) or, as in Pl. 50,6, a more complicated ornament. The slender tendrils well known from Ma Chia Yao occur on several bowl fragments (Pl. 47,1 a, 2 a).

On the fragment reproduced in Pl. 50,2, diagonal lines form a border below the rim. A more elaborate system of line ornamentation occurs on the unique and elegant bowl fragment reproduced in Pl. 50,1. The vessel is markedly bi-conical and has a low, wide collar with flattened rim. The black design consists of horizontal bands combined with finer horizontal or vertical lines, a big circular dot and above the equatorial line a triangle, the extended sides of which border a knob in relief. Besides the black painting just described there are circular dots and a line executed in white. This bowl has no interior décor.

Bowls or basins with flattened rim generally have decorative painting on the margin. The most frequent marginal patterns are shown in Pl. 50. The elements appearing in varying combinations are oblique or straight lines, sometimes wavy lines, trellis works, dots, circles, circle segments, and triangle-shaped lines.

Bowls or basins with a wide mouth generally have an interior decoration, sometimes only a few lines (Pl. 45,6 a); in other cases a rich system of parallel lines (Pl. 47,1 b—3 b), on many sherds combined with trellis work (Pl. 47,1 b, 4) or dots (Pl. 50,19, 22).

On several insides occur triangles, separate (Pl. 46,5 a) or together with a linear system (Pl. 46,4 a, 50,19, 22). Some sherds are decorated with peculiar triangle-shaped figures (Pl. 50,4, 8, 12). They are all applied near the margin. Their points are elongated and end in dots. Other dots flank the points.

Some bowl fragments reproduced in Pl. 48 illustrate the most highly developed designs from Lo Han T'ang. 48,1 has the outside ornamented with thickly painted horizontal lines, below which appear the ends of vertically placed lines. The inside is undecorated. The rim is painted black and is undecorated. 48,2 has on the flaring, slightly curved rim a belt of triangles. The body has the slender tendril pattern already mentioned. The pattern of 48,3 is not very carefully drawn. It consists of a heavy dot inscribed in a circle surrounded by circle segments which are flanked by triangle-shaped figures. The margin has black painting. The inside is ornamented with two roughly drawn parallel lines. 48,4 has on the outside a knob in relief placed in the centre of a border filled with vertical circle segments. The brick-red inside has a rare hour-glass-shaped ornament which is obviously the black-painted space between two circles in which are inscribed pairs of dots (cf. 48, 6 a). 48,5 has on the outside almost the same pattern of vertical circle segments as are seen in 48,4. Here they are combined with a triangle-shaped figure. The inside is decorated with groups of transverse lines forming a chessboard pattern. 48,6 has on the eroded outside a design consisting of a triangle-shaped figure, a group of diagonal lines and circle segments. The interior decoration consists of pairs of circles, in which are inscribed pairs of dots separated by three vertical lines. The groups of circles seem to have alternated with zones of horizontal lines combined with

belts of oblong dots. Similar belts of dots seem to appear on a small sherd reproduced in Pl. 51,4.

In Pl. 51,6 is reproduced a small bowl fragment of brick-red ware. The outside has a garland filled with fine horizontal lines. In the space between the garland and a lower horizontal band is the fragment of a knob. The inside has a single marginal belt of triangles. A small bowl fragment shown in Pl. 51,7 has obviously the same simple linear pattern on both sides.

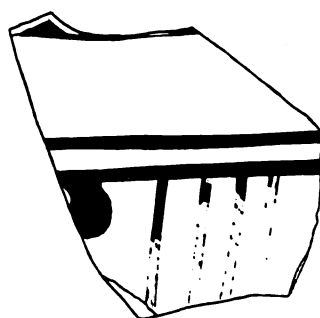


Fig. 16.

There are furthermore some bottoms with interior decoration. The most important specimens are reproduced in Pl. 51,10—13. 51,10 has in the centre the already described circle pattern (cf. p. 448) with inscribed dots. In this case the groups of lines inside the circle form a cross. In the centre and in the spaces between the cross-arms are dots. 51,13 has groups of trellis work on the bottom plate, while 51,11 and 12 are sparsely ornamented, the first with circles or wavy lines, the second with circle segments radiating from a ring in the centre of the bottom. Apparently many of the bottoms were decorated in the same way as the intact bowls from Ma Chia Yao with a dot in the centre or a pair of curved lines.¹⁾

Before ending the description of the ceramics I have to point out some fragments differing in colour from the rest. They are all painted with a reddish-violet or reddish-brown colour quite different from the black (or in a few cases dark brown) pigmentation of the preceding fragments. In Pl. 51,17 is reproduced a marginal sherd of a bowl made of yellowish-white ware. Both the outside and the inside are decorated with reddish-brown zig-zag lines. The fragment of a rim in Pl. 51,8 has violet paint forming a marginal band from which, on the inside, run vertical lines. A rim fragment not reproduced has on the inside two simple vertical lines in violet paint. The bowl fragment in Pl. 30,2 has on the inside two violet-brown strokes of a paint-brush, but they are too clumsy to be regarded with any certainty as a form of decoration. The violet-painted handles are already described on p. 446.

In Pl. 51,19 is reproduced a small sherd with pale reddish-brown painting on the pale yellow-outside. The pattern consists of a dot and traces of a band. The text fig. 16 shows a sherd of pale yellow-brown ware with brick-red spots on the outside ornamented with horizontal lines. From the lowest one runs a group of four vertical lines, alongside which is a dot.



Fig. 17.

Finally, 5 very important fragments (text fig. 17—18) should be described. 4 are pale grey fragments with painted décor in dirty brown colour (fig. 17). Both ware and colour recall the famous bowls from Yang Shao Tsun and Chin

¹⁾ J. S. Andersson, RPC. Pl. 54,1 2 a.

Wang Chai.¹⁾ The last one is a bowl fragment with a reddish-brown exterior surface, ornamented with a grey pattern, from which a triangle with an elongated apex protrudes (fig. 18). The ware and the colour of the design is exactly the same as a type well known from the Yang Shao sites from Honan.²⁾

An examination of the unfortunately too fragmentary pottery from Lo Han T'ang shows that the painted pottery is closely related to that of Ma Chia Yao. Once the materials from that site have been thoroughly examined, it will probably be found that all the painted designs occurring on Lo Han T'ang pottery will recur

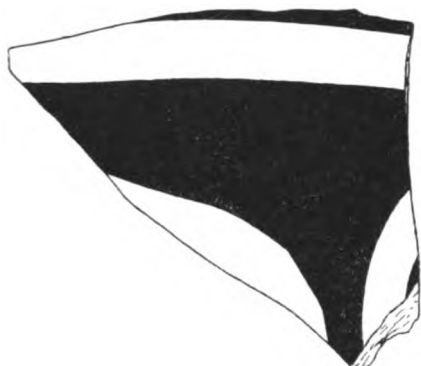


Fig. 18.

on such from Ma Chia Yao. A comparison with a few painted vessels and sherds published by Professor Andersson or exhibited in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities has convinced me that the connection between the two sites must be very close. I have not had an opportunity of examining in detail the coarser pottery of Ma Chia Yao, and I am therefore unable to state anything definite about correlations in regard to such wares; nor I am aware of any amphoræ or large urns with mat impressions in the Ma Chia Yao material; professor Andersson's preliminary survey indicates no such specimens.

The Lo Han T'ang pottery also has some features in common with the Chu Chia Chai culture.³⁾ If we first examine the painted pottery from the dwelling site of Chu Chia Chai, that category of the latter called by Andersson the class «of Ma Chia Yao type» (RPC. Pl. 100,1, 2, 4) has obvious affinities with wares from Lo Han T'ang; and even the sherds of what Professor Andersson calls «Late Yang Shao type» have features in common with the painted pottery from Lo Han T'ang (RPC. Pl. 100,9, 101,1, 5, 7, 8, 103,15, 17). The coarse pottery of Chu Chia Chai has also a certain resemblance to that of Lo Han T'ang.

It is a most astonishing fact that three fragments of Ch'i Chia P'ing type were found in Chu Chia Chai (Andersson BMFEA 17, Pl. 11,2, 8; 12,7), and equally remarkable that fragments of real Lo Han T'ang type were found in that site. There appear for instance fragments of bodies decorated with superimposed clay bands (Cf. Andersson loc. cit. Pl. 11,1, 5, 12,2). The fragment illustrated in Andersson's Pl. 11,1 is almost identical with the neck fragment from Lo Han T'ang reproduced in Pl. 57,2. Further should be mentioned the bowl fragment

¹⁾ T. J. Arne, Painted stone age pottery from Honan, Pl. II and III.

²⁾ T. J. Arne, op. cit. Pl. IV: 8.

³⁾ The materials from this site were published by Professor Andersson in BMFEA N:r 17. A summary review of the painted dwelling-site pottery from this culture was also published in Andersson, RPC. p. 152—159, Pl. 100—106.

with a knob-like handle illustrated in Pl. 34,7 (cf. p. 440). Finally we have to observe two fragments of black pottery published by Andersson, RPC. Pl. 11,4 and 12,4. The first one is a marginal sherd from a bowl of black pottery of a type that occurs in Lo Han T'ang. The second sherd is a neck fragment decorated with ridges of the same kind as those illustrated in fig. 11.

Even »winged stone knives» and bone knives with flint-flakes are known both from Chu Chia Chai and Lo Han T'ang, as pointed out by Professor Andersson.

The similarities just adduced are sufficient to prove certain connections of Lo Han T'ang on the one hand with Ma Chia Yao, on the other hand with Chu Chia Chai. As to the chronological conclusion to be drawn from these connections, it would be premature to make any more definite statements before the important Ma Chia Yao material has been thoroughly examined and published.

XI. STONE IMPLEMENTS.

The stone implements from the dwelling-sites do not yield anything of any particular interest. The bulk of the stone artifacts are types well-known from other sites, such as axes, chisels, stone knives and discs. Some of the finest specimens have already been published by Professor Andersson¹⁾ in his elaborate study on the prehistory of the Chinese. In addition I will here only briefly mention that a fine chisel of silk-grey jade was found at Lo Han T'ang. This is the only specimen of a semi-precious stone from this site.

Among the most frequent artifacts (19 pieces) are big discs, crudely cut from diorite pebbles.²⁾ Sometimes the rough surfaces are retained, while a kind of edge is shaped by means of some crude chipping. Other pebbles are carefully ground or polished until they have obtained an oblong form (Pl. 53,2).

Three big granite pebbles are carefully ground into flattened discs for unknown purpose.

In Pl. 52,1 is reproduced a mace head of crystalline rock having all around the body a deep groove at one side crossed by another broad groove evidently intended for fastening (cf. p. 416 and Pl. 19,8).

Many fragments of big stone axes are included in the material, but only one specimen, already published by Professor Andersson,³⁾ is intact. He attributes this axe to what he calls »The Pan Shan type», occupying a position between his Honan axe and the Northern rounded axe.⁴⁾ Our specimen has an oval cross-section and narrow neck. The material is black schistose rock.

Many blocks (Pl. 52,4) with a few cuts on them or broken axes of the same material are extant. A small carefully polished diorite axe is reproduced in Pl. 52,7. 52,5, 6, 9 are in all probability *Pen* axes of dark, hard rock. The neck is

¹⁾ J. G. Andersson, RPC. p. 85—86, 224—225, 262, 270, Pl. 40—41, 73,4, 164,1—3, 7—10.

²⁾ J. G. Andersson, RPC. p. 85, Pl. 40,3.

³⁾ RPC. p. 85, Pl. 40,1.

⁴⁾ RPC. p. 48.

broken in all these specimens. The fragment in Pl. 52,8 is reproduced in order to show the beautiful structure of the material.

Some schist chisels have been found. Two of them were reproduced by Professor Andersson.¹⁾ Most of the chisels are asymmetrical in cross-section (Pl. 52,16—18). The chisel-like implement in Pl. 52,19 has the same edge on both sides.

An axe-neck of schistose rock is considered by Professor Andersson to be a fragment of the type he calls »Broad axes with square neck».²⁾ Unfortunately the specimen in the plate lies horizontally, so that it gives the impression of being a stone knife with two holes. Although there is no edge and the sides are contracting, we have here obviously a neck fragment of an axe. This specimen, as a type, was a unique find at Lo Han T'ang.

26 fragments of stone knives are found among the artifacts. The most beautiful specimens have already been published by Professor Andersson.³⁾ All forms are represented, from crude blocks without holes (Pl. 52,15) to the finest specimen reproduced by the author.

Some knives without holes have corresponding recesses on the short sides (Pl. 52,11), which seem to have served as grooves for attachment. This simple type occurs also in Ch'i Chia P'ing (cf. p. 416) and other Chinese sites. Other specimens are provided with one or two holes (Pl. 52,12—14). In 52,12 the hole is very elongated. Sometimes the hole is placed near the edge, in other cases in the centre or the neck. On most specimens the short sides expand, which gives the knives a »winged» shape. Professor Andersson has given to these knives the name »winged stone knives». Some of the knives published by Professor Andersson have indentations on both short sides. I presume that these indentations enabled the knives to serve also as saws, obviously a very practical invention. The indentations however, are not very sharp. If they have served a practical purpose, they must have been used on soft material. They might therefore possibly be interpreted as notches for facilitating tying or as serving an ornamental purpose.

As far as I am aware these winged and dentated stone knives are so far only known from Lo Han T'ang.

An asymmetrically semi-lunar stone knife is reproduced in Pl. 52,15. The edge is sharpened. Only one side is smooth. The back is very thick. In his RPC. p. 223. Professor Andersson has pointed out the great importance and wide distribution of the rectangular and semi-lunar knives.

In Pl. 53,1 is reproduced a big specimen which is unique. It seems to be a hoe with two opposed recesses probably made for fastening purposes. This hoe seems to be related to what Professor Andersson calls »the broad northern typ» from the Sino-Mongolian border land.⁴⁾

¹⁾ RPC. p. 85, Pl. 40,10—11.

²⁾ RPC. p. 85, Pl. 40,13.

³⁾ RPC. p. 224—225, Pl. 40,12, 164,1—3, 7—10.

⁴⁾ RPC. p. 58, Pl. 25,1—4.

Pl. 52,10 shows a semi-circular fragment of crystalline rock. It might have been an axe with shaft-hole, but the artifact is too fragmentary to make any definite conclusions possible.

Another stone fragment of unknown use is shown in Pl. 52,3. It has a deep furrow in the centre. Probably we have here a fragment of a grindstone. Another grindstone in the shape of a block also was found on our site, and some pieces of round sand stone may also have been used for grinding purposes.

Two *pendants* of slate should also be noticed. One has been reproduced by Professor Andersson,¹⁾ the other one is shown in Pl. 54,14. The latter has a furrow for tying with string. The furrow does not continue round the back. One short side has the same kind of furrow at the other end. For a small disc-like pendant made of white marble see Pl. 52,2.

7 fragments, also made of marble, should next be recorded. The most beautiful specimens are reproduced in Pl. 53,3—5. Probably these objects are fragments of armlets. The elegant fragment in 53,3 is made of fine white marble with a tinge of warm yellowish rose. The ring is regularly cut with almost the same thickness throughout, slightly tapering towards one of the margins. The outside is polished; on the inside traces of red pigment. On both margins there are groups of small incised lines. At one side, near the margin, there is a hole drilled from the outside. The specimen in 53,5 is cut of shiny white-grained marble. The sides expand towards the margins. The cross-section is consequently concave on the outside and correspondingly convex on the inside. Both the outside and inside are polished. The other armlet fragments in Pl. 53,5 and 54,8 are cut out of white marble with innumerable small pores typical of weathered stone.

A small, beautifully shaped slate ring has also probably been used as an armlet (Pl. 54,6). Finally we may note a small cylindrical marble bead in Pl. 53,28.

Before we conclude the description of the stone objects it should be mentioned that Professor Andersson²⁾ has published a unique stone specimen, the upper part of which is shaped like a shoulder-blade. This peculiar implement was excavated in a locality close to the village of Lo Han T'ang, but no object of a similar shape has been found on its prehistoric site.

XII. BONE IMPLEMENTS.

About 90 fragments.

The most important objects have already been published by Professor Andersson.³⁾ In order to give a selection of the best bone implements, some of the specimens are here republished in Pl. 54.

The most characteristic implements are *bone knives* with a deep furrow for

¹⁾ RPC. p. 85, Pl. 41,6.

²⁾ RPC. p. 56, Pl. 22,5.

³⁾ RPC. p. 86—87, Pl. 41,1—4, 7—9.

fastening flint flakes (6 fragments). The most intact specimens are found in Pl. 54,12, 13. Other knife fragments are reproduced in Pl. 53,16, 25—27. They all have at one side a deep furrow, where flint flakes have been attached. In all specimens the furrow extends to the point. The upper part of the knives is unfurrowed and serves as a handle. In some specimens the knife-blade is curved. A number of more or less fragmentary *awls* have been excavated. Some of them are illustrated in Pl. 53,18—25.

Furthermore, 29 *sewing needles* belong to the material. They are of varying size and length. Some are extremely small and fine (Pl. 53,8—9, 11). Many of them have a skilfully executed eye.

In Pl. 54,10, 11 are reproduced two unique bone-implements. 54,10 shows a thin plate split from a big bone and provided with two holes at one end. Below and above these holes are two symmetrical indentations. At the other end is another hole. The holes are bi-conical, bored from both sides. Between the lateral indentations marks of wear are clearly visible. The same kind of marks are also observable from the holes to the top-indentations and from the holes to the lateral indentations. It looks as if ribbons or strings were once wound round the specimen between these points. I suggest that we here have an implement for weaving or basket-making.

Pl. 54,11 shows a flat bone object with a peculiar hole at the top. The pointed part is decorated with five small pits. The back has a similar pit slightly higher up than those on the front side. This implement also and the fragment in Pl. 53,25 might have been used for weaving. The latter object is closely related to some bone implements from Ch'i Chia P'ing (cf. Pl. 16,24—26), probably used for weaving or plaiting work.

A remarkable bone implement is a hoe or axe made of a split from a big bone (Pl. 53,6). The upper side is convex, the back concave. The edge is sharpened.

We might conclude from the fine bone needles and other implements obviously adapted for weaving or plaiting that the inhabitants of the site were skilful in cloth-making, mat-making and other domestic handiwork.

XIII. BASKET AND CORD IMPRESSIONS.

As this subject has been closely studied in connection with the pottery from Ch'i Chia P'ing, I will here give only some short notes on the most remarkable differences between the impressions from the two sites. At the end of this paragraph I add a few remarks on the pottery furniture from certain sites of Ch'i Chia type in south Kansu (cf. p. 456).

In the first group from Lo Han T'ang (LHT: I), to which are attributed the amphorae, the big urns and undecorated bowls of fine ware, identically the same impressions occur as in CC: I (cf. p. 411). I have accepted the term »mat or basket impression» for them, according to Professor Anderssons terminology, although I am not convinced that the impressions are derived from real baskets. I am more

inclined to consider them as emanating from a softer kind of plait-work, perhaps rough matting, which has covered the mould in which the vessels were shaped. As I have already pointed out in the description of the Ch'i Chia P'ing impressions, the plaiting does not imply a very regular or complicated design. It may be that the textile fibres have merely been smeared on to the wall of the mould without any »binding threads», or else the vegetable bundles were held in position by loose strands of the same material. This kind of simple plait-work or matting is well-known from many savage tribes.¹⁾ Some examples of the impressions from Lo Han T'ang I corresponding to CC: I are shown in Pl. 26,1—4.

As in Ch'i Chia P'ing, the simple mat-impression described above occurs only on vessels or fragments of vessels belonging to the first group. One exception is a large fragment of an urn (K. 12003: 1127) resembling the vessel in Pl. 25,2. The upper part of this vessel is smooth, the lower part is covered with cord impressions. The urn fragment in Pl. 28,5 shows traces of impressions (cord or basket?) on the space where a now lost lug had been attached. This proves that the impressions must have had a constructive purpose.

The coarse pottery attributed to the second group (LHT: II) has always the whole body covered with impressions, not only the lower portion, as in the first group. This is the same system of arranging the impressions as in Ch'i Chia P'ing, although the impressions themselves are mostly of quite a different character.

A few fragments have vertical or diagonal cord impressions (Pl. 31,4, 33,1) of exactly the same type as the majority of the pottery attributed to CC: II (cf. p. 412), and some other sherds have the same fine impressions that characterize CC: III (Pl. 32,1, 35,1—2), but most of the fragments have the whole exterior covered with impressions of the same kind as those shown in Pl. 36,1—3, and 38,11. They are obviously marks of twisted cords, running diagonally and intersecting one another in two directions. In Pl. 40,1 b—3 b are modelling clay casts (positive) of impressions of the same type as that reproduced. I suggest that this type of impressions emanated from some kind of not very carefully executed and irregular plait-work, the material of which consisted of twisted cord. »Net-work» might perhaps be the best expression.

Another type of impression, superficially related to this »net-work», occurs on many sherds and is shown on three base fragments in Pl. 39,1—3 and two sherds reproduced in Pl. 41,2—3. They might be of the same kind as the »net-work», but the impressions are grouped in small clearly discernible patches, wherefore I am inclined to explain them as marks of a beater, wrapped in cords, although they might be interpreted as very irregular net-work. Some sherds belonging to the group of painted vessels that were constructed of two different clays might likewise have been treated with a beater (Pl. 43,4, 44,1). The fragment shown in Pl.

¹⁾ See, for instance, Jesse L. Nussbaum, A basket-maker cave in Kane county, Utah. Indian notes and monographs. Museum of the American Indians, Heye foundation New York 1922, p. 18 ff. Pl. L and LI.

41,1 has on the upper part simple diagonal impressions and on the lower part the same impressions crossing each other in two directions. In any case the problem of the cord impressions is very difficult and I am not convinced that all somewhat irregular cord impressions could be interpreted as marks from a beater.¹⁾

A few sherds have horizontal cord impressions (Pl. 31,1, 39,4, 36,4), and some sherds have impressions of the same type as the Kamm pottery from Ch'i Chia P'ing. The urn in Pl. 31, the base of which is shown in Pl. 41,4, has real basket or textile impressions on the bottom.

The few sherds from Ch'i Li Tun and Hsiao Shih Hsia (cf. p. 459) have yielded some examples of real basket or textile impressions. From Ch'i Li Tun emanate two fragments with impressions of a real textile character (Pl. 55,10, 12). It might be the impression left by a coiled basket or, if the material was soft, a coarse canvas cloth. From Hsiao Shih Hsia comes a small fragment of regularly plaited basket-work shown in Pl. 56,10.

As a result of our investigations we find that the inhabitants of the Kansu sites here referred to were skilful in spinning cord and knew how to make sacks and nets of this cord. Obviously they produced rough mats, baskets and probably also cloth. The fine bone needles afford evidence that they could do needle-work, probably even in very soft material. The finest sewing needles could scarcely be used for skins or other rough material without breaking.

XIV. VARIA.

Some clay objects which it is impossible to attribute to any of the groups examined above are described in the following paragraph.

A very peculiar object was excavated in L. H. T. and is reproduced in Pl. 25,4. The body is laterally expanding from the flattened base. Each side has at the top two fragmentary tips. The interior is hollow and filled with small objects, which rattle when the object is shaken. Probably it has been used as a child's *rattle* or has served some now unknown ceremonial purpose.

In this connection should also be mentioned three diminutive vessels, one of which is illustrated in Pl. 54,7. Two of them have the shape of an urn, and the third one has straight walls; all are extremely small. They might have been children's toys or used for preserving some very precious liquid.

In Pl. 25,3 is reproduced another unique object of greyish-brown clay. The shape is cylindrical, though slightly tapering towards one end. I suggest that this cuff-like object was used as an armlet, but it could also be interpreted as some kind of support.

Further some eighty fragments of small clay rings should be mentioned. A few specimens are reproduced in Pl. 54,2—5. Most of them are grey, but there are also

¹⁾ G. D. Wu, op. cit. p. 139.

brown shades among them. The cross-section varies from rectangular to triangular. About 30 fragments might have been used as armlets, although the diameter of some specimens is not very large. The rest of these fragments being of a flattened shape are obviously remnants of handles of small vessels.

A few clay-balls of varying size belong to our material here. Two of them are reproduced in Pl. 25, 5—6. Probably they have been used for grinding purposes.

Finally there is a disc-like object of brown clay (Pl. 26, 7). The edge is irregular. In the centre is an incomplete hole. The disc was probably intended to be used as a spinning-whorl.

XV. MAMMAL REMAINS FROM CH'I CHIA P'ING AND LO HAN T'ANG.

These bone-collections have been examined by Doctor Elias Dahr, who has written preliminary reports, now in the archives of MFEA, about his investigations. Dr. Dahr has kindly permitted me to base my remarks below on his investigations.

The material from Ch'i Chia P'ing was excavated partly from the steep river bank of the T'ao river and partly from the ravine through which the road runs. At this latter place the stratigraphical conditions are very uncertain, while the *cutting-in* of the ground might have mixed different strata; hence it is quite possible that remnants differing in age may have been found together. Thus among the other bones several specimens have been found which might be of very recent age — for instance some mandibles of goats and sheep which still possess a distinct smell of fat.

However, after the elimination of some specimens, the material from Ch'i Chia P'ing shows the same state of conservation as collections from other prehistoric sites.

The colour of the bones is generally pale, sometimes with a beautiful yellowish, sometimes a greyish, shade. The surface is in several cases covered with firmly adhering concretions and is often sculptured with fine furrows caused by vegetable roots.

The bulk of the material consists of the remains of domesticated mammals, such as dogs, pigs, cattle, goats and sheep. Wild animals are represented only by some specimens of deer and skulls of rodents (*Siphneus*). The latter might be recent remnants of animals which have burrowed down, having thus been mixed with those of the deposit.

The dog remnants, 40 in number, indicate that the animals were small, probably comparable in size with modern fox-terriers. A well-preserved cranium belongs to the European Neolithic *Canis fam. Palustris*).

The pig remnants show interesting features. One facial fragment with well-preserved os lachrymosum is of a real *Vitalis* type. The bulk of the pig remnants are parts of mandibles, the low and weak ramus of which, together

with the insignificant (not fang-shaped) teeth, clearly indicate that the pigs were domesticated. The fragments are about 30 in number.

The remnants of cattle indicate that the animals were of large size. Many of the fragments show signs of having been worked by human hand. Some mandibles are shaped into cutting implements, the ramus being separated from the other part of the mandible and sharpened to form an edge. Hoes, or perhaps more correctly axes, have been made from the scapulae.

It is remarkable that implements should have been shaped from cattle bones, bones of this kind, owing to their weakness, not being very well adapted to such a purpose. In the European Stone-Age cultures it was chiefly the wild fauna, especially deer, that yielded the material for bone implements. Dr. Dahr consequently suggests, that at least a portion of the bone fragments might have belonged to wild oxen.

In Lo Han T'ang the same species of animals occur as in Ch'i Chia P'ing, but their frequency is quite different. In Lo Han T'ang wild animals such as gazelle and deer abound. Another feature characterizing Lo Han T'ang is the low frequency of pigs, which are represented by only two fragments, whereas more than 300 bone fragments might be indentified as belonging to small ruminants and about 40 to cattle. The latter were probably domesticated, as were also goats and sheep.

The numerous fragments of antelope, deer, hare, and marmot (*Arctomys Robusta*) indicate that the inhabitants of the dwelling-site were great hunters, able to pursue even very swift animals. It is probable, therefore, that the fragments of dogs (about 20) are derived from animals which assisted the hunters. The fact that the dogs are few in number might be explained by assuming that they did not serve as food.

A striking feature of the mammal remnants from Lo Han T'ang is their split state. This remark has especially reference to long legs of the Ungulata. The ends of these legs have generally been separated from the tubular centre, which has been crushed in order to get at the marrow. Moreover the pelvic bones have regular fractures, which might be explained as being the marks left by a special kind of slaughtering or dismembering implement. The fractures are always very rough and indicate that the bones have been crushed with a primitive and not very sharp implement.

The fact that the pig fragments are few in number while the fragments of wild animals are abundant indicates that the inhabitants of Lo Han T'ang lived by hunting or were cattle-breeding nomads. Undoubtedly did they not have any advanced agricultural system; otherwise the pig — an animal characteristic of a population living by farming — would have been far more abundant. Finally it should be mentioned that the two remnants of pig's bones described above might also be explained as being the remains of wild animals occasionally caught by hunters.

XVI. TIEN SHUEI HSIEN, E 7 LI, CH'I LI TUN (C. L. T.)

This site, situated in southern Kansu, belongs to a group of sites briefly examined by Professor Andersson's Chinese collector Pai.¹⁾

The collection from this deposit contains only 49 artifacts (N:ris K. 2353: 1—49). The majority consists of pot-sherds, but there are also among the collection 6 clay-rings, 7 bone implements, 5 (mussel?) shells, 1 flint artifact, the half of a stone-ring and two other stone implements.

Most of the pot-sherds might be attributed to types comparable with Ch'i Chia P'ing I. The quality of the ware is generally high, wherefore the majority correspond to group CC: I a.

The small amphora of Ch'i Chia P'ing type is represented by 5 fragments of small specimens (Pl. 57,8). A neck fragment probably belongs to an urn of very large size (Pl. 56,4).

A fragment of a handle Pl. 55,9 probably emanating from a small amphora is specially interesting, the upper part being ornamented with a cruciform figure, which is undoubtedly related to one of the bought vessels of Ch'i Chia P'ing type (cf. Pl. 23). Another handle of a fragmentary amphora has a long and narrow recess on the upper part, obviously for ornamental purposes.

The bowls the type of which is well known from Ch'i Chia P'ing, are represented by five rim fragments, four of them being annular.

A base portion with mat impressions may be correlated with CC: I a (Pl. 55,14).

A fragment of a big handle of yellow ware (Pl. 55,13) is of exactly the same type as the handles from Ch'i Chia P'ing (cf. p. 391).

Two mouth fragments (Pl. 55,10, 12, 16) and two tripod-legs are made of dark porous ware and have impressions which might emanate from real textile fabric. The fragments now mentioned are of the same type as CC: II.

Further, there are seven clay-rings of grey colour. The cross-section is more or less triangular. The same type of rings was found at Ch'i Chia P'ing and Lo Han T'ang.

Some fragments have no connection with Ch'i Chia P'ing. One fragment (Pl. 55,3) is probably the mouth of a vessel with a pointed bottom (cf. J. G. Andersson, RPC, Pl. 49,1, where a similar fragment from Ma Chia Yao is reproduced).

Another sherd reproduced in Pl. 56,2, might be a fragment of a neck or foot. It is decorated with carelessly incised, horizontal lines, between which are oblique lines of varying size.

A third fragment has the surface covered with a net-work of fine, impressed lines of a type that in some cases appears on vessels with a pointed bottom.

Further, mention should be made of a fragment reproduced in Pl. 55,1, probably emanating from a funnel-shaped foot. The colour of the ware is grey and the surface is decorated with horizontal scratches.

¹⁾ J. G. Andersson, RPC. p. 99—102.

Finally, there are five sherds of painted pottery, four of which are indifferent. The fifth sherd (Pl. 56,1) is of the red type with brown painting that is well known from the Honan sites.

XVII. YÜ CHUNG HSIEN, HSIAO SHIH HSIA (H. S. S.).

This site belongs to those localities in southernmost Kansu which were briefly examined by Professor Andersson's collector Pai.

The material from this deposit consists of 33 fragments. Most of them are remnants of large urns (type CC: I) very similar to the specimens excavated at Hsin Tien C.

A small sherd reproduced in Pl. 56,10 has distinct impressions of a basket or a real textile fabric.

Some fragments of coarse ware and provided with cord impressions represent the type CC: II.

Five sherds with painted décor form part of this material. Two of them probably emanate from vessels of Pan Shan type. A small handle of red ware is decorated with oblique black lines, such as occur on the Ma Chang vessels.

Finally, we should mention the urn reproduced in Pl. 56,9. The colour is brown and the surface is carefully smoothed. Below the rim and on the handles there is an incised ornamentation. There is nothing to show that the vessel was not excavated from the deposit, but I wonder whether the vessel was not bought; it seems astonishing that this vessel should be intact while the collection otherwise consists of small sherds. In any case, as a type it is closely connected with two of the bought urns from Ch'i Chia P'ing, reproduced in Pl. 22,3—4.

According to a brief note made by Professor Andersson (RPC. p. 101) a small sherd of an amphora of Ch'i Chia P'ing type was found at Li Hsien, S 3 li, Hung T'ung P'u, one of the sites in south Kansu examined by professor Andersson's collector Pai.

Summing up the results of this brief examination of localities in southernmost Kansu, we find that both the types CC: I and CC: II are found in two of the deposits, whereas the Kamm pottery is not represented. While the collections are too small to enable us to draw more than a few conclusions, they nevertheless prove that the Ch'i Chia P'ing culture was not confined to the locality of Ch'i Chia P'ing. We might be justified in expecting that future explorations of new deposits all over Kansu will enable us definitively to establish the chronology of the Ch'i Chia P'ing era.

XVIII. THE CORRELATION BETWEEN CH'I CHIA P'ING AND LO HAN T'ANG.

Dealing with this intricate problem we first have to notice the different geographical positions of the two sites. The fact that Ch'i Chia P'ing is situated in the plain agricultural district of central Kansu, while Lo Han T'ang is located

in the rocky mountains of the Sino-Tibetan borderland, might give the key to many of the problems connected with the question of the correlation between the two sites.

Summing up the results of the examination of the furniture from the two sites we find the following features in common.

In both cultures occur small amphorae with high collar and long handles, although this type is more frequent in Ch'i Chia P'ing than in Lo Han T'ang. Likewise, urns with a funnel-shaped collar and bi-conical or gently rounded profile are known from both sites, although the urns seem to have been much more abundant at Ch'i Chia P'ing. Only a few body fragments of this type have been identified in Lo Han T'ang, the large reconstructed urn not being included in the account. From both sites, moreover, several fragments of medium-sized bowls have been excavated, although this type seems to have been more common in Lo Han T'ang than in Ch'i Chia P'ing.

The types of vessel now described are all attributable, in regard to both sites, to what we call the first class (CC: I resp. LHT: I). Consequently there appears on vessels of the urn type from both sites the same kind of characteristic basket or mat impression that is well known from the large urn found at Lo Han T'ang (Pl. 25, 2).

Pursuing our comparison, we further find on both sites a coarser group of ware (CC: II and LHT: II), although the differences in the form, decoration and »constructive impressions» of the vessels are remarkable. Generally the coarse pottery from Lo Han T'ang (LHT: II) is more elegant and often decorated on the belly with superimposed wavy clay bands, an element that is not known from CC: II. A few specimens from LHT: II have almost the same vertical cord impressions as those which characterize CC: II (for instance Pl. 31, 4 and Pl. 33), but most of the fragments are covered with a net-work of diagonally intersecting cord impressions, which gives the outside a checkerboard pattern. While discussing the subject of coarse pottery, we may note the legs of *Li tripod*s and perforated bottoms as a feature common to both localities; but these types are well known from all prehistoric sites in China, wherefore they afford no evidence of the correlation between Ch'i Chia P'ing and Lo Han T'ang.

If we extend our comparison to CC: III, distinguished by its exquisite Kamm pottery, we find no direct equivalent in Lo Han T'ang; nevertheless I consider that a group of delicate vessels with an exquisite décor in relief or stamped design reproduced in Pl. 37 (cf. p. 440), is related to the Kamm pottery, although they are not ornamented with Kamm impressions. The Lo Han T'ang vessels certainly possess the same delicacy as the Kamm pottery, being thin-walled and decorated with fine superimposed bands or incised ornamentation. One fragment has on the inside of the rim a belt of violet dentations (text fig. 10) which is related to the painted triangles from Ch'i Chia P'ing (Pl. 13, 5 b, 7 b). I consider it to be a very important feature that this kind of marginal painting should appear on vessels of related types from both sites.

The bone implements and stone artifacts from both sites are similar in many respects, but the forms are of so common a character that they afford no evidence as to the relations between the two sites.

If we now try to determine the most striking difference between the sites, we find that in the Ch'i Chia P'ing furniture there is no counterpart to the abundant group of painted pottery in Lo Han T'ang. As has already been mentioned on page 418, the Ch'i Chia material contains a small collection of painted sherds, most of which might be identified as belonging to vessels of types known from the burial place or dwelling-site of Chu Chia Chai (cf. p. 463), and not as we might expect, to dwelling-site pottery of Ma Chia Yao type; there is not a single sherd of typical Ma Chia Yao pottery among the painted sherds from Ch'i Chia P'ing, while the painted pottery from Lo Han T'ang is closely related to that of Ma Chia Yao.

To sum up the principal facts in the complicated relationships between these sites: there is obviously, on the one hand, a connection between Ch'i Chia P'ing and Lo Han T'ang in the small amphorae and the urns with mat impressions; on the other hand, there is in Ch'i Chia P'ing no counterpart to the rich furniture of painted pottery from Lo Han T'ang, nor are the characteristic »winged» stone knives and the bone knives with flint flakes, so characteristic of Lo Han T'ang, found there.

In accordance with Professor Andersson's chronology, I have placed the description of Ch'i Chia P'ing first in this paper, but I am not convinced that Ch'i Chia P'ing really represents the earliest culture among the prehistoric stages discovered by Professor Andersson. A definite relative chronology cannot be established at present, before much more extensive excavations have been carried out. In the following notes I therefore limit myself to a few remarks bearing particularly on the two sites treated in this paper.

Professor Andersson says (RPC. p. 82): »On account of the very advanced »amphorae» we might feel inclined to assign a relatively recent date to this deposit. On the other hand, we have in Kansu such an unbroken chain of ceramic development from Yang Shao through Ma Chang, Hsin Tien and Ssu Wa far into the Bronze Age that we clearly realize that Ch'i Chia cannot be placed within this ceramic sequence, still less at the top of it. Ch'i Chia is undoubtedly a pre-metallic stage, and consequently we are forced to mark it down as pre-Yang Shao.»¹⁾

Undoubtedly there are no remnants of metal in the Ch'i Chia culture, but that

¹⁾ By »Yang Shao» in Kansu Professor Andersson means Ma Chia Yao and Pan Shan, which he correlates with Yang Shao Tsun in Honan. All the prehistoric sites, not only those of Kansu but also those of Honan, would thus be organically included in the great »unbroken chain» of development. This correlation of Ma Chia Yao and Pan Shan in Kansu on the one hand and Yang Shao Tsun in Honan on the other seems to me not to have been established beyond dispute. There is a remarkable difference between the Honan sites and the Kansu sites, if we compare, for instance, the dwelling sites of Ma Chia Yao with Yang Shao Tsun and other Honan sites, and, on the other hand the rich Pan Shan grave-field furniture with the meagre contents of the as yet published graves of Yang Shao Tsun.

is no reason for placing it first in time. The absence of metal in the finds might be due to a mere accident. I am convinced that the inhabitants of Ch'i Chia P'ing had been in contact with a metal-culture which has influenced the forms of the vessels, although they did not use precious objects of metal in daily life. Vessels and implements of metal may perhaps have served the Ch'i Chia people merely as models. I shall revert to this problem below.

Professor Andersson suggests (RPC. p. 82) that there is stratigraphical evidence in support of his interpretation of Ch'i Chia as being «pre-Yang Shao», since no Yang Shao sherds were ever found in the «undisturbed» Ch'i Chia culture. He further states that he found on the surface of the deposit, in the cultivated fields, quite a number of small Yang Shao sherds, a fact that he explains by the theory that when the Yang Shao people passed from time to time over the abandoned Ch'i Chia settlement they dropped some of their refuse over the area once inhabited by the makers of Kamm pottery and amphorae.

I venture to suggest that Professor Andersson makes the problem of the age of Ch'i Chia P'ing simpler than it really is by explaining the painted sherds of what he calls Yang Shao type as objects casually dropped by the Yang Shao people.

First I would object to his interpretation on the following grounds: According to a written statement accompanying the collection there are some painted sherds «collected on the surface». These sherds are four in number and all marked with letters, in order to distinguish them from the excavated material. They are illustrated in Pl. 24, 6, 13, 23, 24. Other sherds with a painted décor occur to a number of 16; since they are not marked with the letter indicating «surface find», we must reasonably conclude that they belong to the specimens excavated. In any case this is positively sure of at least one of them, the sherd with a chess-board pattern (Pl. 24, 14), which is expressly stated to have been excavated by Li at a depth of 1.5 m. The importance of the «surface sherds» (out of which, besides, only 3 are of «Yang Shao» type) seems strongly reduced by these facts.¹⁾

Secondly I wish to emphasize that the painted sherds of Ch'i Chia P'ing need not necessarily correspond to «Middle Yang Shao» (in Andersson's terminology), they could equally well be styled «late Yang Shao». If we examine the designs of the sherds we find that most of them can be identified as recurring in the Chu Chia Chai culture. The sherds with dentated bands (Pl. 24, 6—10, 20) might very well come from vessels of the type illustrated in BMFEA 17, Pl. 1. This urn is, according to Andersson's terminology, of «Middle Yang Shao type», although excavated from a Chu Chia Chai grave (RPC. p. 26). The neck fragment with trellis pattern (our Pl. 24, 12) is of the same type as the collar of the urn reproduced in BMFEA 17, Pl. 1, 4 or 2, 1 (both Chu Chia Chai). The chess-board pattern in our Pl. 24, 14

¹⁾ In fact it seems doubtful whether we can justifiably speak at all of an «undisturbed part» of the site, the whole deposit being situated in the farming district of Kansu, where any plot of fertile soil may have been disturbed one or several times during the last three thousand years.

might be compared with BMFEA 17, Pl. 1,4, 2,4, 4,4 or BMFEA 15, Pl. 103,18. (all Chu Chia Chai). The marginal sherd in our Pl. 24,15 has its counterpart in BMFEA 15, Pl. 103,21 or 101,8 (both Chu Chia Chai). The meander pattern in our Pl. 24,23 occurs also in the Chu Chia Chai culture (BMFEA 15, Pl. 103,5, 106,2, BMFEA 17, Pl. 3, the urn in the centre), although I doubt whether the colour of the specimen from Chu Chia Chai is the same as the brownish shade of the sherd from Ch'i Chia P'ing. The fuzzy design of the small sherd illustrated in our Pl. 24,11 might be compared to the fragment reproduced in BMFEA 15, Pl. 102,6 and the transverse fields of chess-board pattern illustrated in our Pl. 24,16 to BMFEA 15, Pl. 103,12 (both Chu Chia Chai). The sherds reproduced in Pl. 24,21, 22, 24 are obviously of the same type as a group of sherds from Chu Chia Chai, which Professor Andersson defines as Ma Chang type (BMFEA 15, p. 158—159). They all have a reddish-brown exterior, that in 24,24, however, being of a violet shade. The design is in dark blue-black or violet-brown.

After this detailed examination of the painted sherds we are able to draw the conclusion that although the sherds with dentated bands might be interpreted as belonging to urns of the Pan Shan type, they could equally well belong to vessels of Chu Chia Chai type. Furthermore, some sherds are obviously of another type, related to a group of sherds from Chu Chia Chai, which Professor Andersson defines as being of the «Ma Chang type».

If we extend our comparisons of the Ch'i Chia P'ing and the Chu Chia Chai cultures to the unpainted pottery, we find in the Chu Chia Chai dwelling-site pottery three fragments of a characteristic Ch'i Chia P'ing type (CC: I). These fragments are reproduced in BMFEA 17, Pl. 11,2, 8, 12,7. The most striking resemblance is found in the body fragment shown in 11,8. The two flat knobs are especially noteworthy. They are unknown from the urns belonging to CC: I, but they appear on one of the bought vessels (Pl. 22,5). Moreover, the fragment reproduced in BMFEA 17, Pl. 11,7 might be of the Ch'i Chia P'ing type — although this is not very important — and perhaps also the collar fragments in BMFEA 17, Pl. 10,1, 2, 4—6.

Finally, we should note the striking resemblance between «Chen's big urn» from the burial site (BMFEA 17, Pl. 1,3) and two of the bought Ch'i Chia P'ing vessels reproduced in our Pl. 22,3—4. These vessels are obviously related also to a vessel from Yü Chung Hsien, Hsiao Shih Hsia (Pl. 50). It is not stated whether this vessel was excavated or bought.

Professor Andersson says of the two Ch'i Chia P'ing sherds BMFEA 17, Pl. 11,8, 12,7: »I have no doubt that these two specimens are actually of Ch'i Chia age, which means that they were already old when the Chu Chia Chai people settled here, antique objects left on the spot by some Ch'i Chia emigrants» (BMFEA 17, p. 47 and 63). I doubt whether we can attribute the occurrence of Ch'i Chia P'ing sherds in Chu Chia Chai to mere chance. I am inclined to interpret this fact as an indication that Ch'i Chia P'ing is much more recent than Professor

Andersson maintains. This is supported by the obviously advanced character of the amphorae. As far as I can see, they are made in imitation of metallic models. Their often high necks and long handles are not features that are typical of pottery vessels. The imitation of metal is striking in the pot reproduced in Pl. 22,5. The long handle of this vessel has, on the upper part, a clearly visible joint, marked by an incision and two »rivet heads». The same »rivet heads» appear also on the spout.¹⁾ Even the kidney-shaped opening in the superstructure, the extremely high neck and the body with its bulbous belly and narrow foot part must have been influenced by metal models.

The vessel reproduced in Pl. 23,1 is closely related to the pot mentioned above, both having the collar »vaulted over» by a superstructure unknown in other periods of Chinese prehistoric pottery. Both vessels were bought in Lanchou, but there is no doubt that they represent a real Ch'i Chia P'ing type, since two fragments with the same kind of superstructure were found in the deposit, one of which is reproduced in Pl. 4,3 (cf. p. 392). If we look for the prototypes of the vessels with »over-vaulted» collars and examine the earliest bronzes from historic China, those of the Yin dynasty, we shall find a bronze vessel which has the same kind of superstructure provided with a spout and on the opposite side a hole. The handle is of the same shape as the vessels from the Ch'i Chia P'ing culture. This vessel belonging to the collection of the Museum in Berlin, is published by Kümmel.²⁾ He considers this vessel to be of very early date. The resemblance between this bronze vessel and especially the pottery vessel reproduced in Pl. 22,5 is striking (although the bronze vessel has three bulbous legs). If we examine other bronze vessels of early date, we find that the bulbous curvature of the belly and the narrow foot part of the vessel reproduced in Pl. 22,5 are features appearing on many bronze vessels of early age,³⁾ wherefore they might equally well appear on vessels of the »over-vaulted» type.

The pots reproduced in Pl. 22,3—4, which are bought vessels, and »Chen's big urn» from Chu Chia Chai likewise have a strongly curved belly and narrow foot part, both features characteristic of the bronze vessels. Since none of the vessels or fragments from the excavated deposit have this narrow foot part, the possibility is not excluded that the bought vessels are slightly more recent than the deposit, but obviously they are in any case closely related to those of the dwelling site. The affinities discussed above between Ch'i Chia P'ing specimens and bronzes of the Yin dynasty seem in fact to indicate that we have to assign a much more recent date to the Ch'i Chia P'ing culture than has hitherto been attributed to it

¹⁾ This pot is reproduced by Professor Andersson in BMFEA 15, Pl. 38, the »joint» on the handle being clearly visible in his reproduction.

²⁾ Otto Kümmel, *Chinesische Bronzen*, Gesellschaft für ostasiatische Kunst. Berlin 1928. P. 9, Pl. 5 and 6.

³⁾ Kümmel loc. cit. Pl. 2; Jung Keng, *The bronzes of Shang and Chou*, *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, Monograph series no. 17, Vol. II, Peiping 1941, P. 323 and 335. Cf. the reproduction on p. 256 also with specimens illustrated on pp. 412—413.

(future excavations may possibly necessitate a dating in more recent times of other cultures as well, at present assigned to very early times). In any case I am convinced that the Ch'i Chia P'ing culture cannot be placed as the very earliest period of prehistoric pottery in China. If this culture is not contemporary with the Yin dynasty, Ch'i Chia P'ing and Yin must anyhow have some prototypes in common — a point that indicates that the Ch'i Chia P'ing culture is of a comparatively recent date. This conclusion cannot be invalidated by the absence of metal or the scarcity of painted pottery. The absence of metal in the excavated finds may, as stated p. 463 above, be due to mere chance: only a very few specimens of bronze have been found in Chinese deposits of the early bronze age.¹⁾ As to the painted pottery, I have already explained (p. 463) why a fair number of painted sherds can reasonably be considered as emanating from the deposit itself (not only being surface finds). Hence I do not agree with Professor Andersson's theory that the painted sherds were »dropped» specimens. I cannot explain why the painted sherds are so few in numbers; but I certainly cannot accept them, nor the painted triangles on the Kamm pottery vessels, nor the belt of triangles on the small amphorae among the bought vessels as representing the very earliest phase of painting on Far-Eastern pottery, which appears to be Professor Andersson's opinion.²⁾

Finally, it should be mentioned that we have two Kansu bronze age sites, Ssu Wa and Ch'ia Yao and a Honan site of probably recent age, Pu Chao Chai, where not a single sherd of painted pottery has been found. Professor Andersson considers this last site to be slightly more recent than Yang Shao Tsun (BMFEA nr 15, p. 66). Furthermore, in the vicinity of Yang Shao Tsun there are two other sites, Hsi Chun Tsun and Yang Ho Tsun, in which elements of a late age occur but no painted pottery (op. cit. above p. 66); these facts support my opinion that the absence or scarcity of painted pottery is no evidence of early age. This is supported by the fact that at Hou Kang, in the vicinity of Anyang, where Chinese archaeologists have carried on scientific excavations, there was found in one section deepest down painted pottery over which was a layer of black pottery and in the top-stratum white pottery, which is thought to be related to the white ware of Yin time (D. G. Wu, op. cit. p. 21). Here again periods with unpainted pottery follow, as more recent stages, upon periods with painted ware.

Another feature that indicates that the Ch'i Chia culture is of more recent age is the advanced character of the mammal remains from the site (compare p. 457). Professor Andersson says in speaking of Dr. E. Dahr's investigation of the material:

¹⁾ Only 5 bronze objects were found on the site of Hui Tsui, and only 3 objects on the grave field of Hsin Tien (Andersson, RPC. p. 171 and 177).

²⁾ Bachhofer does not consider Ch'i Chia to be the earliest period, connecting this site with the Hsin Tien stage. I cannot share his opinion, although I admit that there might be some very vague resemblance between CC: III and the Hui Tsui dwelling-site. This question cannot be discussed before the Hui Tsui furniture has been examined (See L. Bachhofer, *Zur Frühgeschichte Chinas. Die Welt als Geschichte* 1937, p. 270).

»Here the domestic animals are more fully represented than in any other site: dogs, pigs, cattle, goats and sheep are all identified from numerous bones. Of deer there are some few fragments.» (BMFEA 15, p. 43).

It is striking that at Lo Han T'ang the pig should be very poorly represented. Cattle are common and were probably domesticated; also the dog. The bulk of the material from this site consists of the bones of wild animals, a fact that indicates that the inhabitants of Lo Han T'ang were great hunters.

If we compare these two sites with Ma Chia Yao, we find that at the latter only the pig and the dog were domesticated.

The investigations just referred to indicate that Ch'i Chia P'ing represents the most advanced of these three cultures, a fact that affords clear evidence in support of my opinion regarding the recent age of the Ch'i Chia culture.

All the investigations so far carried out indicate that there is a certain connection between the Ch'i Chia P'ing culture and Lo Han T'ang manifested by the small amphorae, the urns with mat impressions and the undecorated bowls, although Ch'i Chia P'ing is probably of more recent date than Lo Han T'ang. Ch'i Chia must obviously have been inspired by an advanced metal culture, and, as I have mentioned above, it seems probable that the prototypes of some of the vessel-forms are somehow connected with the Yin bronzes, Ch'i Chia probably being a low culture which has been influenced by the art that flourished in the kingdom of Anyang or its predecessors. I suggest that the Lo Han T'ang culture is of earlier date than the Ch'i Chia culture, although the difference in time is perhaps not so very great. I have already pointed out that the difference might also be interpreted as being of geographical nature, or perhaps a question of tribes. Anyhow the Lo Han T'ang pottery does not show the same influence from metal-objects as is clearly discernible in Ch'i Chia. One LHT fragment of black pottery reproduced in text fig. 11 recalls, it is true, in shape and décor some bronze-vessels of Ordos type,¹⁾ but this fragment is unique and the conformity not absolute, hence its significance should not be overrated.

But even if we are not able to presume any influence exercised by the metal-working art on the pottery in Lo Han T'ang, it is not out of the question that the characteristic bone knives with flint flakes had metallic prototypes. It seems as if there were a certain resemblance in shape between them and some simple knives of Ordos type. Both types are provided with a handle and have a slightly curved blade.²⁾

Professor Karlgren has pointed out that there are simple bronze-knives common to both the Siberian and Mongolian steppe-culture and the culture of earliest China

¹⁾ J. G. Andersson: *Hunting Magic in the Animal Style*, BMFEA 4, Pl. XIX: 2—5.

²⁾ Compare the specimens reproduced in Pl. 53, 26, 27 with J. G. Andersson, *Hunting Magic in the Animal Style*, BMFEA 4, Pl. 1—4 and B. Karlgren, *Some Weapons and Tools of the Yin Dynasty*. BMFEA 17, Pl. 27, 147, Pl. 29: 158 seq. Pl. 30.

(Yin dynasty) (BMFEA 17). These simple prototypes gave rise on the Chinese border to a long process of development ending in very elaborate »inward-curving« types with a ring- or animal's head. This long evolution must have been passed through at a very early date, since Professor Karlgren presumes that the animal-head knives existed already at the beginning of the Anyang era, i. e. in the 13th century B. C. Obviously the Lo Han T'ang knives are to be connected with the simple prototypes mentioned above, not with the advanced specimens with animal's head.

On the subject of tools I have, finally, to mention another fact, which indicates a comparatively recent date not only for Chi Chia P'ing but also for Lo Han T'ang. In Pl. 52,¹⁵ is reproduced an asymmetrical stone-knife, the type of which occurs not only in Pu Chao Chai but also in Anyang (J. G. Andersson, RPC. p. 228, Pl. 165,⁸—10.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

Plates 1—19 and 24 reproduce specimens from Ch'i Chia P'ing (with a few specially marked exceptions in Pls. 10, 15). Plate 20 are such from Hsin Tien C. Plates 21—23 are specimens from various places in Kansu. Plates 25—54 illustrate specimens from Lo Han T'ang. Plates 55 and 56 are such from Ch'i Li Tun and Hsiao Shih Hsia.

Plate 1. Half natural size.

1. K. 11242: 105. Fragment of the rim of a bowl of pale-brown ware with a greyish core. On the interior concentric striations as a result of the clay being smoothed over. The exterior, with the exception of the part nearest the mouth, unsmoothed and covered with scratches. CC: I a.

2. K. 11242: 387. Fragment of neck of brownish ware with brick-red core. On both exterior and interior greyish-yellow slip applied so unevenly that the surface layer has a streaky appearance. CC: I a.

3. K. 11242: 41. Fragment of mouth of brick-red ware. On both exterior and interior a pale yellowish-brown slip. CC: I a.

4. K. 11242: D. Small fragment of a vessel of pale brick-red ware with greyish-white slip on both sides. CC: I a.

5. K. 11242: 23. Fragment of body of brick-red ware with whitish-yellow slip on the outside. The under part of the body covered with mat impressions. CC: I a.

6. K. 11242: 159. Fragment of a body of brownish ware with whitish-yellow slip on the outside. The body smooth, but on its lower part can be discerned faint traces of erased mat impressions. CC: I a.

7. K. 11242: 300. Fragment of body of brownish ware. Typical mat impressions on the outside. CC: I a.

8. K. 11242: 30. Fragment of body of brick-red ware with pale-brown slip. Mat impressions on the outside. CC: I a.

9. K. 11242: 281. Fragment of body of brick-red ware with pale-yellow slip. Mat impressions on the outside. CC: I a.

10. K. 11242: 298. Fragment of body of brownish ware with smoothed-over exterior, which also shows traces of partially erased mat impressions. CC: I a.

11. K. 11242: 282. Fragment of handle of whitish-yellow ware. The outside decorated with incised lines and dashes.

12. K. 11242: 24. Fragment of handle of pale-brown ware. The exterior decorated with incised lines. CC: I a.

13. K. 11242: 22. Fragment of handle of white ware with grey core. On the inside traces of mat impressions. Here are also remains of a supporting plug. The exterior decorated with incised crosses. At the join ornamental notches on the rim. CC: I a.

14. K. 11242: 60. Neck fragment with annular rim. The transition to the body marked by a superimposed band ornated with incised pattern of squares. CC: I a.

Plate 2.
Half natural size.

1. K. 11242: 73. Fragment of neck of brick-red ware. Triple profile on the inside of the mouth. CC: I a.

2. K. 11242: 120. Fragment of mouth of brick-red ware with surface layer and greyish-brown core. The rim of the mouth flattened. CC: I a.

3. K. 11242: 396. Fragment of mouth of brick-red ware. Brown slip on the exterior. The rim flattened. The transition to the body marked by an imposed band decorated with an incised pattern of squares. CC: I a.

4. K. 11242: 63. Fragment of rim of a bowl. Brick-red ware. The inside smooth. On the exterior at the mouth is a turned-over rim, below which is faintly seen an indistinct mat impression. CC: I a.

5. K. 11242: 315. Fragment of distinctly bi-conical bowl. Brick-red ware. The tone of the exterior partly brownish. The lower part of the body shows mat impressions. CC: I a.

6. K. 11242: 290. Small fragment of body of brick-red ware. On the exterior mat impressions. CC: I a.

7. 11242: 294. Fragment of body of brick-red ware. The exterior, the colour of which is brown, shows basket impressions. CC: I a.

8. K. 11242: 295. Fragment of body of brown ware. On the exterior impressions. CC: I a.

9. K. 11242: 356. Fragment of bottom of brick-red ware. On the exterior yellowish-white slip. On the outside of the bottom faint traces of fine mat impressions or something similar. On the inside coarser basket impressions. CC: I a.

10. K. 11242: 341. Fragment of a bottom of brick-red ware. On the exterior traces of coarse mat impressions. The bottom attached to the wall of the vessel on the inside, which can be plainly seen on the picture. CC: I a.

11. K. 11242: 370. Fragment of bottom with bi-conical holes. Pale-brown ware CC: I a.

12. K. 11242: 14. Fragment of bottom of brick-red ware. On the exterior mat impressions in twill-plaiting. CC: I a.

Plate 3.
Half natural size.

1. K. 11242: 818. Small amphora of pale-brown ware. One handle missing. The other bears mat impressions. The bottom not particularly clearly defined. CC: I b.

2. K. 11242: 107. Fragment of neck and body of a large vessel. Brick-red ware

with brownish surface layer and grey core. The transition of the neck to the body marked by an incised line. CC: I b.

3. K. 11242: 260. Large fragment of body of brick-red ware. The tone of the exterior pale-yellow with red spots. The greater part of the body covered with mat impressions. CC: I b.

4. K. 11269: 2. Small pot of brick-red ware. The tone of the exterior light brown with red spots. The vessel provided with only one handle. On the body is discernible a mat impression, which has been intentionally almost smoothed out. The same impression also on the outside of the bottom, where another impression, possibly of wood, can also be observed. CC: I b.

5. K. 11242: 144. Fragmentary bowl of brick-red ware. Both on the outside and the inside pale yellowish-grey slip. On the outside is faintly seen a mat impression, which is almost smoothed out. The join between the bowl and the base which has been fastened on the inside is seen plainly. The quality of the ware high, but the production technique poor. CC: I b.

Plate 4.
Half natural size.

1. K. 11242: 166. Fragment of neck of pale-brown ware. CC: I b.
2. K. 11242: 37. Fragment of neck and body of brick-red ware with yellowish-white slip on both sides. The transition of the neck to the body marked by incised crosses. CC: I b.

3. K. 11242: 380. Fragment of jug of type 5. Pale-brown ware. CC: I b.

4. K. 11242: 283. Small fragment of the upper part of the body of a vessel. Brown ware with greyish core. Decoration of double rows of stamped triangles. Ware clean but loose. CC: I b.

5. K. 11242: 216. Fragment of vessel of brick-red ware with brown slip. The transition of the neck to the body marked by an incised pattern of squares. CC: I b.

6. K. 11242: 407. Fragment of lid with flat knob. Pale-brown ware. CC: I b.

7. K. 11242: 377. Fragment of small vessel. Pale-brown with darker core. CC: I b.

8. K. 11242: 381. Fragment of neck with a fragmentary handle. Pale-brown ware. CC: I b.

9. K. 11242: 431. Fragment of small vessel. Brick-red ware. Brown slip on the exterior. CC: I a.

10. K. 11242: 403. Fragment of rim of a bowl. Brick-red ware with pale yellowish-brown slip. The rim ornamented with oblique notches. CC: I a or b.

11. K. 11242: 398. Fragment of rim of a bowl. Brick-red ware with pale-brown core. Both on exterior and interior pale-yellow slip. The rim decorated with ornamental dentations. CC: I a or b.

12. K. 11242: 272. Fragment of body of brick-red ware with greyish layer farthest in. The exterior covered with dirty grey slip and partly coated with soot. The lower part of the body shows impressions. CC: I a or b.

13. K. 11242: 293. Fragment of body of pale-brown ware with greyish-brown core. On the exterior mat impressions. CC: I b.

14. K. 11242: 312. Small fragment of body of brick-red ware. On the exterior mat impressions. CC: I a (ware) or b (technique).

15. K. 11242: 278. Fragment of body of brownish-red ware with greyish core. On the exterior pale greyish-yellow slip. Mat impressions. CC: I a or b.

16. K. 11242: 197. Fragment of body of brown ware. On the exterior mat impressions. CC: I b (or c).

17. K. 11242: 297. Fragment of body of brown ware. On the exterior impressed pattern of squares. CC: I b (or c).

18. K. 11242: 334. Fragment of body with bottom. Brick-red ware. On the exterior pale yellowish-white slip. Mat impressions on the body. The bottom fastened from the outside. CC: I a or b.

Plate 5.

Half natural size.

1. K. 11242: B. Fragment of neck of thick brown ware. Transition to the body marked by an incised pattern of squares. CC: I a.

2. K. 11242: 57. Fragment of neck of thick brown ware. Transition of the neck to the body marked by an imposed band with pattern of squares. CC: I c.

3. K. 11242: 25. Fragment of neck and body of thick brown ware. Transition to the body marked by a belt with incised pattern of squares. CC: I c.

4. K. 11242: 859. Small bowl on foot, probably a lamp. Brownish-grey ware. Traces of red colour. CC: I c.

5. K. 11242: 268. Fragmentary lid of brick-red ware with grey surface layer. CC: I c.

6. K. 11242: 269. Fragment of lid with knob. The rim ornamented with oblique notches. Brown ware with grey surface layer. CC: I c.

7. K. 11242: 812. Fragmentary lid of pale-brown ware. The edge ornamented with half-moon shaped incisions. CC: I c.

8. K. 11242: 267. Fragment of a lid with knob, the edge of which is ornamented with a row of depressions. Brown ware with grey surface layer. Coated with soot. CC: I c.

9. K. 11242: 150. Fragment of body with handle. Greyish-brown ware with red-brown core. On the handle an impression in pattern of squares. CC: I c.

10. K. 11242: 103. Fragment of rim of bowl. Brownish-red ware. On the exterior basket impressions. CC: I c.

11. K. 11242: 774. Fragment of body with handle, which is decorated with a snake in relief. On the body mat impressions. Brownish-grey ware. CC: I c.

12. K. 11242: 336. Fragment of body and bottom. Brown ware. The body covered with mat impressions. At the base on the inside triangular impressions, marks left in the fabrication. CC: I b.

13. K. 11242: 99 and 29. Fragment of a rim of thin, brown ware. The edge kidney-shaped, inbent. CC: I c.

14. K. 11242: 145. Bowl on low foot ornamented with oblique notches. Brownish-yellow ware. CC: I b.

Plate 6.

Half natural size.

1. K. 11242: 10. Fragment of rim with spout. Inside the rim of the mouth a broad groove for a lid. Pale-brown ware. On the exterior soot spots. A little below the mouth mat impressions, which are also present on the handle. These are bordered by crescent-shaped ridges, after which follows a smooth part nearest to the mouth. CC: II b.

2. K. 11242: 335. Fragment of base of pale-brown ware. Mat impressions. CC: II a.

3. K. 11242: 436. Fragment of vessel of yellowish-brown ware. The exterior of the body covered with cord impressions and provided with a knob handle. CC: II a.

4. K. 11242: 33. Fragment of vessel of brown ware. Soot spots both on the exterior and the interior. The exterior of the body covered with basket impressions. CC: II b.

5. K. 11242: 815. Fragment of vessel of brown ware. The body covered with impressions. Strong soot coating over the whole exterior and in spots in the interior also. CC: II b.

6. K. 11242: 816. Small pot of brown ware with soot coating on the exterior. On the body cord impressions. Interior thickening towards the bottom. CC: II b.

Plate 7.
Half natural size.

1. K. 11242: 461. Fragment of vessel of brick-red ware with brown slip on both sides. The mouth decorated with incisions. Transition between the neck and body marked by a torus decorated with incised crosses. The body covered with cord impressions. CC: II a.

2. K. 11242: 446. Fragment of a vessel of brown ware with slip of much the same colour. The mouth decorated with oblique notches. The body shows cord impressions. Nearest to the neck they are partially smoothed over but remain as ornamental ridges between the incised furrows. CC: II b.

3. K. 11242: 36. Fragment of rim with greatly thickened mouth, the outer edge of which is ornamented with oblique notches. Brick-red ware with pale-yellow slip on both sides. Mat impressions on the exterior. CC: II b.

4. K. 11242: 11. Fragment of rim with thickened mouth the outer edge of which is bent in waves. On the exterior mat impressions. Immediately below the mouth a smoothed-over portion. Brick-red ware with greyish core and pale-brown surface layer. CC: II a. Fig. b. negocoll positive.

5. K. 11242: 462. Fragment of rim with thickened mouth, the outer edge of which is bent in waves. Below the mouth smooth furrows between which a part of the mat impressions, which for the rest cover the body, have been obliterated. CC: II b.

6. K. 11242: 147. Fragment of body with large handle. Brick-red ware with pale-brown slip. The lower part of the body covered with mat impressions, which also occur on the under-side of the handle. CC: II b.

7. K. 11242: 26. Fragment of neck of greyish-brown ware. Transition between neck and body marked with an imposed band ornamented with an incised pattern of squares. CC: II b.

9. K. 11242: 53. Fragment of rim of brick-red ware with brownish tone on the exterior. Immediately below the mouth a border ornamented with oblique notches. CC: II b.

10. K. 11242: 35. Fragment of rim of pale-brown ware with reddish core. 30 mm. below the mouth indented moulding. CC: II b.

11. K. 11242: 574. Fragment of vessel of brown ware with pale greyish-yellow slip. Large patches of soot both on the exterior and the interior. The body and the outer-side of the handle covered with cord impressions, which, although nearly erased, can be discerned also on the outside of the neck. CC: II b.

12. K. 11232: 4. Fragment of vessel of yellowish-red ware. The exterior of the body covered with cord impressions. CC: II b.

13. K. 11242: 52. Fragment of vessel of pale-brown ware. On the exterior and interior pale greyish-yellow slip. The exterior of the body covered with basket impressions. CC: II b.

14. K. 11242: 249. Fragment of tripod of brick-red ware with brownish surface layer. The exterior covered with basket impressions. CC: II b or a.

15. K. 11242: 718. Fragment of body and bottom of brown ware. The bottom attached from the interior and the edge of the wall of the vessel turned over. The body covered with cord impressions. On the under-side of the bottom an indistinct mat impression or something of the kind. CC: II b.

16. K. 11242: 202. Tripod leg of brick-red ware. Cord impressions CC: II b.

17. K. 11242: 715. Fragment of bottom of brown ware. The bottom attached from the outside. The body has cord impressions. CC: II b.

18. K. 11242: 366. Fragment of bottom with hole. Brick-red ware. On the exterior brown slip and traces of soot. CC: II b.

Plate 8.

Half natural size.

1. K. 11242: 441. Fragment of neck of greyish-brown ware. The body covered with cord impressions. The join between the neck and body clearly apparent. CC: II b.

2. K. 11242: 573. Fragment of neck of brown ware. On the exterior soot spots. The body and handle covered with cord impressions. CC: II b.

3. K. 11242: 493. Fragment of rim, strengthened by a superimposed band. On the exterior impressions of a mat or something similar. CC: II a.

4. K. 11242: 705. Fragment of body and bottom of cloven vessel the cutting made from inside. Brown ware. Cord impressions on the body. CC: II a.

5. K. 11242: 576. Fragment of rim of cloven vessel. Cord impressions both on the exterior of the body and on the flat rim of the mouth. Pale brick-red ware. CC: II a.

6. K. 11242: 555. Fragment of rim and body of cloven vessel, with faint convex profile, cutting made from the outside. Pale brick-red ware. The exterior of the body covered with cord impressions. The rim of the mouth has a slightly hollowed profile. CC: II a.

7. K. 11242: 577. Fragment of body with rim of mouth of cloven vessel. On the exterior mat impressions. The fragment composed of two sherds joined together. The fracture appears plainly in the reproduction. CC: II a.

8. K. 11242: 707. Fragment of cloven vessel of brick-red ware. The cut here goes straight through the wall of the vessel. CC: II a.

9. K. 11242: 717. Fragment of bottom of cloven vessel. Faulty cut, which shows that the cut was made from the inside. Brown ware. Soot spot on the exterior. CC: II b.

Plate 9.

Half natural size.

1. K. 11242: 566. Fragment of body of brick-red ware covered on both sides with thick brown slip. Cord impressions on the exterior (fig. 2 negocoll positive). CC: II b.

2. K. 11242: 478. Fragment of neck of pale brick-red ware. On the exterior basket impressions which also continue on the neck (fig. b negocoll positive). CC: II b.

3. K. 11242: 559. Fragment of body of brown ware. Cord impressions. Soot spots on the exterior and in places on the interior. CC: II b.

4. K. 11242: 4. Fragment of body of pale-brown ware. On the exterior impressions of plaited work (fig. b negocoll positive). CC: II a.

5. K. 11242: 727. Fragment of body of thin, brown ware. Mat impressions on the outside, which is coated with soot. Soot spots also appear on the inside and fracture surfaces (fig. b negocoll positive). CC: II b.

6. K. 11242: 567. Fragment of body of yellowish-brown ware. The tone of the exterior brown. Cord impressions. CC: II b.

7. K. 11242: 249. Fragment of a tripod of brick-red ware with brownish surface layer. The exterior covered with basket impressions in «wicker-work» (fig. b negocoll positive). CC: II b.

8. K. 11242: 664. Fragment of body of pale-brown ware. Cord impressions on the exterior (fig. b negocoll positive). CC: II A.

Plate 10.

Natural size.

1. K. 11242: 16. Fragment of neck of brick-red ware with flamy exterior in yellow and red. Indented moulding below the mouth. Basket impressions (fig. b negocoll positive). CC: II b.
2. K. 11242: 558. Fragment of body of brown ware with reddish surface layer. On the exterior cord impressions (fig. b negocoll positive). CC: II b.
3. K. 11269: 27. Hsin Tien C. Small fragment of body and neck of brown ware. Basket or textile impressions (fig. b negocoll positive). CC: II a.

Plate 11.

Natural size.

1. K. 11242: 7. Fragment of body of brick-red ware with yellowish-brown slip on both sides. Cord impressions on the exterior (fig. b negocoll positive). CC: II a.
2. K. 11242: 667. Small fragment of body of brown ware with soot coating on the exterior. Cord impressions (fig. b negocoll positive). CC: II.
3. K. 11231: 3. Small fragment of body of brown ware (fig. b negocoll positive). CC: II b.

Plate 12.

Half natural size.

1. K. 11242: 3. Fragment of vessel of pale-brown ware. Below the ear a dark spot. On the inside of the neck brownish-purple colour. The exterior decorated with Kamm impressions (partly applied on relief bands) and opposed pairs of stamped ornaments. CC: III.
2. K. 11242: 834. Fragment of vessel of pale-brown ware. The exterior covered with mat impressions; similar impressions can also be traced on the inside. Exterior décor of relief lines with or without Kamm impressions. CC: III.
3. K. 11242: 857. Fragment of vessel of dark greyish-brown ware. On the exterior mat patterns and décor of relief lines and Kamm impressions and stamped ornaments in the form of angles. On the lower part of the neck the points of these have been directed upwards and downwards alternately. Coating of soot on both exterior and interior. CC: III.
4. K. 11242: 848. Small fragment of body of pale-brown ware. On the exterior mat impressions and relief ornamentation in meander pattern. CC: III.
5. K. 11242: 4. Small fragment of upper part of body. Dirty-brown ware. Exterior décor of relief lines and Kamm impressions. Soot marks both on the exterior and the interior. CC: III.
6. K. 11242: 845. Fragment of vessel with piece of bottom. Brownish-yellow ware. On the body mat impressions and décor of relief lines. CC: III.
7. K. 11242: 844. Small fragment of body of brown ware. Exterior relief in meander pattern. Traces of soot on both sides. CC: III.
8. K. 11242: 846. Fragment of bottom and body of greyish-brown ware. Mat impressions on the body and relief décor in meander pattern. CC: III.
9. K. 11242: 777. Small fragment of body of dirty-brown ware. Mat impressions and décor of relief lines on the exterior. CC: III.
10. K. 11242: 838. Fragment of vessel of brick-red ware with brownish tone on the exterior. Décor of Kamm lines and on the handle stamped triangles and rhombs. CC: III.
11. K. 11242: 6. Small fragment of neck of pale brownish-yellow ware. The inner-

side painted over with brownish-purple colour. On the exterior décor of Kamm impressions and stamped ornamentation in the form of chevrons. CC: III.

12. K. 11242: 839. Fragment of vessel of brownish-yellow ware. On the body mat impressions. The handle and neck ornamented with Kamm impressions. On the latter also stamped ornamentation in the form of triangles with the points directed alternately upward and downward. Soot marks on the exterior. CC: III.

13. K. 11242: 842. Small fragment of neck of brownish-grey ware. Decoration in the form of relief band with Kamm impressions and between them rows of short lines. Soot coating on the exterior. CC: III.

14. K. 11242: 841. Fragment of neck and body of brown ware. Traces of mat impressions and décor of Kamm impressions on the exterior. On the handle two ornamented knobs, one of which is missing. CC: III.

Plate 13.

Half natural size.

1. K. 11242: 858. Fragment of vessel of brownish-yellow ware. On the exterior soot marks and mat impressions. On the inner-side faint traces of the same impressions. Décor of Kamm impressions. The handle fragmentary. CC: III.

2. K. 11242: 1. Fragment of vessel of pale-brown ware. On the body and handle mat impressions and soot marks. Décor of Kamm impressions, relief lines and incised ornamentation of short zigzag lines. CC: III.

3. K. 11242: 7. Fragment of vessel of pale light-brown ware. On the exterior mat impressions. Décor of relief band and Kamm impressions. On the body and handle two pairs of knobs provided with a round incision. On both sides of the neck and on the upper part of the body surface painting in reddish-purple tone. CC: III.

4. K. 11242: 835. Fragment of pale-brown ware. On the body mat impressions. Décor of imposed band and stripes in relief and Kamm impressions. Also ornamental knobs with round incisions. Soot coating on the exterior. CC: III.

5. K. 11242: 8. Fragment of vessel of pale greyish-brown ware. On the exterior mat impressions and décor of relief band and Kamm impressions. On the handle and neck also double stamped impressions and on the latter two ornamental knobs with same kind of stamped impressions. On the inner-side of the neck (see fig. b) décor of broad painted lines in brownish-purple tone. On the upper part of the handle traces of the same colour. The exterior for the rest coated with soot. CC: III.

6. K. 11242: 27. Fragment of vessel of pale-yellow ware with reddish spots. Basket impressions on the exterior. CC: III.

7. K. 11242: 843. Small fragment of neck of brown ware. On the exterior décor of relief lines, Kamm and other stamped ornamentation in the form of three parallel lines. On the interior painted triangles in brownish-purple colour. Soot coating on the exterior. CC: III.

8. K. 11242: 847. Fragment of body of brown ware. On the exterior mat impressions. Décor in the form of a relief band with short oblique Kamm impressions. CC: III.

9. K. 11242: 855. Small fragment of body of yellowish-brown ware. On the exterior mat impression and relief band with Kamm impressions. CC: III.

10. K. 11242: 854. Fragment of body of same type as the preceding. Dirty-grey ware. CC: III.

11. K. 11242: 5. Fragment of neck with handle of a large vessel. Dirty-brown ware. Décor of continuous lines in zigzag pattern, and on the handle also two ornamental knobs. CC: III.

Plate 14.
Half natural size.

1. K. 11242: 575. Fragmentary vessel of pale-brown ware. On the exterior relatively coarse mat impressions. The neck and the upper part of the body smooth. The handle ornamented with two knobs with indentation in the centre. One knob missing. Soot spots on the exterior. CC: III?
2. K. 11242: 719. Fragment of vessel of brown ware. On the exterior (and also on the inner-side of the handle) mat impressions. Traces of the same impression also on the interior. CC: III.
3. K. 11242: 726. Fragment of vessel of pale greyish-yellow ware. Flamy tone on the exterior which has mat impressions. Traces of the same impressions also on the inner-side. Immediately below the mouth, edging of white indented moulding. CC: III.
4. K. 11242: 724. Fragment of vessel of pale-brown ware. Mat impressions on the exterior. Immediately below the mouth, short borders of indented moulding. CC: III.
5. K. 11242: 12. Fragment of vessel of brick-red ware. The tone of the outside greyish. The body and neck covered with mat impressions on the exterior. Immediately below the rim of the mouth a short border of indented moulding. Heavy soot coating on the exterior. CC: III.
6. K. 11242: 758. Fragment of vessel of pale-grey ware. On the exterior mat impressions. Immediately below the smooth rim of the mouth, indented relief band CC: III.
7. K. 11242: 771. Fragment of neck of brick-red ware. On the exterior mat impressions and soot marks. Immediately below the rim of the mouth, relief band resembling cord. CC: III.
8. K. 11242: 721. Fragment of vessel of brownish-yellow ware. Mat impressions on the exterior. Faint traces of the same impression on the inner-side as well. Immediately below the mouth, border of indented moulding. The exterior coated with soot. CC: III.
9. K. 11242: 770. Small neck fragment of yellowish-brown ware. On the outside mat-impressions. Below the rim of the mouth indented relief band. CC: III.
10. K. 11242: 789. Small fragment of dirty-brown ware. On the outside mat impressions. CC: III.
11. K. 11242: 783. Fragment of not demarcated bottom. Mat impressions even on the bottom. CC: III.
12. K. 11242: 837. Fragmentary vessel of brown-red ware. The exterior, which shows mat impressions, is covered with a coating of soot. The neck decorated with a border of indented moulding bordered above by vertical Kamm impressions, below by stamped chevron ornamentation with points turned upwards and downwards alternately.

Plate 15.
Natural size.

1. K. 11242: 798. Lump of pale yellowish-red clay. Obliquely bored hole, which does not pass through the centre.
2. K. 11242: 827. Fragmentary animal sculpture of burnt clay. Brown ware.
3. K. 11242: 748. Lump of burnt clay of pale yellow colour. The surface uneven.
4. K. 11242: 744. Fragment of greyish-brown clay. The upper side perforated with small holes, which do not go through the whole wall.
5. K. 11269: 10. Hsin Tien C. Clay object in mushroom shape.
6. K. 11242: 205. Fragment with a knob ornamented with fold-like incisions. The colour of the ware pale yellowish-brown.

7. K. 11242: 207. Fragment of ring-shaped foot. Brick-red ware. Exterior coated with soot.

8. K. 11242: 203. Fragmentary, entirely hollow leg of a little tripod. The colour of the ware pale-brown.

9. K. 11242: 749. Fragment of spinning whorl. Brick-red ware of high quality; the colour of the surface layer paler than the core. On the side reproduced, faintly discernable mat impressions. Diam. 70 mm.

10. K. 11242: 751. Fragment of spinning whorl of conical form. The quality of the ware coarser than in the preceding one. The colour pale yellowish-brown. Diam. 59 mm.

11. K. 11242: 821. Fragment of clay ring. Grey ware. Rounded triangular section.

12. K. 11242: 800. Fragment of clay ring. Grey ware. Triangular section.

13. K. 11242: 824. Fragment of clay ring. Grey ware. Triangular section.

14. K. 11242: 822. Fragment of clay ring. Greyish-black ware with black, shiny polished exterior. Triangular section.

15. K. 11242: 825. Fragment of clay ring. Oval section.

Plate 16.

Natural size.

1. K. 11242: f. Point of bone needle. — 2. K. 11242: a. Point of bone needle. — 3. K. 11242: e. Point of bone needle. — 4. K. 11242: 826. Fragment of bone needle or something similar. — 5. K. 11242: c. Fragment of bone needle. — 6. K. 11242: ö. Fragmentary bone needle. — 7. K. 11242: Ä. Fragmentary bone needle. — 8. K. 11242: Z. Fragmentary bone needle with eye. — 9. K. 11242: b. Point of bone needle. — 10. K. 11242: Å. Bone needle with fragmentary eye. — 11. K. 11242: d. Bone needle with eye. — 12. K. 11242: 829 a. Fragment of bone needle with eye. — 13. K. 11242: 832. Awl with attachment score. — 14. K. 11242: T. Awl. — 15. K. 11242: g. Awl. — 16. K. 11242: P. Awl. — 17. K. 11242: Q. Awl. — 18. K. 11242: V. Awl. — 19. K. 11242: X. Awl. — 20. K. 11242: 819. Fragment of Awl. — 21. K. 11242: 828. Bone implement. — 22. K. 11242: N. Weaving implement. — 23. K. 11242: 831. Bone implement resembling chisel. — 24. K. 11242: S. Weaving stick. — 25. K. 11242: O. Weaving stick. — 26. K. 11242: R. Weaving stick. — 27. K. 11242: 829. Bead.

Plate 17.

Two-thirds of natural size.

1. K. 1383. Stone-axe. Edge fragmentary but has probably been polished. L. 180 mm. Br. 57 mm. at the edge. Thickness 45 mm. at the middle.

2. K. 1338. Neck fragment of axe. Narrow sides hewn.

3. K. 1384. Small axe of green-stone. Partly polished. L. 110 mm. Br. 50 mm. Thickness 27 mm.

4. K. 1379. Fragmentary axe of polished green-stone. The narrow sides also polished. Br. 66 mm. Thickness 30 mm.

Plate 18.

Two-thirds of natural size.

1. K. 11242: 6. Spear-head of slate. In the centre of the blade a not entirely perforated bi-conical hole. — 2. K. 11242: 801. Triangular spear-head of slate.

3. K. 1342. Fragmentary axe of ground green-stone. Hole for string.

4. K. 11242:758. Dagger-head of clay-stone. Edge sharpened.
5. K. 1340. Small axe of green-stone. Edge sharpened. Length 84 mm. Breadth 35 mm. Thickness 24 mm.
6. K. 1327. Chisel of ground chistose rock. Cross-section regular. Length 80 mm. Breadth 11 mm. Thickness 11,5 mm.
7. K. 1378. Chisel of ground argillaceous stone. Length 86 mm. Breadth 22 mm. Thickness 18 mm.
8. K. 1324. Axe of ground argillaceous stone. Back side fragmentary. Breadth 29 mm. Thickness 18 mm.
9. K. 11242:754. Implement of quartz. — 10. K. 1363. Fragment of spinning-whorl.

Plate 19.

Two-thirds of natural size.

1. K. 1331. Unfinished stone knife. Sandstone. L. 80 mm. Br. 50 mm. Thickness 8 mm.
2. K. 1334. Stone knife of sandstone. Corresponding inward curves on the short sides. L. 61 mm. Br. 44 mm. Thickness 11 mm.
3. K. 1355. Fragmentary stone knife of sandstone. Bored hole. L. 65 mm. Br. 44 mm. Thickness 10 mm.
4. K. 1385. Polished knife of green-stone. In the middle bi-conical hole. L. 79 mm. Br. (at the middle) 45 mm. Thickness 9 mm.
5. K. 1335. Knife of green-stone with sharpened edge. Bi-conical hole. L. 82 mm. Br. 39 mm. Thickness 6 mm.
6. K. 11242:H. Ground edged knife of slate. Bi-conical hole. Edge clearly curved towards the latter. L. 100 mm. Br. (at the middle) 46 mm. Thickness 6 mm.
7. K. 1364. Beating stone.
8. K. 1330. Stone club with double attachment scores crossing each other on the narrow sides. Br. 65 mm. Thickness 32 mm.
9. K. 11242:797. Fragment of sandstone. In the middle obliquely bored hole.

Plate 20.

1. K. 11269:7—8. Hsin Tien C. Large fragmentary vessel with straight walls. Brownish-yellow ware. On the exterior pale yellowish-grey slip. Mat impressions on the exterior. Large pieces broken off close to the rim of the mouth. Size 1/3.
2. K. 11269:5. Hsin Tien C. Fragmentary urn of brick-red ware with brown surface layer. On the exterior, and to some extent also in the interior, soot marks. The outside of the body covered with basket or textile impressions. Size 1/2.
3. K. 11269:6. Hsin Tien C. Fragment of neck and body of brown ware. Soot marks both on the exterior and interior. The outside of the body covered with cord impressions. Size 1/2.
4. K. 11269:4. Hsin Tien C. Medium-sized urn of brick-red ware. Soot coating at the base on both outside and inside. The exterior covered with mat impressions. Immediately below the rim of the mouth, border of indented moulding. Size 1/3.
5. K. 11269:3. Hsin Tien C. Fragmentary pot with two handles, one of which is missing. Pale brick-red ware. On the exterior and on the inner-side of the neck, pale greyish-yellow slip. The neck attached from the exterior. Soot marks both outside and inside. The body and the middle part of the handle covered with cord impressions. Above the handle at the rim of the mouth five ornamental nail impressions. Size 1/2.

Plate 21.

1. K. 5428. Ning Ting Hsien. Pa Pao Tsui. Bought. Urn with funnel-shaped neck and bi-conical body with rudimentary handles. The colour of the ware pale yellowish-brown. On the lower part of the body are seen faint traces of basket impressions. Height of the vessel 22.5 cm. Greatest breadth 13.6 cm. Diameter of mouth 12 cm; of the bottom 6.1 cm. Size 1/2.

2. K. 6042. Ti Tao Hsien. Ma Chia Yao. Urn of pale yellowish-brown ware with gently rounded profile and provided with two handles. The lower part of the body covered with basket impressions. On both sides of the neck remains of thick, red colour. Height of vessel 29 cm. Greatest breadth 17.4. Breadth of handles 2.1 cm. Diam. of mouth 12.2 cm; of bottom 6.8 cm. Size 2/3.

3. K. 5423. Urn with high funnel-shaped neck and bi-conical body, which has had two handles. The transition to the body marked by an incised line. The lower part of the body covered with basket impressions. Size 2/3.

4. K. 5433. Kansu. Bought. Urn with funnel-shaped neck and bi-conical body with gently rounded transition of the vertical profile. Brick-red ware. On the exterior yellow-grey slip and dark spots of oil or something similar. The lower part of the body covered with basket impressions, which continue on to the bottom. Height of vessel 22.3 cm. Greatest br. 14.8 cm. Diam. of mouth 10.2 cm; of bottom 7.1 cm. Size 1/2.

Plate 22.

One third of natural size.

1. K. 11269:1. Hsin Tien C. Large, fragmentary urn of brick-red smooth ware of highest quality. The tone of the exterior flamy in pale yellowish-brown brick-red. The body distinctly bi-conical and without handles. On its lower part basket impressions.

2. K. 5426. Bought in Chin Chou. Medium-sized urn with funnel-shaped neck and bi-conical body provided with two small handles. Height of vessel 250 mm. Greatest br. 155 mm. Br. of handles 20 mm. Diam. of mouth 130 mm.; of bottom 90 mm. On the neck and upper part of body concentric striations, on the lower indistinct mat impressions.

3. K. 5422. Ning Ting Hsien, P'ai Tzu P'ing. Bought. Medium sized vessel with wide mouth and bi-conical body, the greatest breadth of which lies below the middle of the vessel, which rests on a ring foot perforated with four holes. At the mouth two larger and two smaller handles. Very loose ware of bright yellowish-brown colour. The exterior smooth; now somewhat eroded. Height of vessel 190 mm. Greatest br. 212 mm. Br. of handles 19, 11, 18 and 12 mm. Diam. of mouth 140 mm; of foot 93 mm.

4. K. 5963. Yü Chung Hsien, Hsiao Shih Hsia. Medium-sized vessel of same type as the preceding one. The profile of the body is, however, gently rounded in this case. Terracotta-coloured ware with dark spots, soot particles or something similar. Height of vessel 186 mm. Greatest br. 178 mm. Br. of handles 11 and 16 mm. resp. Outer diam. of foot c. 91 mm. The vessel is largely reconstructed.

5. K. 5523. Bought in Lanchou. Jug with high neck and squat body. The mouth covered with a vaulted »roof» provided with a spout and a kidney-shaped hole. The transition between the neck and body marked by an incised line. The broad handle which has at the top a joint with two »rivet heads» is ornamented with two groups of incised lines. The fragmentary spout provided with two »rivet heads». Height of vessel to the rim of mouth 19.8 mc. Greatest br. 15 cm. Br. of handle 4.6 cm. Diam. of bottom 19.2. Dark grey ware with greyish core. The exterior smooth and showing faint traces of red colour. On the under-side of the bottom and of the handle indistinct mat impressions.

Plate 23.

Half natural size.

1. K. 5427. Bought in Lanchou. Jug of pale-brown ware with darker spots. Two-thirds of the mouth covered by a vaulted «roof», from which runs a spout approximately 18 mm. high. Height of vessel 156 mm; greatest br. 104 mm. Br. of handle 31 mm. Diam. of bottom 58 mm.

2. K. 5487. Chin Chou. Chen Chia Chai. Bought. Small amphora with 54 mm. high neck, somewhat widened at the top, and bi-conical body. Height of vessel 131 mm. Greatest br. 86 mm. Diam. of mouth c. 82 mm. Diam. of bottom 52 mm. Br. of handle 24 mm. Colour of ware pale yellowish-brown. On the inside of neck and handle faint traces of red colour. One handle and parts of neck reconstructed.

3. K. 6563. Particulars of the vessel's provenience missing. Small amphora with very high neck. Smooth ware of brick-red colour. Height of vessel 125 mm. Greatest br. 88 mm. Br. of handle 33 mm. Diam. of mouth 90 mm. Diam. of bottom 47 mm. On the neck and handle clearly pronounced marks from smoothing. One handle and part of the neck reconstructed.

4. K. 5429. Bought in Lanchou. Small amphora of pale-brown ware with reddish-brown spots. Form of body distinctly bi-conical. Height of vessel 110 mm. Greatest br. 86 mm. Br. of handles 26 and 27 mm. resp. Diam. of mouth 98 mm. Diam. of bottom 56 mm. Both handles ornamented with four lines, arranged in pairs, between which are placed three ornamental notches. Ornamentation carelessly executed.

5. K. 5467. Bought in Lanchou. Small amphora of brownish-red smooth ware. Height of vessel 108 mm. Greatest br. 67 mm. Br. of handles 30 mm. Diam. of mouth 90 mm. Diam. of bottom 50 mm. The upper part of the handles decorated with an hour-glass-like stamped ornamentation surrounded by four ornamental holes.

6. K. 5606. Kao Lan Hsien. Tzu Shih Chuang. Very small amphora of brick-red ware with large grey and greyish-brown spots. Height of vessel 74 mm. Greatest br. 74 mm. Diam. of mouth 62 mm. Diam. of bottom 45 mm. Br. of handles 22 mm. There is no distinct line of demarcation between the body and bottom and the technical quality is considerably poorer than in the others.

7. K. 5430. Bought in Lanchou. Small vessel resembling amphora of brownish-yellow, smooth ware. Height of vessel 95 mm. Greatest br. 80 mm. Br. of handles 28 mm. Diam. of mouth 72 mm. Diam. of bottom 40 mm. The demarcation of the bottom surface not so clearly defined as in the majority of the bought vessels. The upper part of the body ornamented with triangles in purple colour. One handle broken off and the rim of the mouth damaged.

8. K. 5992. Ti Tao Hsien. Yen Chia Chuang. Small vessel resembling an amphora of pale yellowish-brown ware. Height of vessel 94 mm. Greatest br. 105 mm. Br. of handles 20 mm. Diam. of mouth 104 mm. Bottom surface somewhat convex and its demarcation not very clearly defined. The transition between neck and body marked by an incised line. Small portions of the vessel reconstructed.

9. K. 5469. Bought in Yü Chung Hsien. Chin Hsien. Small vessel resembling an amphora with pear-shaped body. Smooth ware of dark brick-red colour. Height of vessel 95 mm. Greatest br. 93 mm. Br. of handles 25 mm. Diam. of mouth c. 89 mm. Diam. of bottom 68 mm. On its under-side dents, which may possibly be impressions of a plaited mat. (Cf. pl. 2, fig. 12).

Plate 24.

Natural size.

1. K. 11242: 802. Fragment of grey ware. The sherd provided with two circular, bi-conical holes. — 2. K. 11242: 780. Fragment of grey smooth ware. The sherd

provided with two small holes bored through. — 3. K. 11242:550. Fragment of grey ware. Exterior decorated with an incised pattern of squares. — 4. K. 11242:728. Small fragment of neck and body of grey ware. Body covered with mat impressions. — 5. K. 11242:47. Small fragment of mouth; yellow ware with a large admixture of gravel. — 6. K. 11242:1. Sherd with painted décor in black and brown. — 7. K. 11242:764. Sherd with painted décor in black and brown. — 8. K. 11242:760. Sherd with painted décor in black. — 9. K. 11242:813. Sherd with painted décor in black and reddish-brown. — 10. K. 11242:807. Sherd with painted décor in black and dark-brown. — 11. K. 11242:812. Sherd with painted décor in black and brown. — 12. K. 11242:762. Sherd with painted décor in brownish-black. — 13. K. 11242:1. Sherd with painted décor in lighter and darker brown. — 14. K. 11242:761. Sherd with painted décor in brown. — 15. K. 11242:752. Sherd with painted décor in brownish-black. — 16. K. 11242:809. Sherd with painted décor in brownish-black. — 17. K. 11242:808. Fragment with handle. Painted décor in brownish-black. — 18. K. 11242:766. Fragment with painted décor in pale brown. — 19. K. 11242:810. Fragment with painted décor in brown. — 20. K. 11242:765. Fragment with painted décor in brown. — 21. K. 11242:814. Fragment of brown ware with red shade on the outside. Painted décor in violet brown. — 22. K. 11242:811. Fragment of red ware with greyish spot on the outside. Painted décor of the same type as the above. — 23. K. 11242:K. Fragment with painted décor in brown. — 24. K. 11242:L. Fragment of red brown ware with a violet shade. Painted décor in blue-black. — 25. K. 11242:763. Fragment with painted décor in dark purple. — 26. K. 11242:104. Fragment of thrown foot of pale-grey ware. — 27. K. 11242:23. Fragmentary lid of pale-grey ware. — 28. K. 11242:773. Fragment with painted décor in dark brownish-purple.

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Plate 25.

Pls. 25-54: L.H.T.?

1. K. 12003:1549. Small bi-conical amphora with high and wide collar. **Fragments** of long lugs attached to the belly and the rim. Height 130 mm. Outer diam. of the mouth 64 mm. Thickness of the wall 4 mm. Ware brownish. Surface polished. Part of the collar subsequently discoloured. Size 1/2.

2. K. 5824. Very large urn with slightly flaring collar, at the base of which is a superimposed band, 13 mm. broad, divided by diagonal incisions into rhombi. The upper part of the vessel is smooth, without any impressions. The lower part is covered with mat impressions. Below the equatorial line two lugs. Height 460 mm. Width 297 mm. Outer diameter of the mouth 170 mm. Size 1/4.

3. K. 12003:1550. Fragmentary armlet of burnt clay, tapering towards one margin. Colour dirty-brown. Height 90 mm. Width 70—80 mm. Thickness of the wall 6 mm. Size 1/2.

4. K. 12003:1671. Hollow lump of burnt clay. Toy? In the interior small balls rattle when shaken. Colour greyish brown. Size 1/2.

5. K. 12003:1676. Ball of burnt clay. Colour grey. Size 1/1.

6. K. 1675. Ball of burnt clay. Colour grey-brown. Size 1/1.

Plate 26.

1. K. 2170:44. 3 belly fragments. Brick-red ware of highest quality. Outside yellow. Upper part smooth. On lower part mat impressions. Thickness of wall 7 mm. Size 2/3.

2. K. 12003: 629. Belly fragment of brick-red ware with yellow surface. Base of darker colour. On the lower part mat impressions. Ware of highest quality. Thickness of wall 5 mm. Size 1/2.

3. K. 12003: 857. Lug and belly fragment of brick-red ware with grey core. Surface yellow with mat impressions. Thickness of wall 5 mm. Size 1/2.

4. K. 2170: 45. Belly fragment of brick-red ware with yellow surface. Ware of highest quality. Outside covered with mat impressions. On the upper part fragment of lug. Thickness of wall 7 mm. Size 2/3.

5. K. 12003: 893. Neck fragments of small vessel with narrow collar. Brown ware with brick-red core. On the outside of the collar, vertical scratches. Surface polished. Thickness 3 mm. Size 1/2.

6. K. 12003: 1456. Two fragments of a large vessel of brown ware. The outside covered with regular vertical cord impressions and decorated with superimposed wavy band. Thickness 8 mm. Size 2/3.

7. K. 12003: 1672. Spinning-whorl (?) or pendant of yellowish-brown clay. In the centre not entirely perforated hole, bored from both sides. On the illustrated side, intersecting cord impressions. Size 1/1.

Plate 27.

1. K. 12003: 927. Neck fragment of a large vessel with wide low collar. Coarse brown ware. Wall 12 mm. Below the rim, a band in relief with indistinct impressions. Size 1/2.

2. K. 12003: 834. 8 fragments of bowl with flaring rim. Brick-red ware of high quality. One of the fragments is discoloured from brick-red to dark brown. Thickness 4 mm. Surface carefully smoothed. Size 1/2.

3. K. 12003: 799. Marginal fragment of bowl of brownish-red ware with pale-yellow surface. Thickness 5 mm. The rim profiled. Size 1/2.

4. K. 12003: 836. 13 fragments of bowl with flaring rim and accentuated bottom. Brown ware of high quality. Average thickness 7 mm. Size 1/2.

Plate 28.

1. K. 12003: 796. 2 fragments of bowl with flaring rim. Ware of highest quality. Colour brick-red with pale spots on the outside. The smaller fragment has become brown on the inside through discoloration. Thickness 8 mm. Size 2/3.

2. K. 12003: 829. Two fragments of a bowl with flaring rim. Ware of the highest quality. Colour brick-red. The outside pale. The smaller fragment has become greyish brown through discoloration which is clearly visible in the reproduction. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.

3. K. 12003: 687. Fragment of a bowl, the mouth of which has a rim. Size 2/3.

4. K. 12003: 820. Fragment of a bowl, the mouth of which has a rim. Size 2/3.

5. K. 5959. Four fragments of an urn with gently curved profile. Ware mixed with quartz. Colour pale yellowish-brown with brick-red spots. Lug missing. Thickness 6 mm. Size 1/2.

Plate 29.

1. K. 12003: 915. Fragment of collar of large vessel. Flaring rim. Ware yellow. Surface not polished (?). Thickness 11 mm. Size 2/3.

2. K. 12003: 679. Fragment of high collar with projecting flaring rim. Ware brown. Surface not polished (?). Thickness 7 mm. Size 1/2.

3. K. 12003: 680. Fragment of flaring rim. Brown ware of high quality. Thickness 7 mm. Size 1/2.

4. K. 12003: 706. Fragment with lug. Ware greyish brown. Lug decorated with superimposed wavy band. Thickness of the wall 8 mm. Size 1/2.

5. K. 12003: 810. Neck fragment of yellow ware, hard-baked but mingled with quartz. Probably slip on the outside. Collar curving outwards and provided with a rim. Thickness of the body 8 mm., of the neck 6 mm. Size 1/2.

6. K. 12003: 756. Two fragments of a bi-conical vessel. Ware yellowish brown with grey core. The upper part has become grey through discoloration. Size 1/2.

7. K. 12003: 859. Fragment of brick-red ware with superimposed band having three oblique fossae and forming a handle. Thickness 7 mm. Size 1/2.

8. K. 12003: 755. Small sherd of brick-red ware with grey core. Bi-conical hole drilled from both sides. Thickness 5 mm. Size 1/1.

9. K. 12003: 749. Fragment of yellow ware of highest quality. A hole bored from the outside. Thickness 3 mm. Size 1/1.

10. K. 12003: 866. Base fragment of a vessel consisting of 53 different sherds. Ware of highest quality, brick-red in tone with grey core. Thickness 7 mm. Size 1/2.

Plate 30.

1. K. 12003: 892. 3 fragments of bowl of yellow-brown ware. One of the fragments (to the right in the plate) dark grey through discoloration. Height 82 mm. Thickness 5—6 mm. Size 1/2.

2. K. 12003: 804. Marginal fragment probably of a bowl. Pale reddish-brown ware. On the inside two splashes of red-brown paint. Thickness 6—8 mm. Size 1/2.

3. K. 12003: 891. Marginal fragment of a bowl, contracting towards the mouth. Pale-brown ware. A piece of the distinct bottom is visible. Thickness about 6 mm. Size 1/2.

4. K. 12003: 701. Marginal fragment of bowl with flaring rim. Grey ware of highest quality. Surface polished. Thickness 5 mm. Size 1/2.

5. K. 12003: 684. Marginal fragment of bowl with flaring rim. Pale greyish-brown ware of highest quality. Surface polished. Thickness 3 mm. Size 1/2.

6. K. 12003: 677. Marginal fragment of bowl with rim. Ware pale-grey of highest quality. The rim and the lower part of the body polished. Thickness 4 mm. Size 1/2.

7. K. 12003: 890. Fragment of upper part of bi-conical vessel without collar. Brick-red ware with pale-brown core. The outside polished. Thickness 9 mm. Size 1/2.

Plate 31.

1. K. 12003: 116. Small basin of yellowish ware mingled with quartz and mica. Surface rough. On the outside indistinct impressions. Below the rim a lump of clay has been pressed into the wall, probably in order to conceal a crack. Shape irregular. Height circa 75 mm. Diameter of the bottom 45 mm. Size 2/3.

2. K. 12003: 910. Oblique mouth of brick-red ware with pale-brown core. Ware mixed with quartz. Thickness 5—9 mm. Size 2/3.

3. K. 12003: 907. Narrow collar of yellowish coarse ware. Mica grains clearly visible on the surface. Thickness 6—8 mm. Size 2/3.

4. K. 6309. Urn of coarse brownish ware. The profile of the vessel is slightly curved and the mouth expanding. The outside from the shoulder downwards covered with vertical cord impressions. At equal intervals superimposed wavy clay bands. On the bottom clearly visible traces of basket impressions. Height 240 mm. Equatorial size 238 mm. Diameter of the mouth c:a 116 mm. Diameter of the bottom 120 mm. Size 1/3.

Plate 32.

1. K. 12003:1455. 11 fragments of the upper part of a large vessel. Ware yellow with brick-red spots, well baked but to some extent mixed with mica and quartz. The outside covered with vertical cord impressions and decorated with superimposed wavy clay bands. Thickness 7 mm. Size 1/2.

2. The inside of the vessel described above. The construction of the vessel is clearly disclosed by cracks between the different coils superimposed one over the other. Size 1/2.

Plate 33.

1 a. K. 12003:913. Neck fragment of large vessel. Coarse yellow ware. Outside and inside sprinkled with mica. Rim flaring. Exterior and rim covered with regular diagonal cord impressions. Thickness 11 mm. Size 2/3.

1 b. Clay model positive of fragment above.

Plate 34.

1. K. 12003:1475. 2 marginal fragments of a bowl with contracting rim. Ware pale brown, well baked but mixed with quartz and mica. The outside covered with vertical cord impressions. Below the mouth a smooth zone. Inside, traces of red colour. Thickness 7 mm. Size 2/3.

2. K. 12003:985. Marginal fragment of a bowl with contracting rim. Ware well baked but mixed with quartz and mica. The outside covered with deep vertical cord impressions. Below the rim a horizontal furrow. Thickness 8 mm. Size 2/3.

3. K. 12003:1002. Marginal fragment. Vertical section almost straight. Coarse greyish-brown ware. Surfaces sprinkled with mica grains. On the outside, indistinct vertical cord impressions. On the part below the rim a superimposed ridge with 5 deep fossae and forming a handle. Thickness 9 mm. Size 2/3.

4. K. 12003:1472. Marginal fragment of a bowl with contracting rim. Ware grey, well baked. Below the rim a smooth zone limited by a horizontal furrow, below which diagonal cord impressions are visible. Thickness 11 mm. Size 2/3.

5. K. 12003:1008. 2 marginal fragments. Vertical section almost straight. Coarse greyish-brown ware. Surfaces sprinkled with mica. On the part below the rim a superimposed ridge forming a handle. Thickness 8 mm. Size 2/3.

6. K. 12003:989. Marginal fragment of coarse pale-brown ware. The vertical section almost straight. The outside covered with cord impressions. Thickness 9 mm. Size 2/3.

7. K. 12003:968. Marginal sherd of yellow ware with grey core. Well baked but mixed with mica and quartz. Surface rough. On the part below the rim a strongly protruding knob forming a handle. Thickness 11 mm. Size 2/3.

8. K. 12003:1012. Marginal fragment of coarse brown ware, grey on the outside. Surface sprinkled with mica. The vertical section straight. On the rim and the outside of the wall are diagonal cord impressions. On the part below the rim are marks left by a knob. Thickness 15 mm. Size 2/3.

Plate 35.

1. K. 12003:903. Neck fragment of pale-brown ware mixed with quartz. On the surfaces sooty spots. On the outside cord impressions. Below the rim a superimposed clay band decorated with oblique fossae. Thickness 7 mm. Size 2/3.

2. K. 12003:904. Neck fragment of the same kind as described above. Probably pieces of the same vessel. Thickness 7 mm. Size 2/3.

3. K. 12003:905. Neck fragment of brownish ware mixed with quartz. The outside sooty and dark. Around the margin is a superimposed band, decorated with crescent-shaped oblique impressions. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.

4. K. 12003:926. Neck fragment of a vessel with flaring rim. Coarse grey ware. On the outstanding rim and the body are traces of cord impressions, scarcely visible in the reproduction. Thickness 10 mm. Size 2/3.

5. K. 12003:1016. Body fragment with lug. Ware brick-red with yellow surface, well baked but mixed with quartz. Lug ornated with superimposed wavy clay band. Thickness of the wall 6 mm. Size 2/3.

6. K. 12003:1302. Body fragment of coarse brick-red ware. Surfaces sprinkled with mica. The outside covered with intersecting cord impressions and provided with a superimposed ridge, with oblique fossae, forming a handle. Thickness 9 mm. Size 2/3.

7. K. 12003:1015. Body fragment with lug. Coarse yellow ware. On the outside are traces of diagonal cord impressions. Lug ornamented with a superimposed wavy band. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.

Plate 36.

1. K. 12003:936. Fragments of an urn of brick-red ware, well baked but mixed with quartz and mica. The outside is darker with sooty spots. The profile slightly curved with collar turning outwards. The exterior covered with intersecting cord impressions. Round the neck a superimposed wavy clay band. On the belly are superimposed wavy clay bands, forming a kind of decoration. Size 2/3.

2. K. 12003:930. 3 neck fragments of an urn of coarse yellow ware with red spots. Collar slightly curved outwards. Between the collar and the body is superimposed a wavy clay band. The outside covered with intersecting cord impressions. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.

3. K. 12003:1190. Body fragment of coarse brick-red ware, dark-brown on the outside. Surface covered with irregular, partly intersecting cord impressions and decorated with superimposed, wavy clay bands, placed horizontally or vertically. Thickness 10 mm. Size 2/3.

4. K. 12003:1267. Body fragment of coarse brick-red ware with sooty spots on the surface. The outside covered with horizontal cord impressions and decorated with a superimposed coiled snake. Head missing. The spots on the skin are denoted by oblique impressions. Thickness 9 mm. Size 2/3.

Plate 37.

1. K. 12003:954. Fragment of small urn of coarse brown ware. Collar provided with a rim. Vertical section of the body slightly curved. The outside covered with coarse cord impressions. On the neck and the lower part of the body are superimposed horizontal clay bands. Between the horizontal zones are groups of diagonal superimposed clay bands in pairs. Thickness 8 mm. Size 2/3.

2. K. 12003:1019. Fragment of small vessel of coarse ware; colour yellow. On the outside are white spots. The mouth provided with a rim. Extending from the mouth to the upper part of the body is a broad lug. On the outside of the body are indistinct cord impressions. On the neck and below the lug, superimposed wavy clay bands. The entire lug decorated with superimposed wavy clay bands set close together. On the inside are traces of violet colour. Thickness 4 mm. Size 2/3.

3. K. 12003:962. 5 fragments of the neck of a small vessel. Thin, well-baked ware mixed with quartz and mica. Colour pale-brown. Collar slightly expanding towards the mouth which is provided with a rim. Extending from the mouth to the upper part

of the vessel is a small lug. At the rim and on the outside are spots of soot. On the outside are indistinct oblique cord impressions. The neck decorated with a superimposed wavy clay band. Thickness 8 mm. Size 2/3.

4. K. 12003: 935. Fragment of a small thin-walled vessel of coarse pale-brown ware. Surface rough. Collar slightly curving outwards. Profile of the wall gently curved. On the upper part of the vessel a small lug. The neck decorated with a superimposed wavy clay band. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.

5. K. 12003: 964. Neck fragment of a thin-walled vessel of brown, well-baked ware, mixed with quartz and mica. Surface dirty. Flaring rim, inside is a groove. Below the rim a small lug. At the neck and below the rim are horizontal furrows in pairs, forming a kind of decorative system. Between the furrow-zones a smooth section ornamented with a wedge in relief. Thickness 4 mm. Size 2/3.

6. K. 12003: 919. Neck fragment of yellow ware with brick-red core. The collar provided with a rim. Surface rough. On the upper part of the body two knobs forming a pair of mammae. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.

7. K. 12003: 901. Neck fragment of pale-brown ware. The collar slightly curving outwards. Soot on the rim and the lowest part of the body. The outside is covered with intersecting cord impressions. Below the rim a superimposed wavy clay band under which are placed groups of short raised clay strings. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.

8. K. 12003: 902. 3 fragments of a vessel of greyish-brown ware. The collar slightly curving outwards and provided with a rim. The wall of the body gently curved. The outside covered with cord impressions. At the neck a superimposed wavy clay band under which are placed groups of short raised clay strings. The relief decoration painted in violet. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.

9. K. 12003: 900. Neck fragment of dark greyish-brown ware, porous but almost free from quartz and mica. Flaring rim. Neck decorated with groups of vertical striae alternating with horizontal groups. In the centre of the decoration a small knob. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.

Plate 38.

1. K. 12003: 551. Small fragmentary vessel of coarse greyish-brown ware. Mouth slightly curving outwards. Body gently curved. On the upper part of the vessel is a small lug. On the outside and also on the bottom, traces of cord impressions. Round the neck and on the lug are superimposed wavy clay bands. On the belly, groups of small diagonally placed clay strings. Below them, on each side, a knob. Height 105 mm. Diameter of the bottom 60 mm. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.

2. K. 12003: 948. Neck fragment of brown ware mixed with mica and large grains of quartz. Low collar with flaring rim. The outside covered with intersecting impressions. Round the neck a superimposed wavy clay band decorated with groups of fossae. Thickness about 7 mm. Size 2/3.

3. K. 12003: 1106. Fragment of the leg of a Li tripod of brown ware. Size 2/3.

4. K. 12003: 1053. Base fragment of coarse dark-brown ware. The bottom flat. On the outside are traces of cord impressions and superimposed wavy clay bands. Thickness of the wall about 8 mm. Size 2/3.

5. K. 12003: 1104. Fragment of a tripod leg(?) of brown ware. Size 2/3.

6. K. 12003: 1044. Neck fragment of a small vessel provided with a lug. Ware coarse and sooty on the outside. Size 2/3.

7. K. 12003: 1263. 2 fragments of brick-red ware, well baked but mixed with mica and quartz. The outside has become brown by discoloration and is sooty; decorated with a superimposed wavy clay band. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.

8. K. 12003: 1104. Fragment of the leg of a Li tripod of brown ware of high quality. Size 2/3.

9. K. 12003: 1060. Base-fragment of coarse grey ware with brown core. The bottom flat. On the outside of the wall and on the bottom are traces of cord impressions. The body ornamented with two superimposed clay bands. Thickness 7 mm. Size 2/3.

10. K. 12003: 1103. Fragment of the leg of a Li tripod. Ware coarse, pale-brown with red spots. On the outside cord impressions. Size 2/3.

11. K. 12003: 1112. 9 base-fragments of coarse brown ware. The bottom flat. The outside of the wall and the bottom covered with oblique intersecting cord impressions. The exterior wall decorated with short superimposed clay strings. Thickness of the wall 7 mm. Size 2/3.

Plate 39.

1. K. 12003: 1110. Base fragment of porous greyish-brown ware. The outside and the bottom covered with irregular intersecting cord impressions. The same impressions also visible on the bottom of the interior. Through the wall, a hole drilled from the outside. Thickness of the wall 8 mm., remarkably homogeneous. Size 1/2.

2. K. 12003: 1075. Fragment of steamer of coarse pale-brown ware. The wall is expanding towards the rim, a piece of which is preserved. Bottom perforated. The outside covered with spots of cord impressions. Thickness 11 mm. Size 2/3.

3. K. 12003: 1079. Base fragment of Hsien steamer of brown, well-baked ware. On the outside are diagonal cord impressions. Thickness 8 mm. Size 2/3.

4. K. 12003: 1480. Base fragment of coarse greyish-brown ware. Surfaces sprinkled with mica. On the outside are horizontal cord impressions. Thickness 11 mm. Size 2/3.

Plate 40.

1 A. K. 12003: 1196. 3 fragments of coarse brown ware with sooty surface. On the outside, typical diagonal intersecting cord impressions. Thickness 11 mm. Size 2/3.

1 B. Clay model positive of the fragments described above.

2 A. K. 12003: 1388. Fragment of a big vessel of yellow ware mixed with mica. The outside is ornamented with a broad clay band and covered all over with typical diagonal intersecting cord impressions. Thickness 12 mm. Size 2/3.

2 B. Clay model positive of the fragment described above.

3 A. K. 12003: 1197. Fragment of coarse brick-red ware with brown surfaces. The outside is covered with typical diagonal intersecting cord impressions. Thickness 11 mm. Size 2/3.

3 B. Clay model positive of the fragment described above.

Plate 41.

1. K. 12003: 1143. Fragment of brown ware with brick-red core. Surfaces sprinkled with mica. On the upper part of the outside sparse diagonal cord impressions, on the lower part the same kind of impressions but intersecting. Thickness 10 mm. Size 2/3.

2. K. 12003: 1070. Fragment of well-baked brick-red ware mixed with mica and quartz. Surfaces probably covered with a thin slip. On the outside impressed network. Thickness 9 mm. Size 2/3.

3. K. 12003: 1462. Body fragment of a large vessel of pale-brown ware. The outside covered with diagonal intersecting cord impressions. Thickness 8 mm. Size 2/3.

4. K. 6309. Bottom of the urn reproduced in Plate 31, fig. 4. Distinct basket impression. Size 2/3.

Plate 42.

1. K. 12003: 395. Two fragments of the belly of a large bi-conical vessel of pale-brown ware of high quality. The upper part of the vessel (to the equatorial line) polished. The belly is ornamented with a painted décor in black consisting of a system of fine concentric lines horizontally grouped and bounded at equal distances by heavy vertical strokes. In the middle of the horizontal zone are two fine oblique lines. The horizontal line-groups are bounded by heavy lines. The lower part of the vessel undecorated. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.

2. K. 12003: 115. Fragment of the upper part of bi-conical vessel of red-brown ware of high quality. Painted décor with heavy vertical stripes at the equatorial line bounded by two horizontal lines. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.

3. K. 12003: 397. Two fragments of the body of a bi-conical vessel of pale-brown ware of highest quality. The outside polished. Black painting: on the upper part three parallel lines and two big circle-dots. The equatorial line bounded by four concentric lines, and below them fragments of a zigzag line. Thickness 7 mm. Size 2/3.

4. K. 12003: 396. 8 fragments forming the upper part of a big, bi-conical vessel of pale-brown ware, partly discoloured to darker brown. The outside polished all down to the lowest part. Black painting: on the upper part concentric circles and various figures bounded at the equatorial line by three parallel lines, and below them a wavy line. Below this polished and painted part of the body, a rough zone ornamented with a superimposed wavy band. Thickness 10—12 mm. Size 2/3.

5. K. 12003: 160. Belly fragment ornamented with a group of concentric circles, in the centre a horizontal line. Size 2/3.

Plate 43.

1. K. 12003: 171. Neck fragment of pale-brown, partly discoloured ware of highest quality. Low collar with flaring rim. Collar and outside of the body polished. Painted décor in black. Thickness 8 mm. Size 2/3.

2. K. 12003: 255. Neck fragment of brick-red ware of highest quality. The outside is pale and not very carefully smoothed. Painted, black décor, forming a zone of parallel lines; to the lowest one is attached a spot(?). Thickness 8 mm. Size 2/3.

3. K. 12003: 896. Fragment of coarse ware mixed with quartz and mica. On the outside are traces of intersecting cord impressions. Superimposed ridge with vertical fossae, forming a handle. Traces of cord impressions also on the ridge. Below the handle, two parallel lines painted in black. Thickness about 8 mm. Size 2/3.

4. K. 12003: 895. Four fragments of a large vessel, the upper part of which is made of carefully worked clay. The ware of the lower part is coarser and mixed with quartz. Colour yellow with brick-red spots. The profile of the vessel is only slightly curved. The upper part is carefully smoothed externally and decorated with a pattern of parallel lines and circle segments. The transition to the lower part is marked by a furrow, above which is a ridge with oblique impressions of a cone-shaped implement. Below the furrow, a line of incised holes. Lower part covered with intersecting cord-like impressions. Thickness 7—8 mm. Size 2/3.

5. K. 12003: 405. Fragment made of the same two kinds of clay as those mentioned above. Profile bi-conical. The upper part decorated with black painting forming a pattern of circle segments and parallel lines. On the lower part, vertical cord impressions. Thickness 7 mm. Size 2/3.

Plate 44.

1. K. 12003: 894. Two fragments of pale-brown ware. The upper part of high quality, surface smoothed and decorated with a painted pattern consisting of horizontal lines and circle segments. The lower part of coarse ware. The transition to the lower part marked by a ridge decorated with oblique impressions made by a comb-like implement. Below the ridge, groups of impressed holes(?). Thickness: upper part 5 mm., lower part 9 mm. Size 1/2.

2. K. 12003: 897. Fragment of the same type as above. Surface of the outside is smeared over with a layer of clay, under which vertical cord impressions are visible. Traces of a now lost handle. Thickness 7 mm. Size 1/2.

3. K. 12003: 244. Neck fragment of brick-red ware mixed with quartz. The outside pale-yellow and decorated with a painted pattern consisting of parallel lines, between which is a zone of vertical lines. Thickness 5—7 mm. Size 2/3.

4. K. 12003: 256. Neck fragment of pale-brown ware. The outside decorated with a painted pattern consisting of circles and dots. Thickness 7 mm. Size 2/3.

5. K. 12003: 253. Neck fragment of pale-brown ware with grey core. The outside smoothed and decorated with parallel lines, between which is a zone with drop-shaped spots. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.

6. K. 12003: 143. Neck fragment of pale-brown ware of high quality. The mouth curving outwards. The neck decorated with parallel lines. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.

7. K. 12003: 249. Neck fragment of small vessel. Quality of the ware high. Colour pale-brown. The flaring rim decorated with a pattern in black paint. On the outside of the neck, traces of concentric circles. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.

8. K. 12003: 246. Neck fragment of brick-red ware of high quality. Rim flaring. The outside of the collar decorated with thick parallel lines. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.

9. K. 12003: 389. Rim fragment of a vessel with contracted mouth, below which is a hole for tying up a crack. Quality of the ware high. Colour pale-brown. The outside decorated with a pattern of concentric circles. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.

10. K. 12003: 254. Neck fragment of large vessel. Coarse pale-brown ware. Colour of the outside brighter. Surfaces rough. The outside of the neck decorated with heavy parallel lines in black paint. Thickness of the body 10—12 mm., of the neck 8 mm. Size 2/3.

11. K. 12003: 240. Neck fragment of large vessel with flaring rim. Quality of the ware high. Colour brown. The outside of the neck decorated with a pattern of parallel lines and circle segments. Thickness 7—8 mm. Size 2/3.

Plate 45.

1. K. 12003: 278. Fragment of large vessel of pale-brown ware. Upper part made of well purified clay; the outside carefully smoothed. Lower part made of coarse ware, its outside rough, showing traces of cord impressions. Upper part decorated with black painting. Below the ornamented zone, a lug. Thickness 8 mm. Size 2/3.

2. K. 12003: 281. Fragment of yellow ware, brown inside. Quality of the clay high. The outside is smooth (now partly eroded) and decorated with a black-painted pattern consisting of parallel lines and circle. Small lug. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.

3. K. 12003: 282. Fragment of thin, pale-brown ware. On the outside is a small lug. Thickness 4 mm. Size 2/3.

4. K. 12003: 277. Fragment of pale-brown ware with lug, ornamented with a superimposed wavy clay band. Above and below the lug are traces of painted parallel lines. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.

5. K. 12003: 267. Fragment of a small bowl of brick-red ware. Surface pale-yellow. The outside decorated with groups of concentric circles. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.
6. K. 12003: 367. Four fragments of a bowl of yellow ware of high quality. The mouth provided with a rim. Both outside and inside decorated with a painted pattern of parallel lines. Four holes for tying up cracks. Thickness 7 mm. Size 2/3.

Plate 46.

- 1 a. K. 12003: 158. Two fragments of the upper part of a bowl of yellow ware of highest quality. The flaring rim decorated with pattern of circles and oblique lines. There is also a pattern of parallel lines below the rim. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.
- 1 b. The inside of the same bowl. Traces of decorative painting.
2. K. 12003: 368. Two fragments of a bowl. Ware good, but the surfaces not very carefully treated. The mouth provided with a rim which is painted black. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.
3. K. 12003: 217. Fragment of a bowl. Quality of ware good. Colour pale-brown. The outside decorated with a pattern of black lines. The inside ornamented with triangles and parallel lines. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.
- 4 a. K. 12003: 219. The inside of a bowl of highest quality. Colour pale greyish-white. Painted decoration of wedges and parallel lines. On the left side is a hole for tying up a crack. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.
- 4 b. The outside of the same fragment. Colour pale-yellow. Painted pattern consisting of groups of lines and circle.
- 5 a. K. 12003: 209. The inside of a bowl. Ware pale-brown. Surfaces smoothed. The inside decorated with wedges. Colour of the décor brown. Thickness 7 mm. Size 2/3.
- 5 b. The outside of the same.

Plate 47.

- 1 a. K. 12003: 203. Eight fragments of a bowl with flaring rim. Quality of the ware high. Colour pale-grey. Painting executed in a brown colour. Rim ornamented with a pattern of dots alternating with oblique lines. On the outside of the body, groups of lines. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.
- 1 b. The inside of the same bowl. The decorative painting consists of curved lines, parallel lines and trellis pattern.
- 2 a. K. 12003: 191. Fragment of a bowl of pale-yellow ware of high quality. Surfaces smoothed. The flaring rim and the outside decorated with the same pattern as in fig. 1. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.
- 2 b. The inside of the same bowl. Decorative pattern consisting of curved or straight parallel lines.
- 3 a. K. 12003: 375. Fragment of a bowl of reddish-brown ware. Quality of the ware high. Surfaces smoothed. The rim and the outside of the body ornamented with black lines forming a decorative pattern. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.
- 3 b. The inside decorated with diagonally placed parallel lines. Size 2/3.
4. K. 12003: 103. Fragment of bowl contracting towards the mouth. Inside decorated with a marginal zone of parallel horizontal lines with trellis-work below. Size 2/3.
5. K. 12003: 234. Rim fragment, the inside of which is decorated with red-brown triangle-shaped figures. Size 2/3.

Plate 48.

1. K. 12003: 369. Fragment of a bowl of greyish-brown ware. Quality good. The rim decorated with heavy oblique lines. The outside of the bowl ornamented with heavy

parallel lines, and below them diagonal lines forming a decorative pattern. Colour of the paint dark brown. On the inside, traces of painted lines forming a garland, now partly eroded (?). Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.

2. K. 12003:167. Fragment of a bowl with flaring rim. The ware of high quality. Colour pale-yellow. On the rim are triangles in black paint. On the outside of the body, a painted pattern consisting of parallel lines. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.

3. K. 12003:170. Two fragments of a bowl with a rim. Ware of high quality. Colour pale-brown. The rim covered with black paint. On the outside a decorative pattern in black paint, consisting of a large spot surrounded by a circle and groups of curving lines. The inside ornamented with two heavy parallel lines. Thickness 7 mm. Size 2/3.

4 a. K. 12003:275. Fragment of a bowl. Ware pale-brown on the outside; the inside almost brick-red; core of a grey colour. The inside decorated with hour-glass-shaped patterns surrounded by groups of spots. Size 2/3.

4 b. The outside of the same fragment. Traces of black colour on the rim. The body decorated with groups of circle segments between horizontal lines. On the left side a small knob. Thickness 5—8 mm. Size 2/3.

5 a. K. 12003:228. Fragment of a bowl with a rim. Quality of the ware high. Colour pale-yellow. The inside is coated with grey pigment. Surfaces smoothed. The inside decorated with groups of vertical and horizontal intersecting lines forming a chessboard pattern. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.

5 b. The outside of the same fragment. Décor consisting of groups of circle segments. Below the rim hole drilled from the outside.

6 a. K. 12003:169. Fragment of a bowl of pale-brown ware of high quality. The inside decorated with horizontal lines and spots alternating with groups of large circles in which are placed two pairs of round spots separated by three vertical lines. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.

6 b. The outside of the same bowl. Surface eroded? Traces of painted décor consisting of diagonal lines. Size 2/3.

Plate 49.

1. K. 12003:421. Three fragments of the belly of a large vessel. Quality of the ware high. Colour pale-brown. Black décor consisting of thick lines and groups of thin lines alternating with trellis pattern. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.

2. K. 12003:404. Body fragment of a large vessel. Quality of the ware high. Colour pale-brown. The outside decorated with a black pattern consisting of a dentated band from which groups of smaller lines radiate; between them large round spots. Size 2/3.

3. K. 12003:603. Fragment of grey ware of good quality, the inside decorated with trellis pattern in black paint. Thickness 3 mm. Size 2/3.

4. K. 12003:108. Belly fragment of pale-brown ware of good quality. The outside decorated with thick intersecting lines and groups of thin lines. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.

5. K. 12003:466. Fragment of pale-yellow ware. Quality high. The outside polished and decorated with parallel lines and trellis pattern. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.

6. K. 12003:97. Fragment of brick-red ware. Quality high. The outside decorated with heavy parallel lines and rounded dots. Thickness 4 mm. Size 2/3.

7. K. 12003:114. Fragment of pale-brown ware. Quality high. The outside decorated with groups of concentric circles and dots. Traces of holes for tying up a crack. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.

8. Belly fragment of bright-brown ware of highest quality. The outside polished and decorated with a painted pattern consisting of pairs of diagonal lines alternating with heavy strokes. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.

9. K. 12003:101. Fragment of grey-brown ware. Quality high. The outside polished and decorated with concentric circles and dot. Thickness 8 mm. Size 2/3.

10. K. 12003:116. Fragment of pale-brown ware. Quality high. The outside polished and decorated with oblique and horizontal lines. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.

11. K. 12003:422. Fragment of grey-brown ware. The outside polished and decorated with curved lines and a dentated band. Thickness 8 mm. Size 2/3.

12. K. 2170:3. Fragment of brown ware. The outside polished and decorated with curved lines and a dentated band. Thickness 8 mm. Size 2/3.

13. K. 12003:530. Small fragment of yellow ware. The outside polished and decorated with thick line and a dentated band. Size 2/3.

14. K. 12003:413. Fragment of brick-red ware. The outside pale-yellow and decorated with concentric circles. Thickness 7 mm. Size 2/3.

15. K. 12003:105. Two fragments of pale-yellow ware of highest quality. The outside decorated with concentric circles of varying thickness. Thickness of the ware 6 mm. Size 2/3.

16. K. 12003:418. Fragment of pale-brown ware, of highest quality. The outside polished and decorated with parallel lines. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.

Plate 50.

1. K. 2170:1. Two bowl fragments of brown ware with grey core. The mouth provided with a rim curving outwards. The profile of body slightly curved. The flattened rim ornamented with oblique lines. The body decorated with a unique design in black and white consisting of heavy parallel lines, between which are fine lines alternating with circular dots with white spots; below this a white horizontal line and a zone filled with small curved lines alternating with a triangle surrounded with white dots. Below the triangle a small knob. Thickness 5 mm. Size 1/2.

2. K. 2170:5. Bowl fragment of pale-yellow ware of highest quality. The flattened rim curving outwards. Surface polished. The rim ornamented with oblique lines alternating with triangular figures and circular dots. The outside decorated with a zone of oblique lines bordered by a horizontal line. On the inside a line of triangles near the mouth; below them, curved lines and dots. Thickness 5 mm. Size 1/2.

3. K. 2170:6. Fragment of bowl of pale-yellow ware. The outside is almost white and decorated with garlands of thick and thin lines. In the centre a curved line. On the inside, traces of carelessly executed painted triangles. Cf. Pl. 2:8. Thickness 6 mm. Size 1/2.

4. K. 2170:4. Fragment of a bowl of pale-brown ware of highest quality. The flattened rim curving outwards and decorated with a design (not reproduced here) of circular dots surrounded with dentated circles, triangles and trellis pattern. The inside ornamented with triangles ending in circular dots and surrounded with circular dots. Thickness 4 mm. Size 1/2.

5. K. 12003:189. Marginal sherd of greyish-brown ware. Quality high. Rim painted brown. On the outside a design in brown consisting of circle segments and dots. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.

6. K. 2170:8. Fragment of brick-red ware of high quality. The outside pale and decorated with a black design and thick lines part of a garland and a circle. The zone between the heavy lines filled with fine lines. The circle intersected by a horizontal line. Thickness 5 mm. Size 1/2.

7. K. 12003: 163. Bowl fragment of pale-yellow ware of highest quality. The outside polished. The inside ornamented with two curved lines below the rim; below them traces of a horizontal line. On the flaring rim is a design in black consisting of circular dots and oblique lines. On the body curved lines. On the left side are holes for tying up a crack. Thickness of the body 3 mm. Size 2/3.

8. K. 12003: 222. Marginal sherd of yellow ware of high quality. The inside decorated with triangles, their points ending in a dot. The outside undecorated. Thickness 6 mm. Size 1/2.

9. K. 12003: 75. Sherd of brown ware of highest quality. The outside polished and decorated with concentric circles and oblique lines. Thickness 4 mm. Size 2/3.

10. K. 2170: 9. Belly fragment of rich brown ware. The inside brown. Quality of the ware high. The outside polished and decorated with black pattern consisting of horizontal lines and a zone of wavy lines. Thickness 5 mm. Size 1/2.

11. K. 12003: 165. Marginal sherd of pale brick-red ware of highest quality. The flaring rim decorated with a black design of oblique wavy lines and dots. Thickness of the body 6 mm. Size 2/3.

12. K. 2170: 12. Bowl fragment of pale-yellow ware of high quality. Surface polished. On the outside a black painted line. The inside decorated with triangles, their points ending in a dot. Below the triangles a zone of parallel lines. Thickness 5 mm. Size 1/2.

13. K. 12003: 180. Bowl fragment of brown ware. Highest quality. Inside decorated with parallel lines and circular dot. On the flattened rim zigzag belt and wedges. Size 2/3.

14. K. 12003: 166. Rim fragment of pale-yellow ware. Quality high. Surface polished. The inside decorated with a black pattern consisting of circle segments. On the flattened rim, oblique lines and dots. Thickness 4 mm. Size 2/3.

15. K. 12003: 192. Rim fragment of pale-brown ware. Surface polished. The flattened rim decorated with irregularly shaped triangles in a zigzag line. Size 2/3.

16. K. 2170: 2. Belly fragment of pale-brown ware. Quality high. The outside polished and decorated with a black design of horizontal parallel lines. On the upper part, where the lines curve, are oblong dots. Thickness 4 mm. Size 2/3.

17. K. 12003: 196. Bowl fragment of grey-brown ware. The rim and outside polished. On the flattened rim a brown pattern with trellis work. Size 2/3.

18. K. 12003: 161. Rim fragment of pale-brown ware. Surface polished. The flattened rim decorated with dark triangular zone in which a circle-dot is inscribed. At each side of the triangle-shaped figure groups of oblique lines. Size 2/3.

19. K. 12003: 217. Bowl fragment of pale-yellow ware. Inside decorated with design in pale black: at the rim a triangle, below which a group of horizontal lines and circle dot. Outside ornamented with black lines (reproduced on Pl. 46,3). Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.

20. K. 12003: 211. Rim fragment decorated with triangle-shaped figures and oblique bands. Size 2/3.

21. K. 2170: 4. Rim fragment of high quality. Black design consisting of circular dot surrounded by concentric circle segments; to the left a black section the middle of which is filled with trellis work. Size 2/3.

22. K. 2170: 5. Inside of bowl. Black design consisting of pointed triangles at the rim, below them circle segments and dot. Size 2/3.

23. K. 2170: 7. Bowl fragment of pale-yellow ware of high quality. Outside decorated with black design consisting of groups of horizontal lines. On the upper part a couple of oblong dots between the lines. On the lower part traces of the same kind of dot. Thickness 5 mm. Size 1/2.

Plate 51.

1. K. 12003: 238. Bowl fragment of pale-brown ware of high quality. Outside polished and decorated with black design of horizontal lines at equal distance. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.
2. K. 2170: 10. Fragment of pale-yellow ware of highest quality. Outside polished and decorated with black pattern of circle segments and a triangle in which is inscribed a circle-dot. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.
3. K. 12003: 7. Fragment of grey-brown ware of high quality. Outside decorated with black design of horizontal lines intersected by two drop-shaped dots. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.
4. K. 12003: 74. Inside of bowl fragment. Ware of highest quality. Colour brick-red. Inside decorated with design of two black horizontal zones with pairs of lines between. The only decoration of the outside is a black band. Thickness 4 mm. Size 2/3.
5. K. 12003: 20. Small sherd of pale-yellow ware, of highest quality. Outside polished and decorated with black design of horizontal band and «arrowhead»-shaped figures. Thickness 4 mm. Size 2/3.
6. K. 12003: 383. Fragment of small bowl. Ware of high quality. Two small holes for tying up a crack. Thickness 4 mm. Fig. a) Outside. Colour dusty brown. Black design of triangle-shaped figure filled with parallel lines and below the triangle horizontal band. In the angle between the triangle and the band, traces of knob. Fig. b) Inside. Colour brick-red, at the rim black design of triangles bordered by horizontal band. Size 2/3.
7. K. 12003: 134. Bowl fragment: rich brown ware with grey core. Surfaces polished. Both outside and inside decorated with black design of horizontal bands and groups of vertical lines. Thickness 4 mm. Fig. a) Outside. Fig. b) Inside. Size 2/3.
9. K. 12003: 79. Fragment of brick-red ware of highest quality. On the inside a black design. Thickness 4 mm. Size 2/3.
10. K. 12003: 266. Fragment of a base of pale-yellow ware of high quality. The inside polished and decorated with a black design: in the centre is a circle in which is inscribed a cross formed by two groups of fine lines; between the arms of the cross, and in the middle, circular dots. Outside the circle a trellis pattern and vertical lines. Thickness of the ware 9 mm. Size 2/3.
11. K. 12003: 259. Base fragment of pale-yellow ware of high quality. The inside decorated with a black design of curved lines radiating from a large circle in the middle of the bottom. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.
12. K. 12003: 268. Base fragment. The ware of highest quality. Colour reddish-brown on the outside, on the inside a yellowish-white slip. The inside decorated with a pattern of black curved lines. Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.
13. K. 12003: 265. Base fragment of brick-red ware of highest quality. The inside decorated with a black design consisting of zones filled with a trellis pattern. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.
14. K. 2170: 29. Small fragment of a handle of pale yellowish-brown ware. On the outside, oblique intersecting lines forming a chessboard pattern. Size 2/3.
15. K. 12003: 624. Fragment of a handle carelessly made of yellowish-brown ware. On the outside is a brown painted décor: on the upper part oblique lines, on the lower half vertical lines. Size 2/3.
16. K. 12003: 625. Fragment of a handle of pale-yellow ware. On the outside a décor of reddish-brown lines. Size 2/3.
17. K. 12003: 210. Marginal fragment of bowl with slightly curved profile contract-

ing towards the mouth. Ware yellowish-white with grey core. Both exterior and interior decorated with reddish-brown zigzag lines. Thickness 7 mm. Size 2/3.

18. K. 2170: 11. Object (probably fragment of a handle) of yellow-brown ware. Surfaces polished. On the concave side a black design of thick parallel lines, between which is a zone with finer lines surrounding an oblong spot. On the convex side a group of thick parallel lines on the upper part. Size 2/3.

19. K. 12003: 80. Small fragment decorated with red-brown dot. Size 2/3.

Plate 52.

1. K. 2170: 48. Mace head of granite. Deep groove all around the body, at one side crossed by another broad groove, evidently for fastening purposes. Size 1/2.

2. K. 2170: 46. Disc-shaped pendant of white marble provided with a bi-conical hole near the margin. Thickness 3 mm. Size 1/2.

3. K. 12003: 1771. Fragment of diorite? Provided with a deep furrow on the upper side. Marks of wear in the bottom of the furrow. Size 1/2.

4. Signed only L. H. T. Unfinished axe. Edge broken. Size 1/2.

5. K. 12003: 1706. Small axe of dark, dense schistose rock. Neck broken. Surfaces carefully polished. Cross section square. Breadth 18 mm. Thickness 11 mm. Size 2/3.

6. K. 1524 and K. 1531. Two fragments of dark, dense, schistose rock. Neck broken. Size 2/3.

7. K. 1519. Small, thin axe of schistose rock. Length 73 mm. Breadth 39 mm. Thickness 7 mm. Size 2/3.

8. K. 12003: 1704. Fragmentary axe of grained (?) schistose rock. Broad-sides polished. Size 2/3.

9. K. 12003: 1743. Small axe of schistose rock. Neck broken. Breadth 40 mm. Thickness 10 mm. Size 2/3.

10. K. 1549. Fragmentary stone artifact of schistose rock. Surfaces hammered. Size 1/2.

11. K. 12003: 1732. Slate-knife. On the lateral sides two notches for tying. Edge rounded. Thickness 9 mm. Size 2/3.

12. K. 12003: 1731. Fragmentary slate-knife with oblong hole in the centre. Thickness 7 mm. Size 2/3.

13. K. 3220. Fragmentary slate-knife with two bi-conical holes. Side «wing-shaped». Thickness 6 mm. Size 2/3.

14. K. 12003: 1728. Slate-knife with bi-conical hole. Sides «wing-shaped». One of them provided with ten narrow indentations. Thickness 4 mm. Size 2/3.

15. K. 12003: 1746. Irregularly crescent-shaped knife made from a flake of dark, schistose rock. Edge sharpened only at the polished side. Back thick. Thickness (the centre) 15 mm. Size 2/3.

16. K. 1520. Fragmentary slate-chisel. Thickness 5 mm. Size 2/3.

17. K. 12003: 1757. Chisel, irregularly shaped. Size 2/3.

18. K. 12003: 1734. Fragmentary chisel of schistose rock. Size 2/3.

19. K. 12003: 1733. Long chisel of schistose rock. Size 2/3.

Plate 53.

1. Big fragmentary hoe of diorite (?). Two corresponding lateral recesses for attachment. Thickness 33 mm. Size 2/3.

2. K. 12003: 1786. Crescent-shaped grinding stone made from a sandstone block. Surface carefully smoothed. Size 2/3.

3. K. 2170: 20. Half of an armlet of white marble with a tinge of yellowish rose. Regularly cut, only slightly tapering towards the margins. The outside polished, on the inside traces of red pigment. On the margins groups of small incisions. At one side a hole bored from the outside. Outer diameter 80 mm. Thickness 6 mm. Size 1/2.
4. K. 270: 21. Fragment of an armlet of white marble with innumerable small pores representing a corroded mineral. Slightly tapering towards one margin. Cross-section lenticular. Thickness about 8 mm. Size 1/2.
5. K. 2170: 23. Fragment of an armlet of white sugar-grained marble. The cross-section is concave on the outside and correspondingly convex on the inside. Thickness 7 mm. Size 1/2.
6. K. 5855: 1. Axe shaped from a large bone. Outside convex, inner-side concave. Edge sharpened on the inner-side. Neck broken. Breadth at the edge 63 mm. Size 2/3.
7. K. 5855: 2. Fragmentary needle with trace of the eye. Size 2/3.
8. K. 5855: 3. Fine intact needle with eye. Size 2/3.
9. K. 5855: 4. Two fragments of a small needle with eye bored from one side. Size 2/3.
10. K. 5855: 5. Fragment of the pointed end of a needle. Size 2/3.
11. K. 5855: 6. Fragmentary needle. Size 2/3.
12. K. 5855: 7. Fragment of a needle. Size 2/3.
13. K. 5855: 8. Intact needle with bi-conical eye. Size 2/3.
14. K. 5855: 9. Fragment of a needle-point. Size 2/3.
15. K. 5855: 10. Fragment of needle with bi-conical eye. Size 2/3.
16. K. 5855: 11. Fragment of the point of a bone knife with furrow for fastening flint flakes. Size 2/3.
- 18—24. K. 5855: 12—18. Bone awls. Size 2/3.
25. K. 5855: 19. Fragment of bone implement. The point rounded; no edge. Size 2/3.
26. K. 5855: 20. Bone knife. The blade has on the convex side a furrow for fastening flint-flakes. The opposite side is concave. The upper part has the shape of a narrow handle. Size 2/3.
27. K. 5855: 21. Bone knife, on the straight side provided with a furrow for fastening flint-flakes extending along the entire side. The opposite side is curved. Size 2/3.
28. K. 5855: 22. Fragmentary bone implement. Below the knob-shaped top a square hole bored from one side. Size 2/3.
29. K. 5855: 23. Small bead of white marble. Size 1/1.

Plate 54.
Natural size.

1. K. 12003: 1664. Fragmentary ring of white marble with small pores representing a corroded mineral. — 2. K. 12003: 1638. Fragmentary clay ring. — 3. K. 12003: 1637. Fragmentary clay ring. — 4. K. 2170: 856. Fragmentary clay ring. — 5. K. 2170: 37. Fragmentary slate ring. — 6. K. 12003: 1745. Fragmentary slate ring.
7. K. 12003: 1558. Small fragmentary urn-shaped vessel of greyish-brown clay.
8. K. 12003: 1668. Fragmentary armlet of white marble with small pores representing a corroded mineral.
9. K. 2170: 30. Bone needle with bi-conical eye. Point very fine.
10. K. 2170: 31. Bone implement made from a thin plate split from a large bone. At the top two bi-conical holes. At the lower end one hole of the same type. Between the top holes and the four marginal indentations and between the lowest indentations marks of wear are clearly visible.

11. Flat bone implement. At the top a hole bored from one side. Near the point five pits. On the reverse side, one pit of the same kind slightly higher up.

12. K. 2170: 26. Slender bone-knife with furrow for fastening flint-flakes. The furrow is clearly visible in fig. b. The upper part serves as a handle.

13. K. 2170: 25. Bone knife with furrow for fastening flint-flakes. The blade is slightly curved. The handle is provided at the top with a hole. The furrow is clearly visible in fig. b.

14. K. 2170: 41. Pendant (?) of grey slate. Cross-section rectangular. Both ends obtusely pointed. 15 mm. from the top a furrow cut round three sides. Attempt at indentation at the other end on the short side. This cutting is scarcely discernible in the plate.

Plate 55.

1. K. 2353: 10. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Collar fragment of brown ware of high quality. The outside decorated with a belt of incised parallel lines, between which are vertical lines of varying density. Thickness 6 mm. Size 1/2.

2. K. 2353: 7. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Fragment of stone ring. Cross-section triangular. Size 1/2.

3. K. 2353: 25. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Neck fragment of bright-yellow ware. The clay is pure but «soft», probably not burnt at a high temperature. The narrow mouth provided with «a double ring». On the neck traces of impressions. Thickness of the neck 7 mm. Size 1/2.

4. K. 2353: 42. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Interior of fragmentary bowl. The margin rings-haped on the inside. Pale-brown ware of high quality. Thickness 7 mm. Size 1/2.

5. K. 2353: 21. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Interior of fragment of pale-brown ware of high quality. The margin annular on the inside. Thickness 5 mm. Size 1/2.

6. K. 2353: 23. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Interior of fragmentary bowl. Ware of high quality. The outside bright-brown and polished, the inside pale-yellow with a brick-red spot. Thickness 7 mm. Size 1/1.

7. K. 2353: 8. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Fragment of amphora with high collar and softly curved body. Pale-brown ware of high quality. The handle decorated with long recess. Height of the collar 45 mm. Length of the handle 75 mm., breadth 33 mm. Thickness of the body 6 mm. Size 1/2.

8. K. 2358: 43. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Fragment of small amphora of reddish-brown ware of high quality. Thickness 3—4 mm. Size 1/2.

9. K. 2353: 24. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Handle of greyish-brown ware. On the outside, an incised ornament consisting of two crossed crescents. Thickness 5 mm. Size 1/2.

10. K. 2353: 38. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Leg of a tripod. Ware coarse. Colour dirty-brown. The outside covered with textile impressions. Thickness about 10 mm. Size 1/2.

11. K. 2353: 22. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Fragment of pale-yellowish ware, not very coarse, but quartz grains are visible. On the outside are fine intersecting cord impressions. Thickness 7 mm. Size 1/1.

12. K. 2353: 34. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Urn fragment of coarse dirty greyish-brown ware. The margin provided with a rim. The outside of the body covered with textile impressions. Thickness 5—7 mm. Size 1/2.

13. K. 2353: 9. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Fragment of big handle. Ware not very coarse, but quartz grains are discernible. Colour pale-yellowish brown. The outside ornamented with vertical furrows. Thickness 8 mm. Size 1/2.

14. K. 2353: 41. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Base fragment of pale-brown ware of high quality. On the outside basket impression. Thickness 5 mm. Size 1/2.

15. K. 2353: 3. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Ring of grey clay. Cross-section triangular. Size 1/1.

16. K. 2353: 37. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Leg of a Li tripod. Ware coarse. Colour dusty greyish-yellow. Varying thickness; medium 9 mm. Size 1/2.

Plate 56.

1. K. 2353: 32. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Small sherd of bright-brown ware of Yang Shao type. The ware of high quality. The rim circular on the inside. The outside carefully smoothed and decorated with garland-shaped ornamentation in greyish paint. Size 1/1.

2. K. 2353: 36. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Fragment of funnel-shaped foot(?). Ware porous but not coarse. Colour grey. On the outside horizontal scratches. Thickness 5 mm. Size 1/2.

3. K. 2353: 28. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Fragment of pale-brown ware of high quality. On the outside irregular zones of cord impressions bordered with smooth belts. Thickness 4 mm. Size 1/1.

4. K. 2353: 39. T. S. Hs. C. L. T. Fragment of big collar with slightly flaring rim. Ware not coarse, but to some extent mixed with quartz. Surfaces pale-yellowish grey. Core reddish-brown. Thickness 5 mm. Size 1/2.

5. K. 2359: 24. Y. Ch. Hs. H. S. H. Fragment of small amphora. Ware of high quality. Colour pale yellowish brown. Surface not very carefully smoothed. Collar high and slightly flaring. Body gently curved. At the margin and on the belly, traces of a long handle. On the collar, horizontal scratches. On the belly, indistinct basket impressions (probably «wicker-work»). Basket impressions also on the bottom. Thickness 3 mm. Size 1/2.

6. K. 2359: 25. Y. Ch. Hs. H. S. H. Three fragments of the belly of a bi-conical vessel. Ware not very coarse but to some extent mixed with lime and quartz. Surface pale-yellow. Core brick-red. Below the equatorial line a lug. On the lower portion basket impressions. Thickness 6 mm.

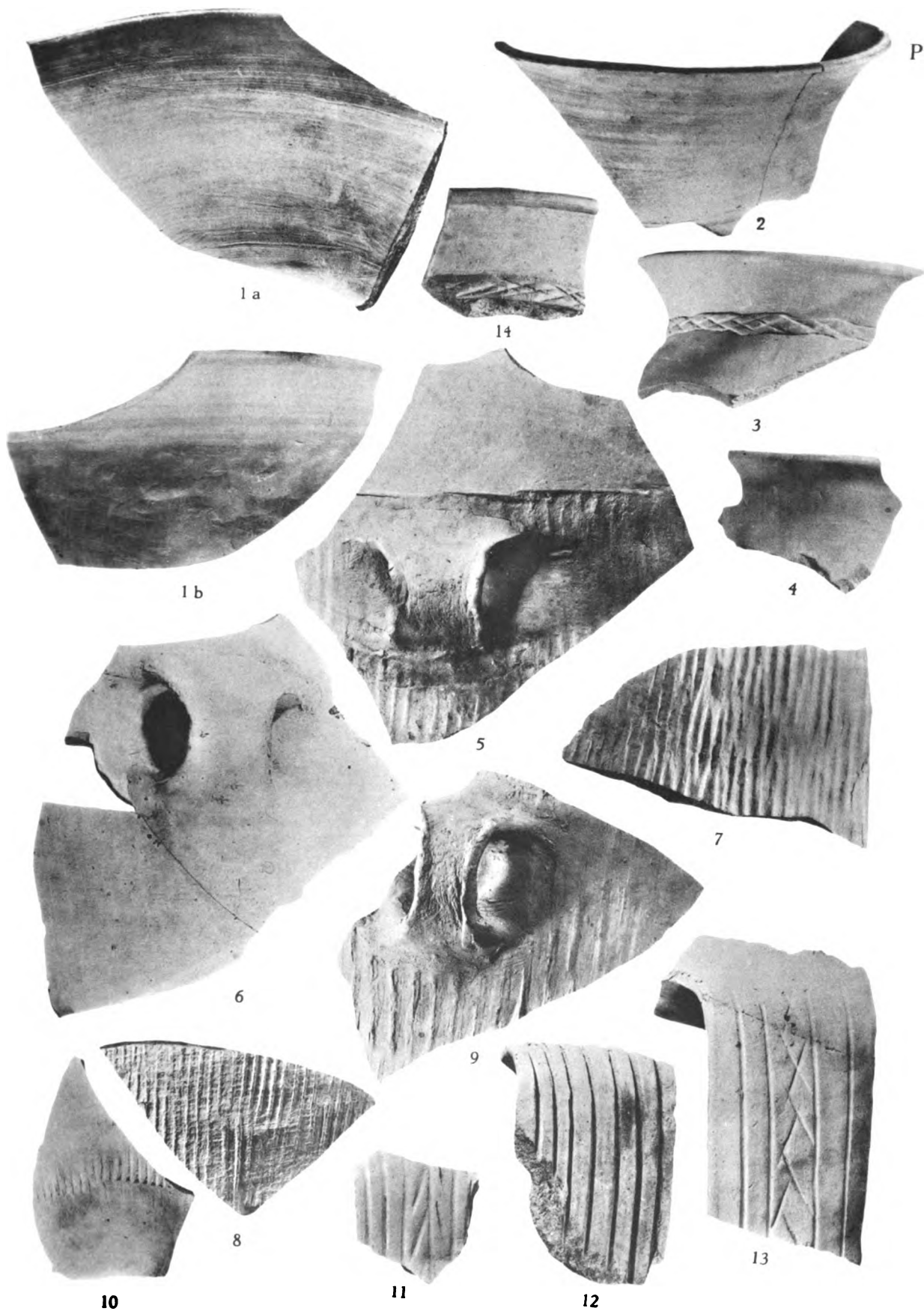
7. K. 2359: 18. Y. Ch. Hs. H. S. H. Small fragment of pale-brown ware. Outside polished and decorated with black pattern. Thickness 4 mm. Size 1/1.

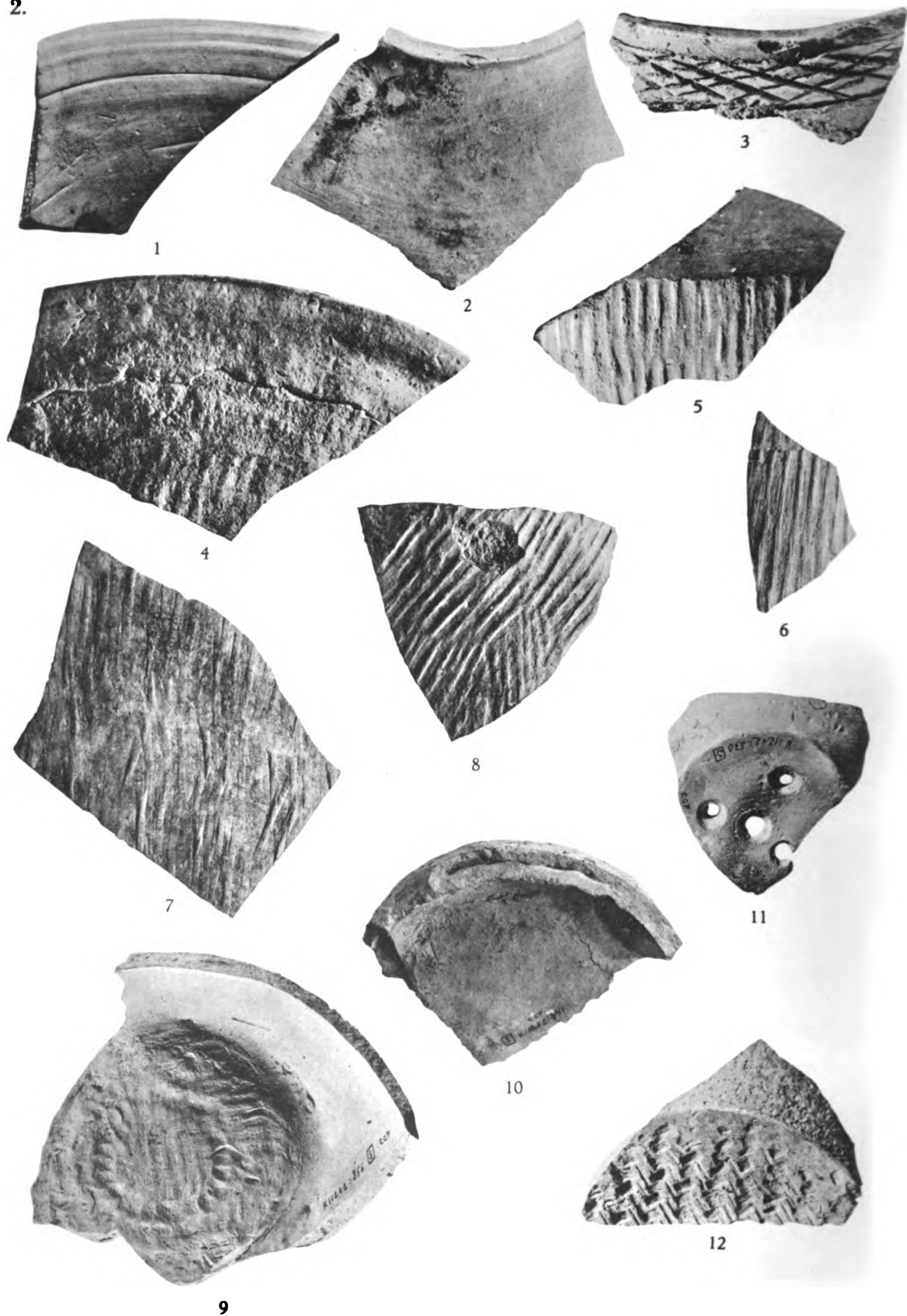
8. K. 2359: 1. Y. Ch. Hs. H. S. H. Four fragments of the upper part of an urn with high collar. Rim slightly flaring. Quality of the ware high, but the surface not carefully smoothed. Colour dusty yellowish-brown. Diameter of the mouth 140 mm. Height of the collar 90 mm. Thickness of the body 5—7 mm. Size 1/2.

9. K. 5280. Y. Ch. Hs. H. S. H. Amphora with wide mouth and bulging belly. Colour pale-brown. Outside carefully smoothed. On the upper part of the body an incised horizontal line, below which a belt of zigzags. Above the line, ring-shaped incisions at irregular intervals. The upper part of the handles decorated with a rhombic recess. At the base of one of the handles three ring-shaped incisions, at that of the other one only two. Height 178 mm. Breadth 169 mm. Diameter of the mouth (from one handle to the other) 155 mm. Thickness 5 mm. Size 1/3.

10. K. 2359: 16. Y. Ch. Hs. H. S. H. Small sherd of grey-brown ware. Impression of coarse textile. Thickness 5 mm. Fig. a. negocoll positive. Size 1/1.

11. K. 2359: 32. Y. Ch. Hs. H. S. H. Belly fragment of pale-brown ware with brick-red core. Quality high. Upper part of the outside polished and decorated with black design in the form of broad bands under which is a wavy line. Thickness 6 mm. Size 1/2.



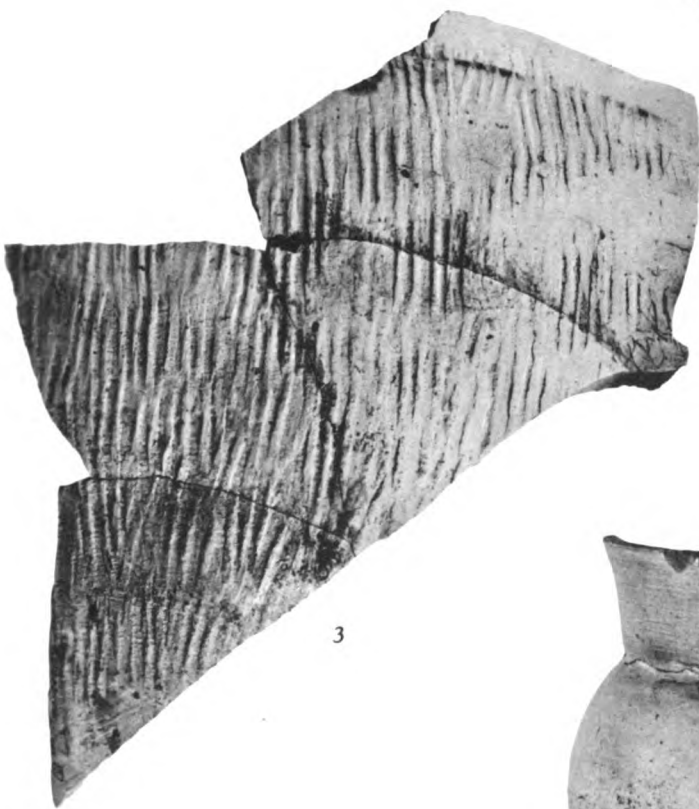




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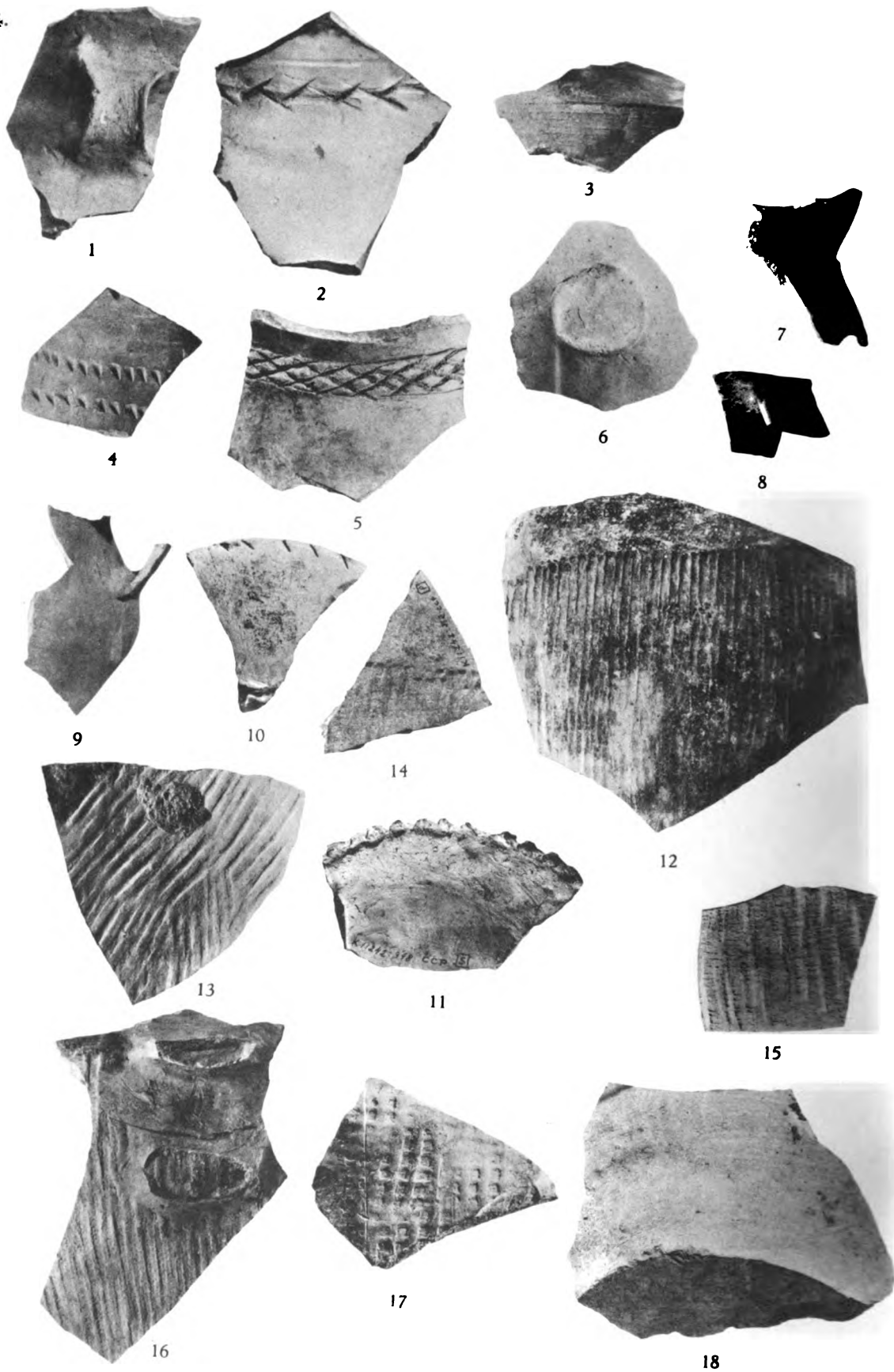
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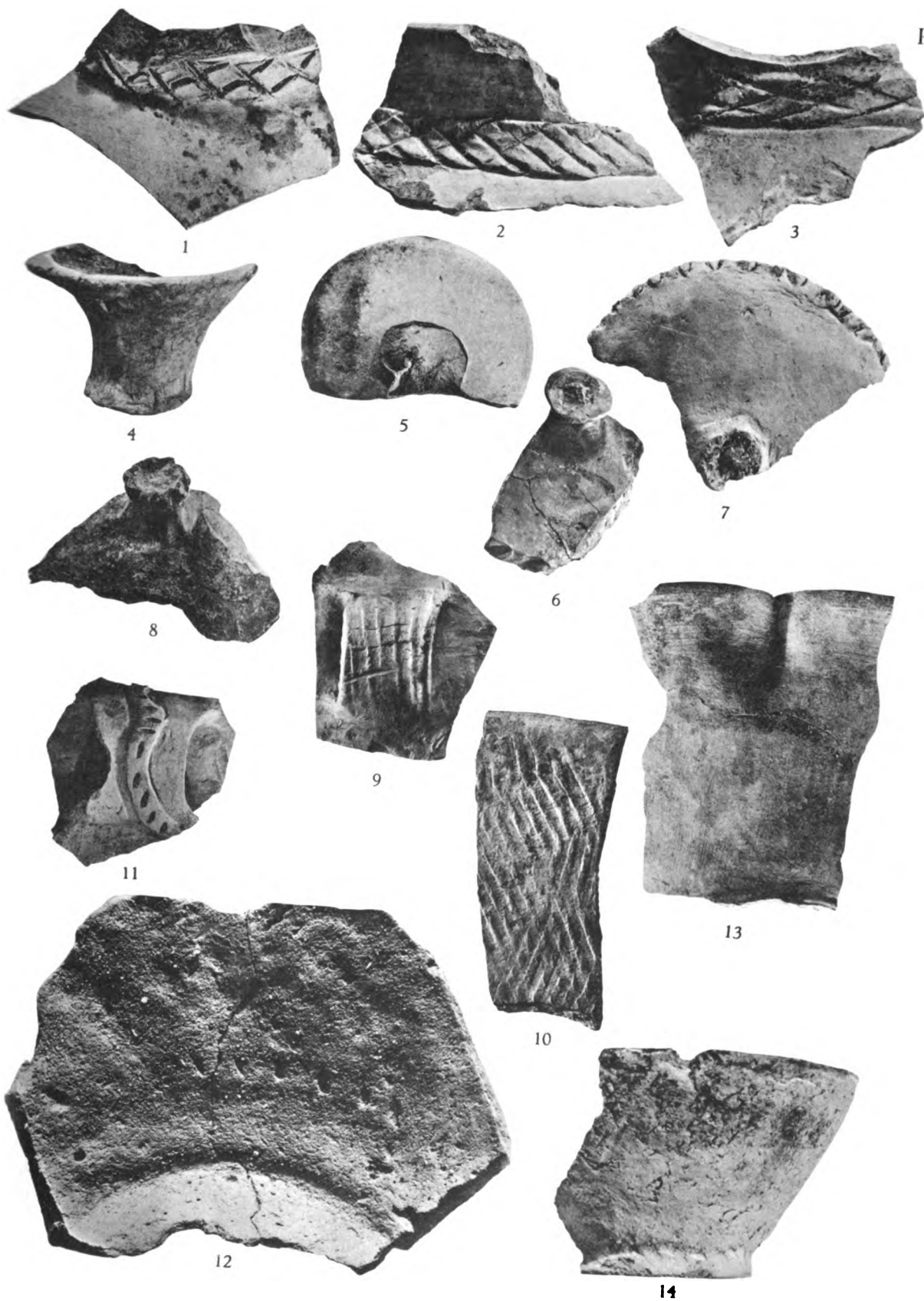


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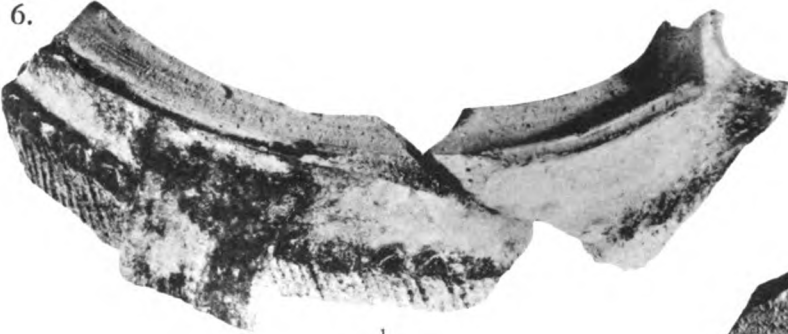


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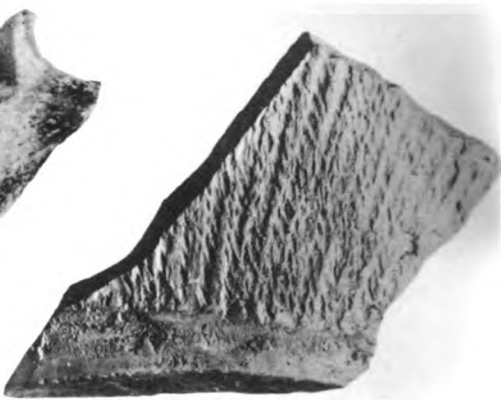




Pl. 6.



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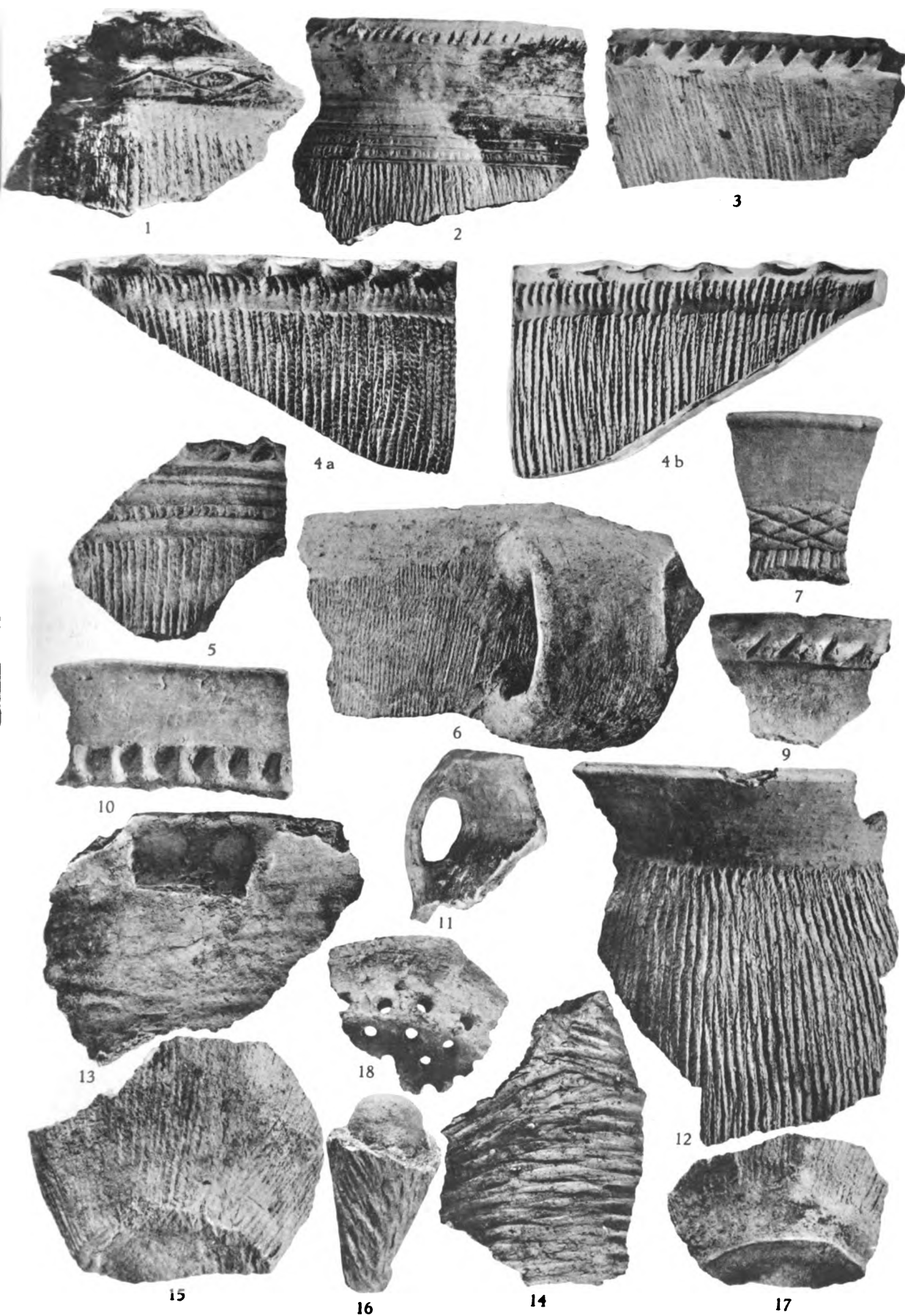
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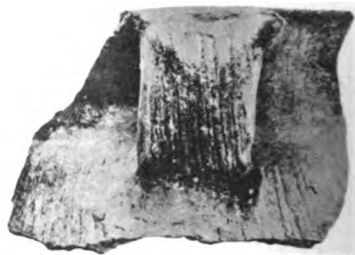


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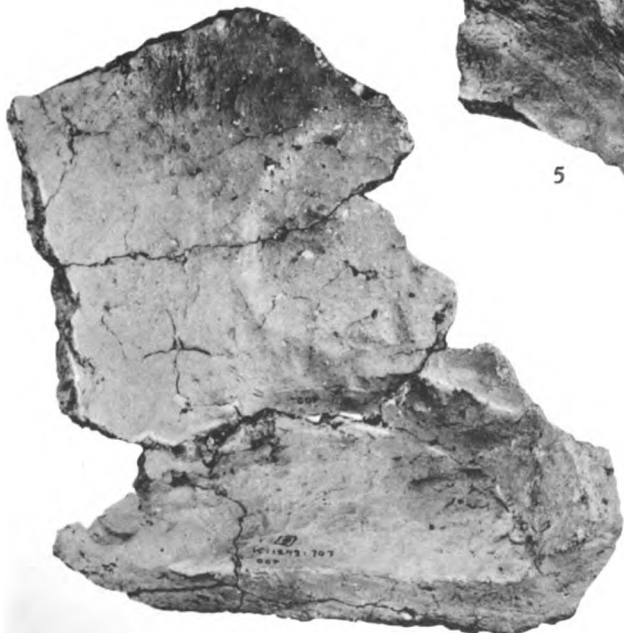
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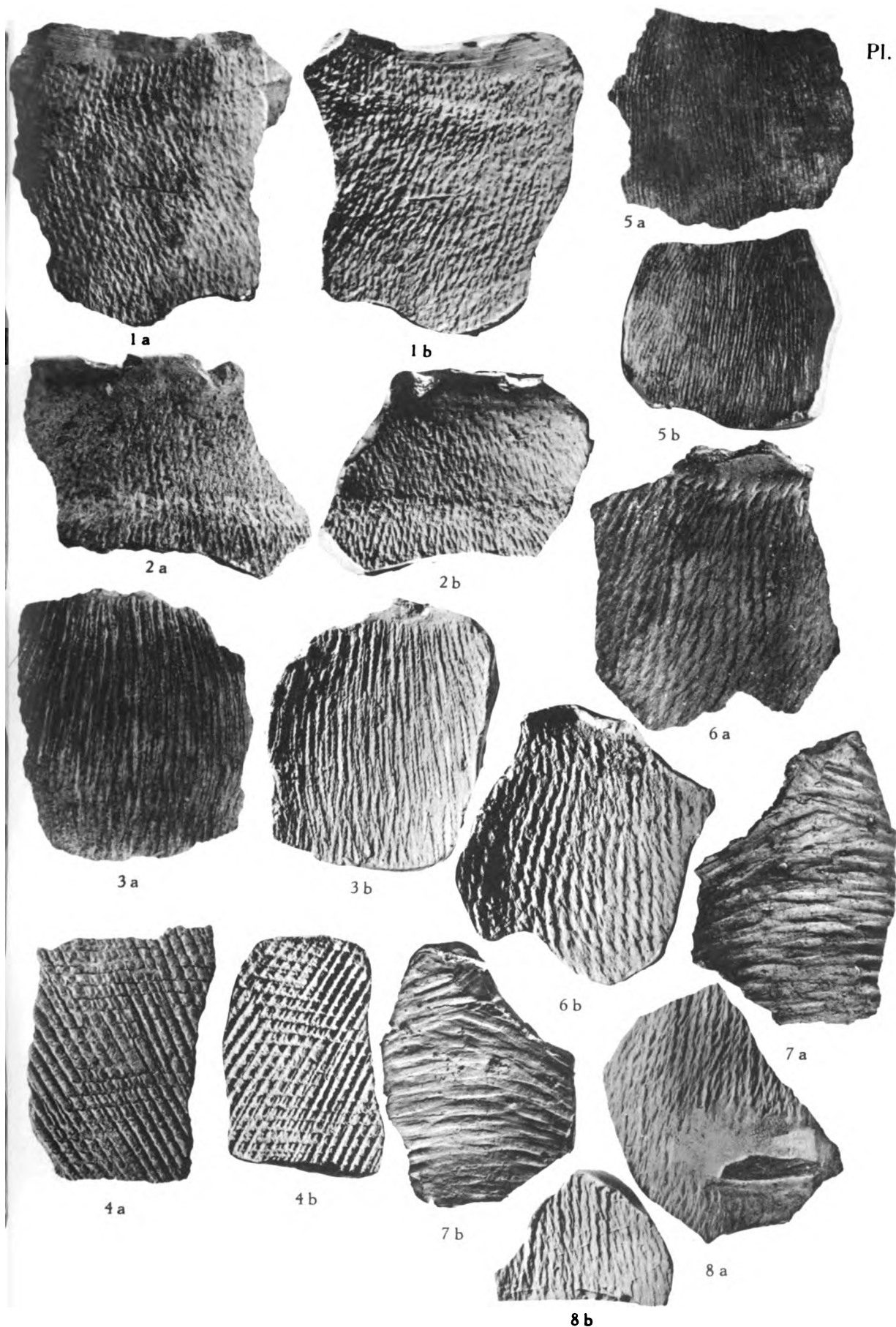
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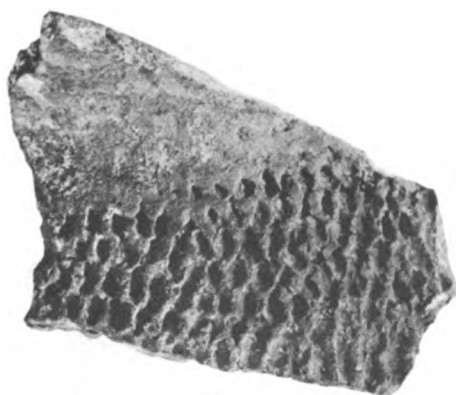
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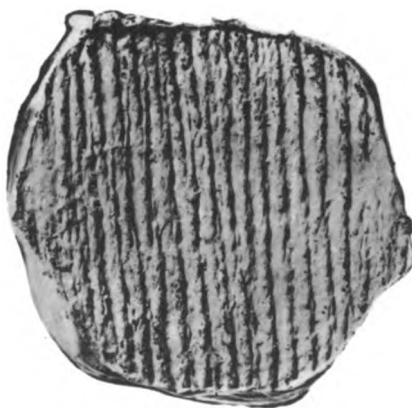
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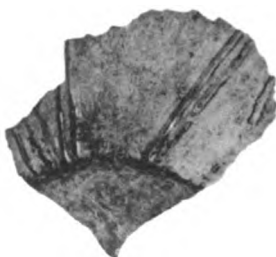
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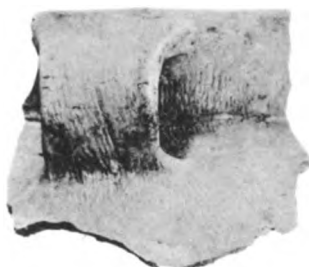
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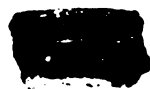
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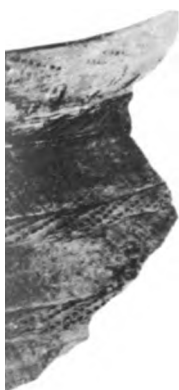
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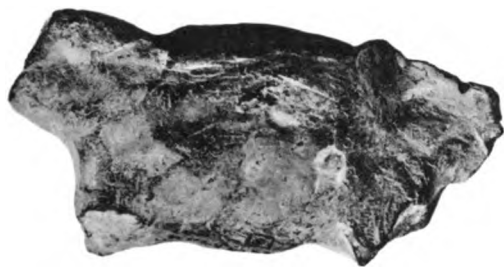


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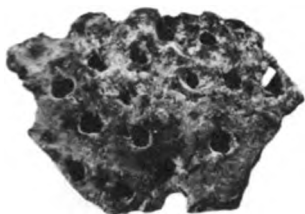
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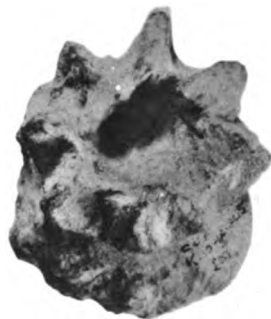
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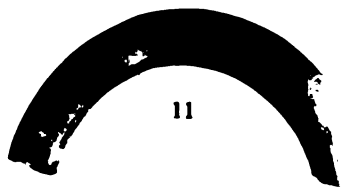
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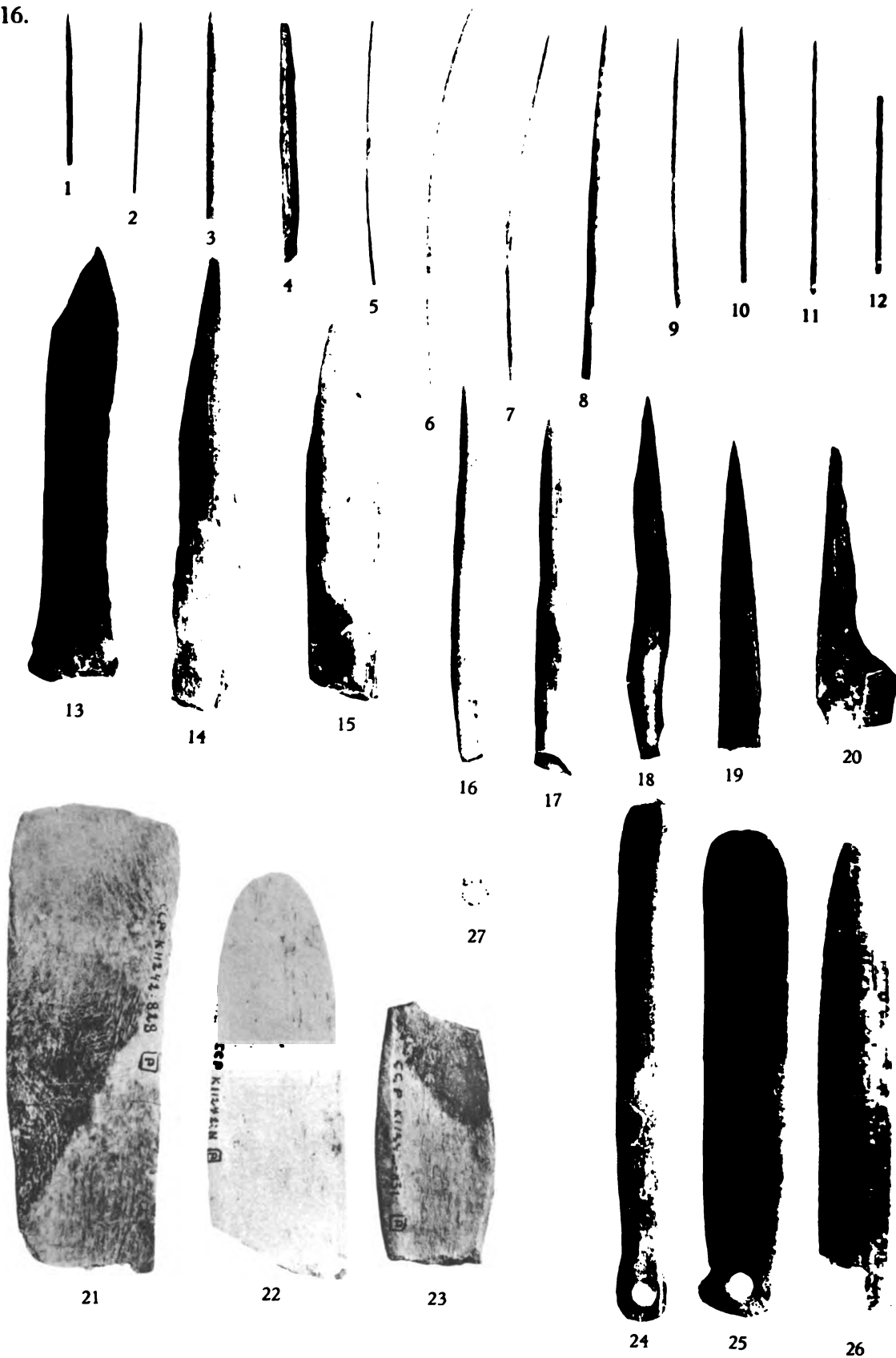
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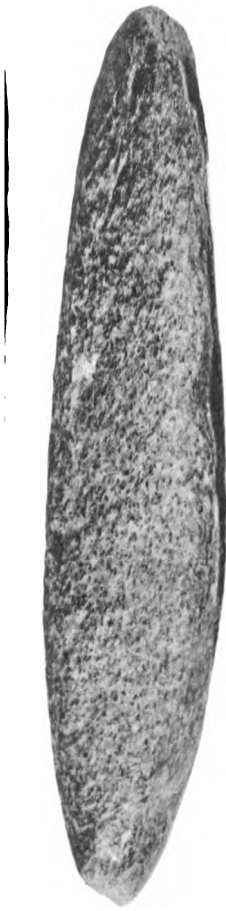


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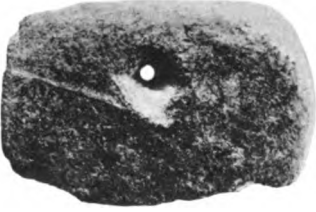
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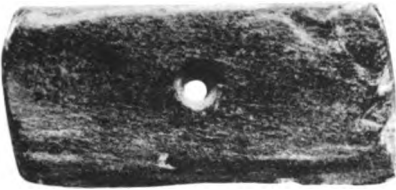
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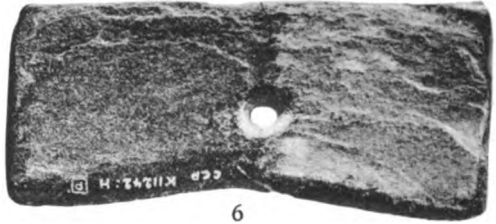
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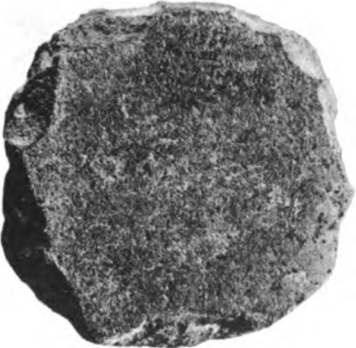
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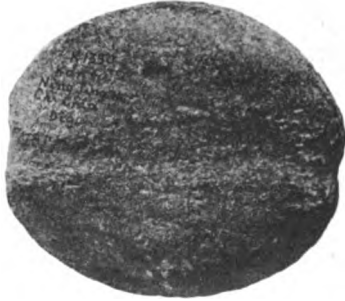
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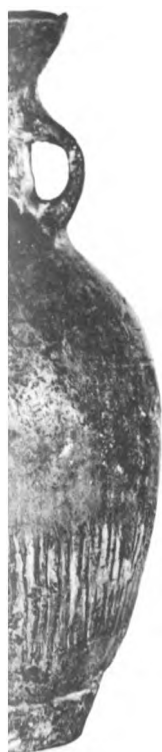


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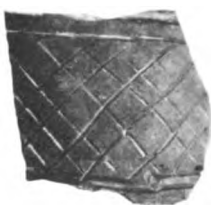
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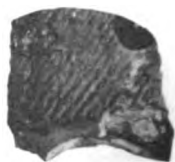
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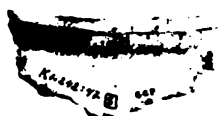
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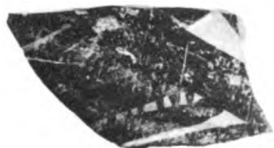
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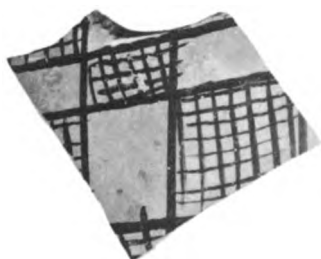
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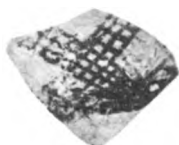
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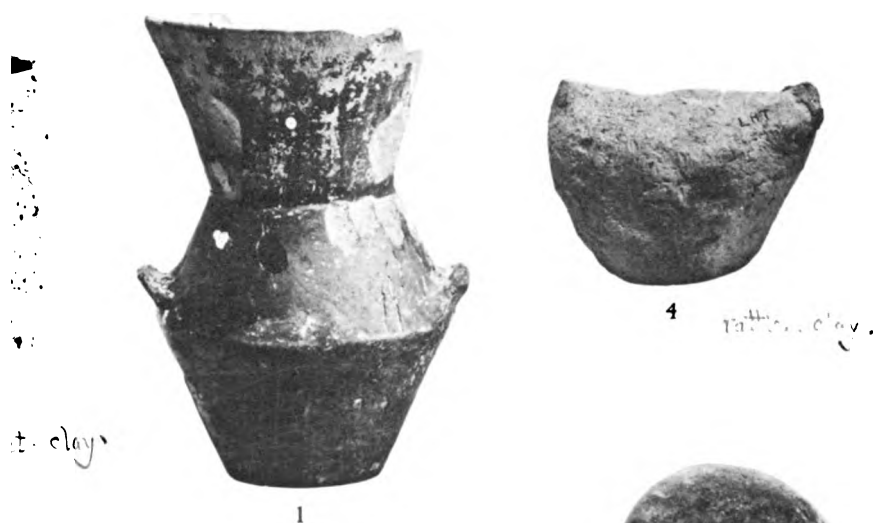
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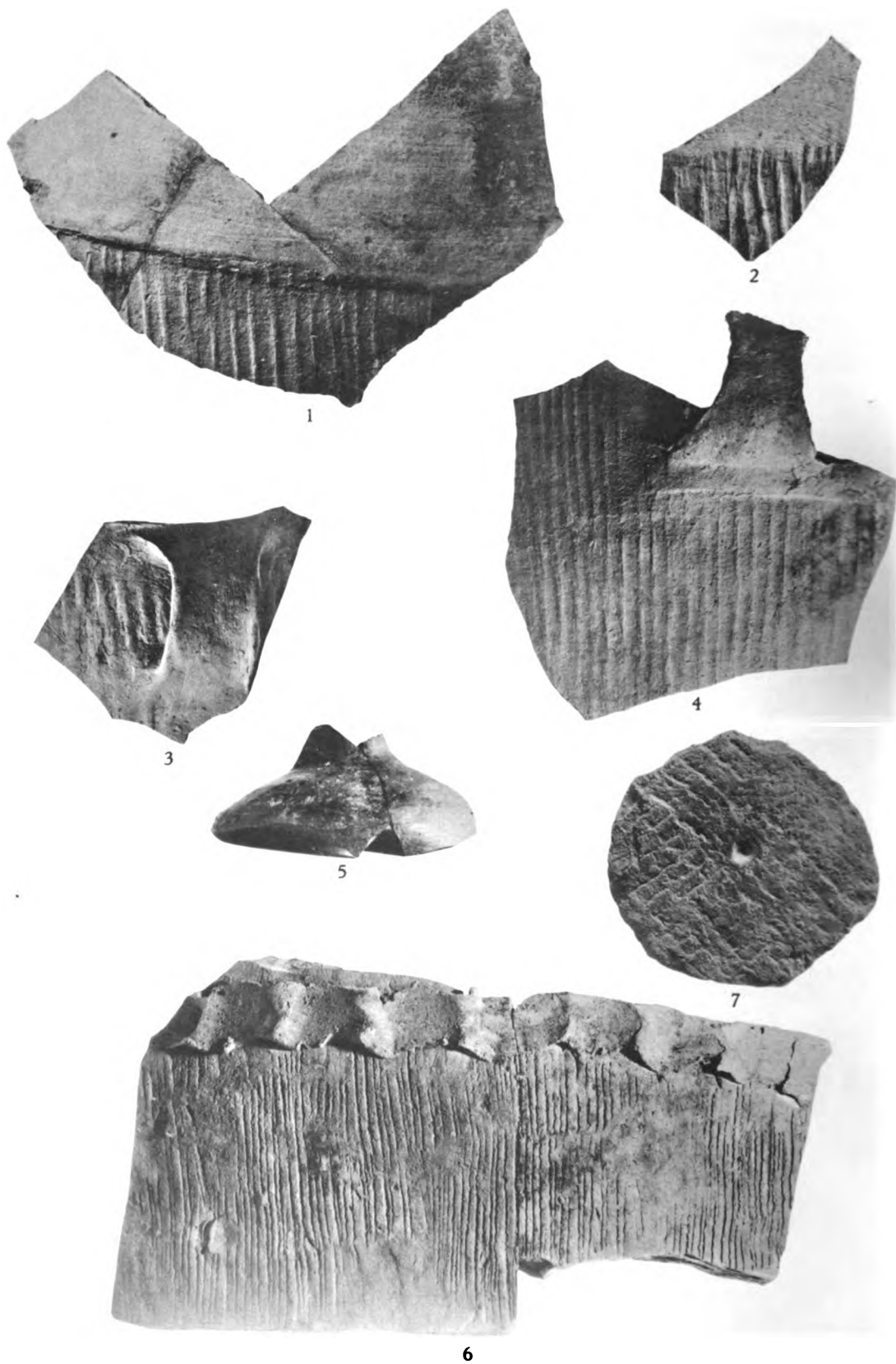
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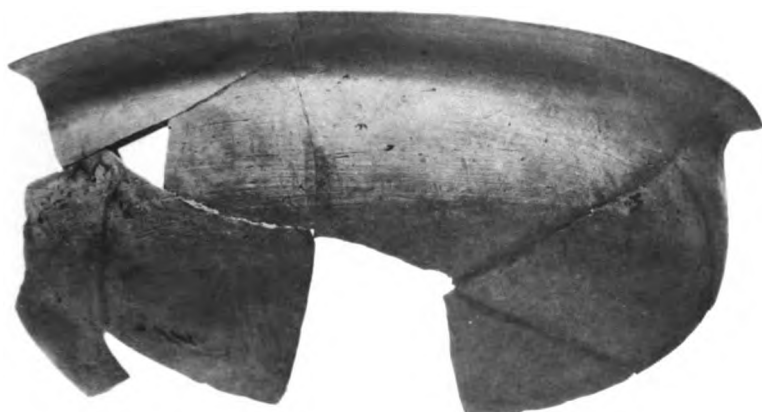


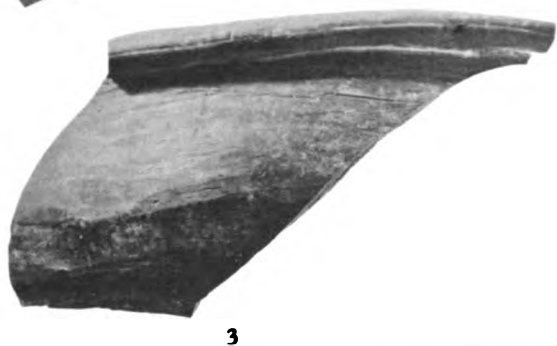
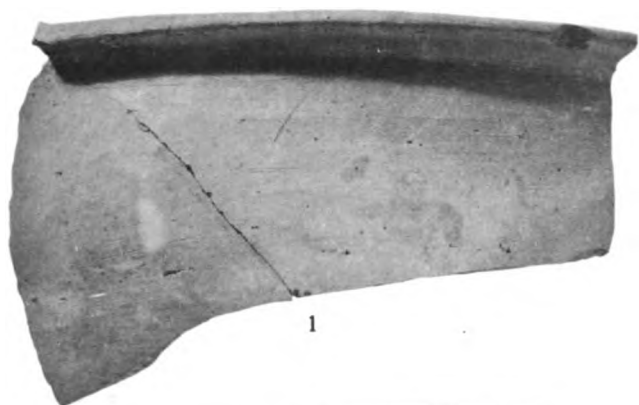
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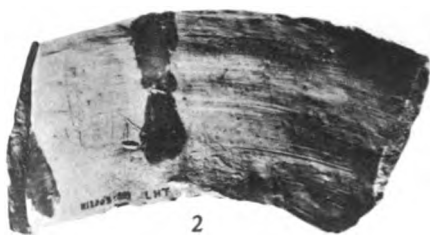








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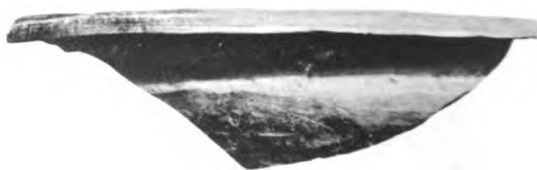
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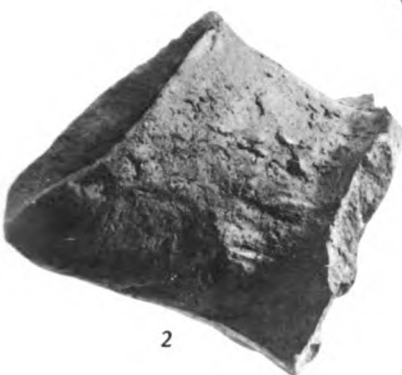
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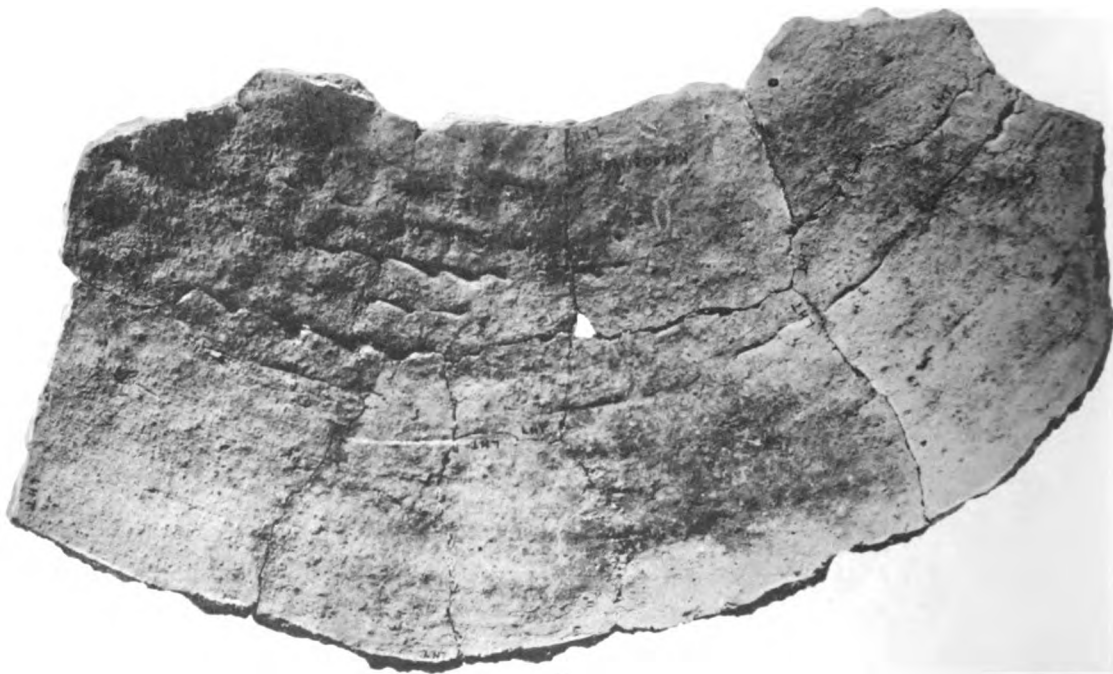
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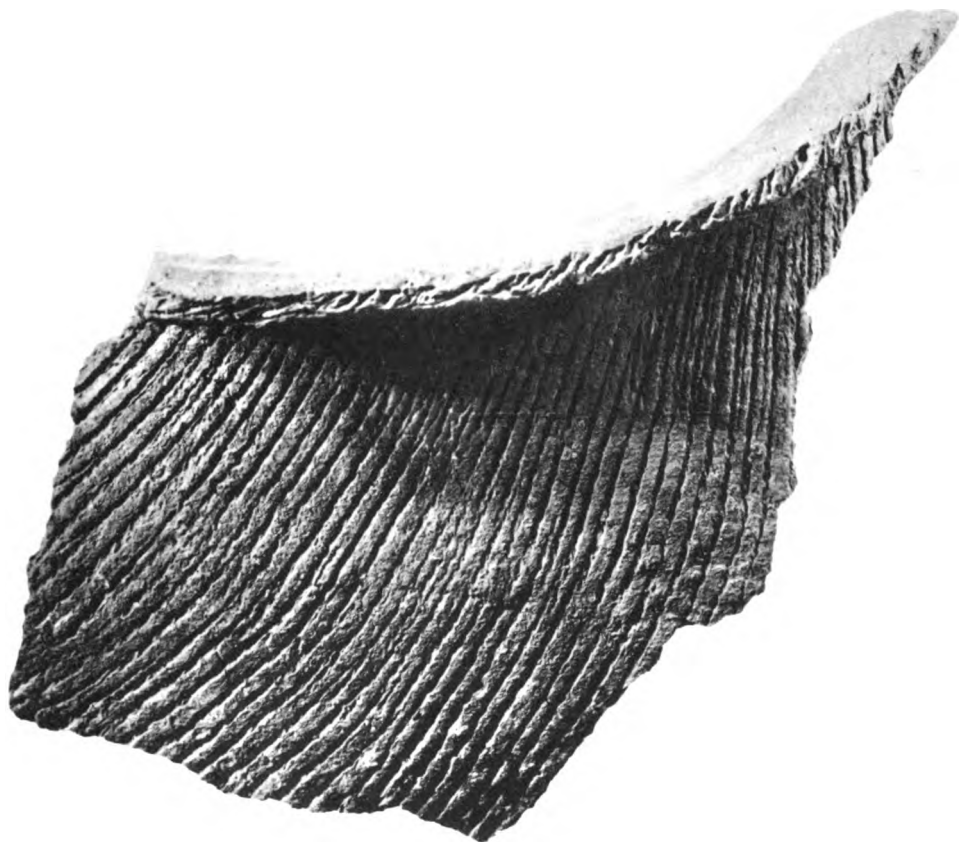
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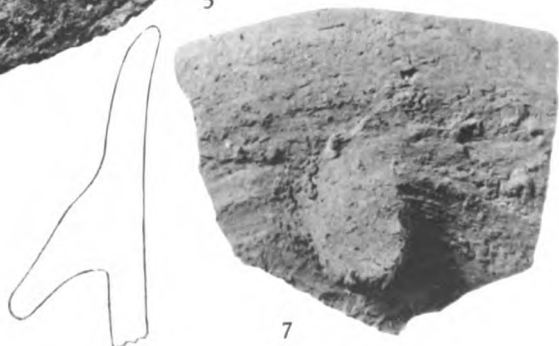
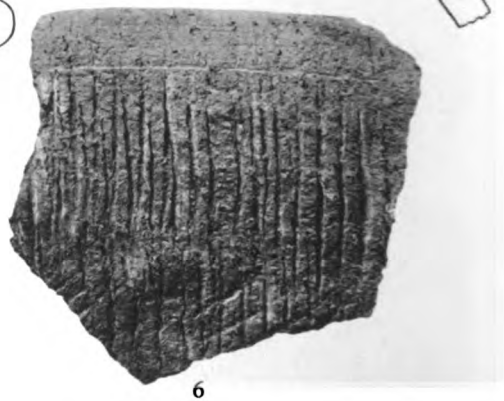
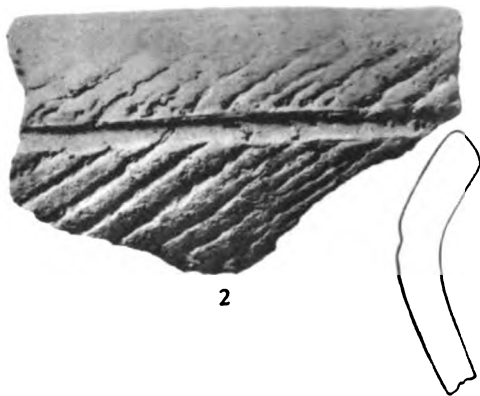
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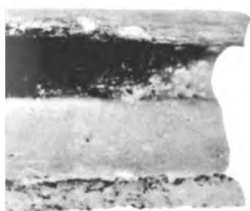
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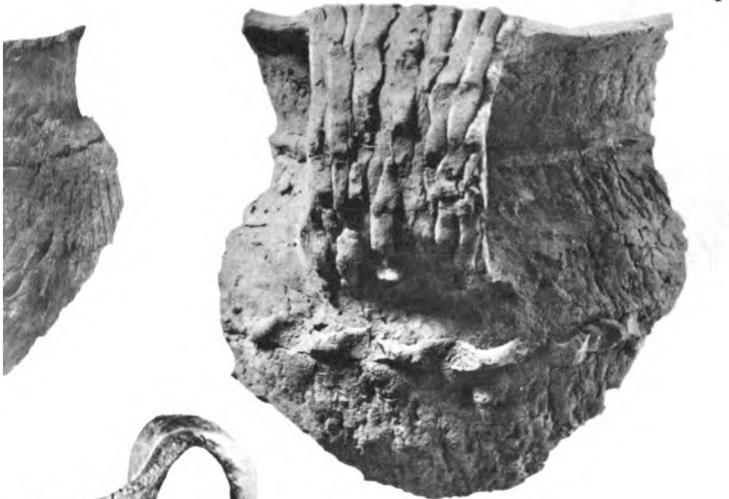


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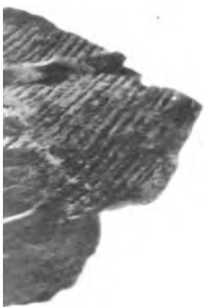
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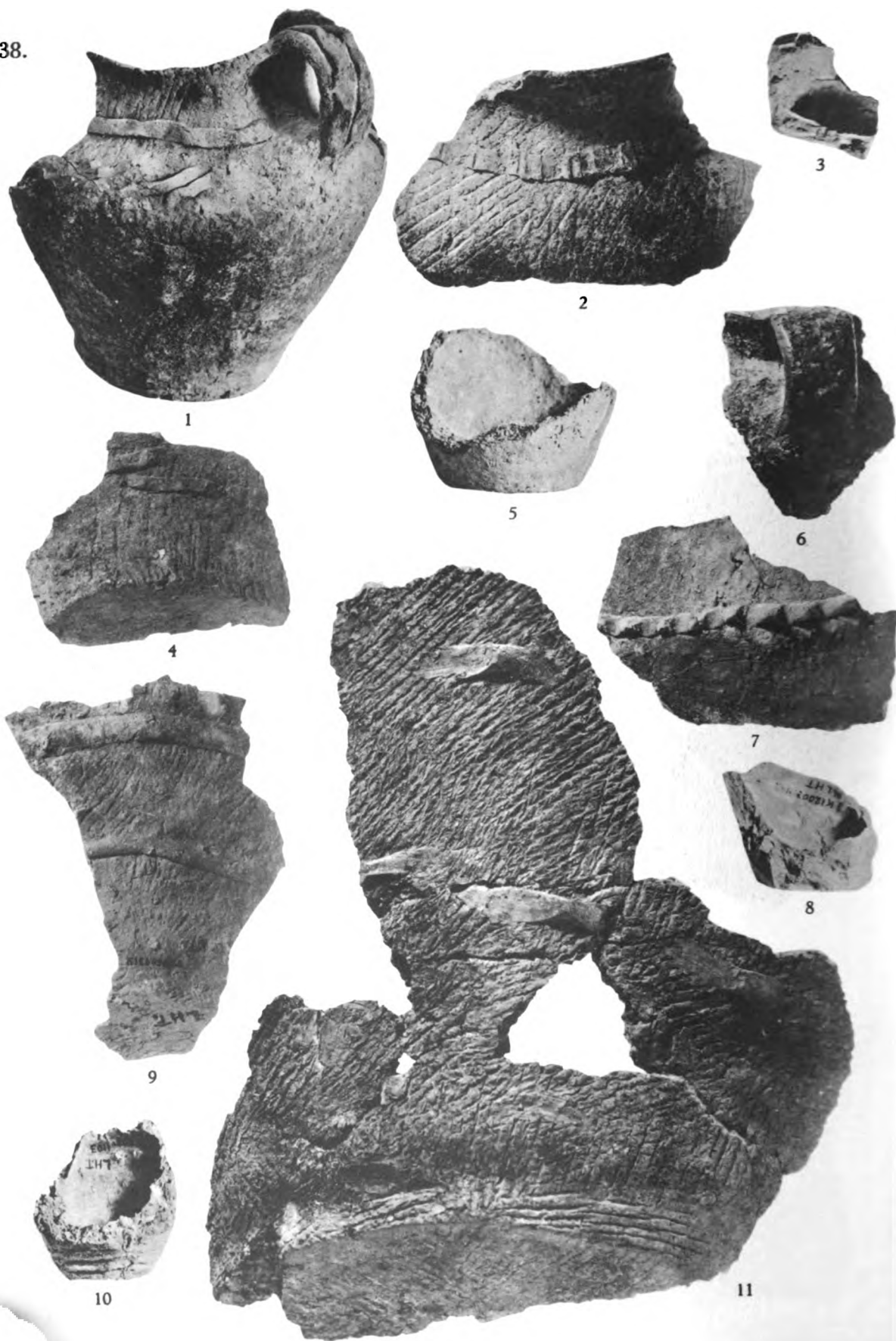
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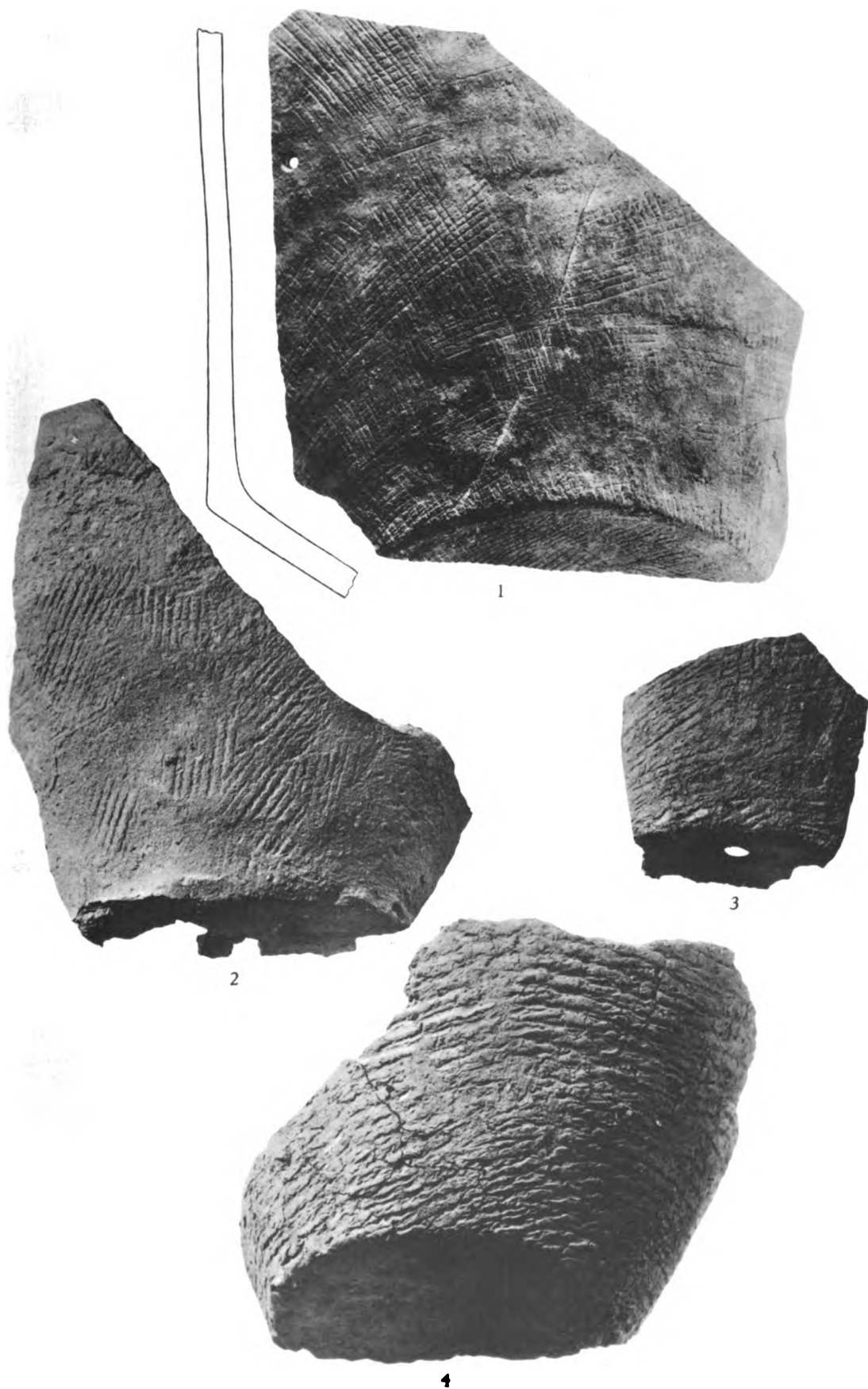


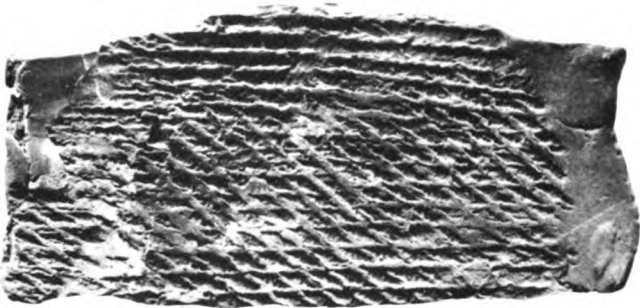
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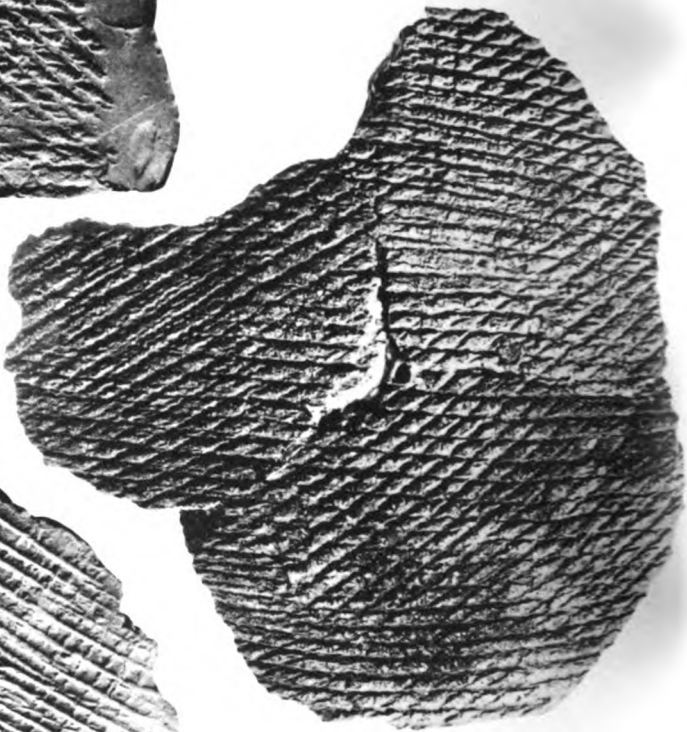
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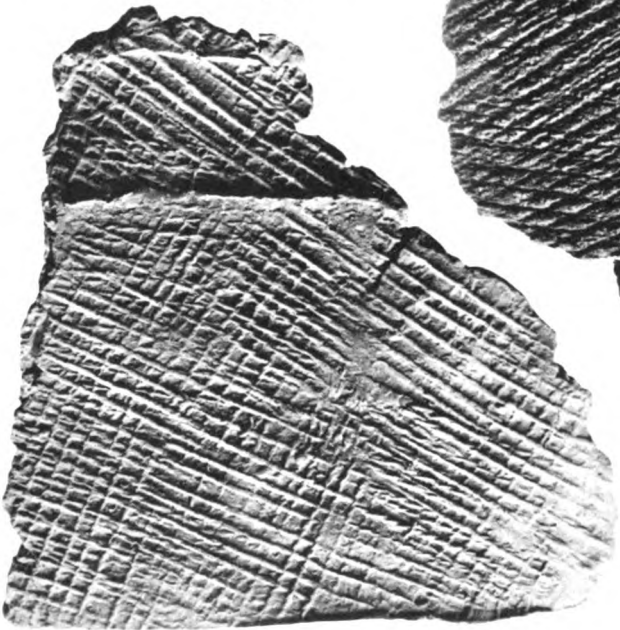




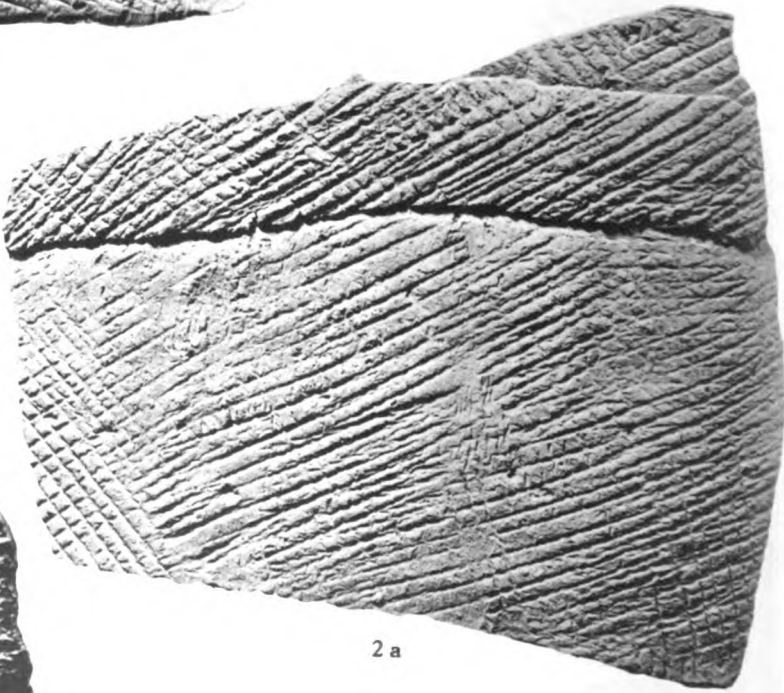
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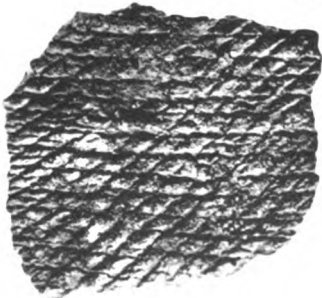
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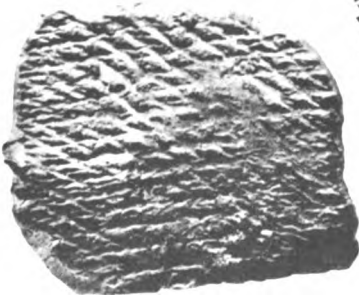
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2 a



3 a



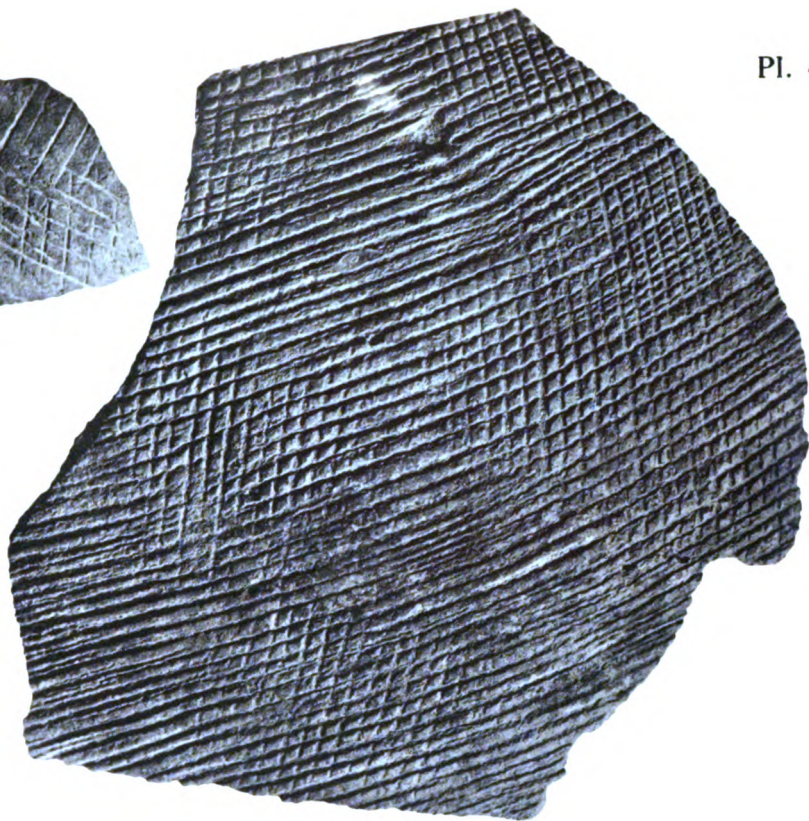
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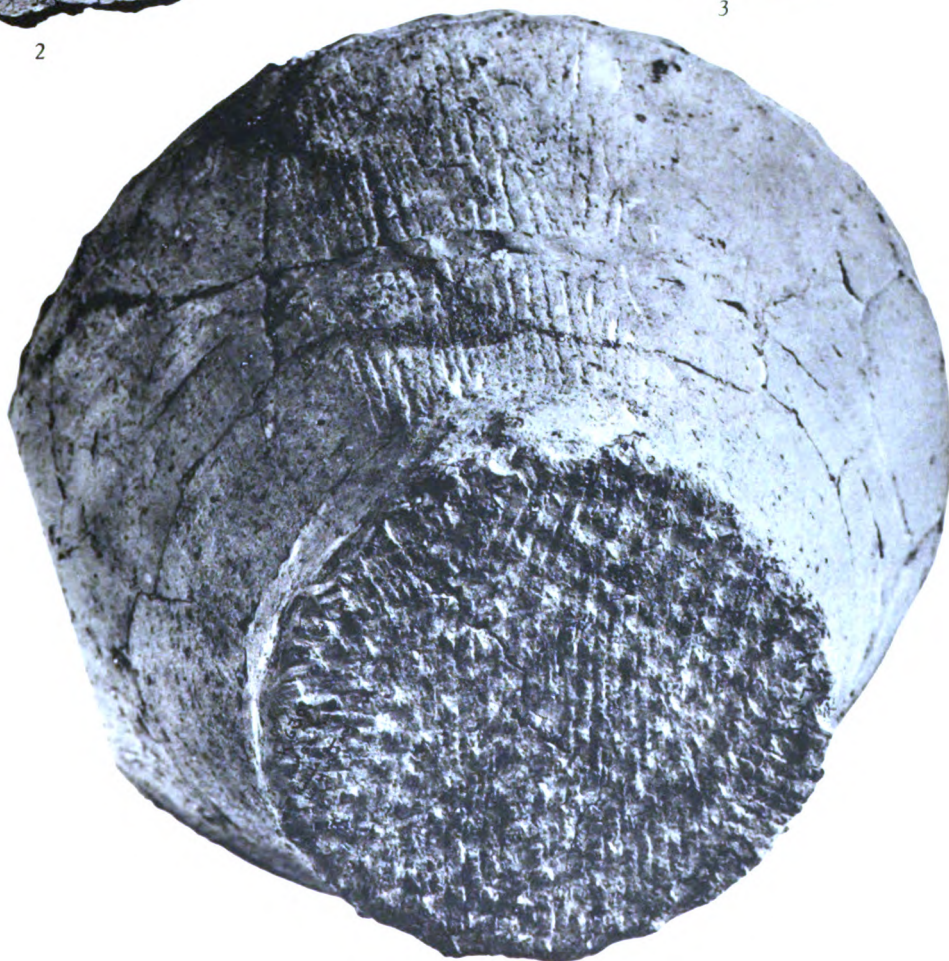
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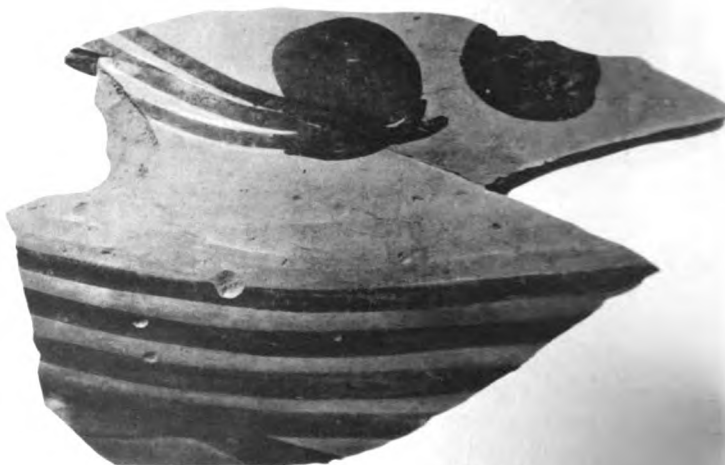
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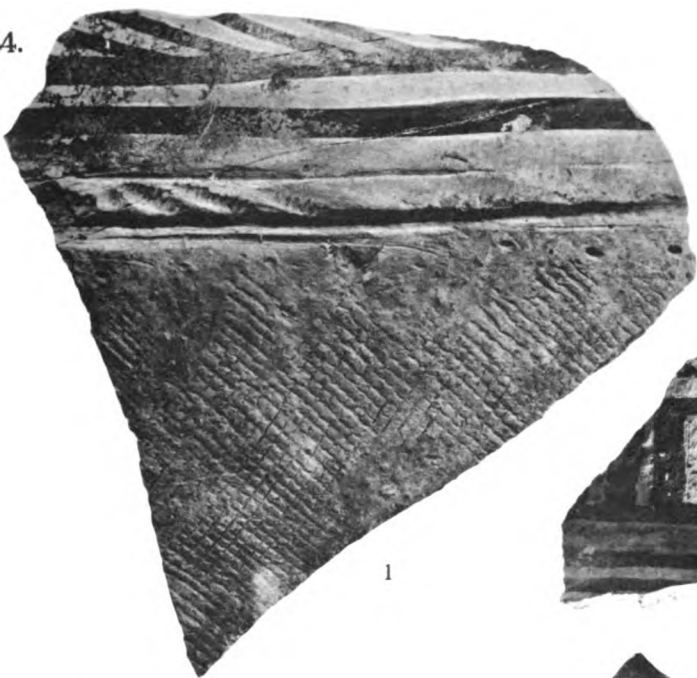
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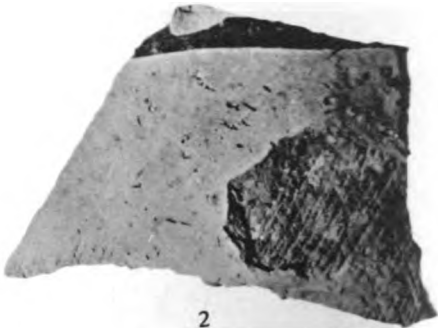
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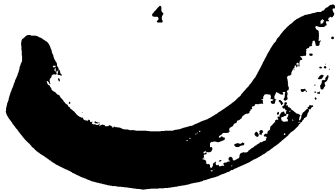
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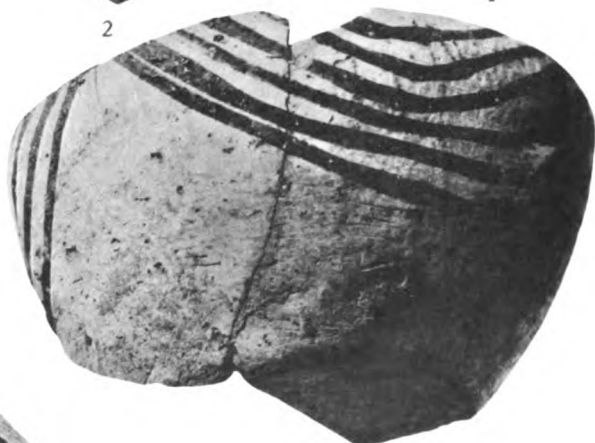
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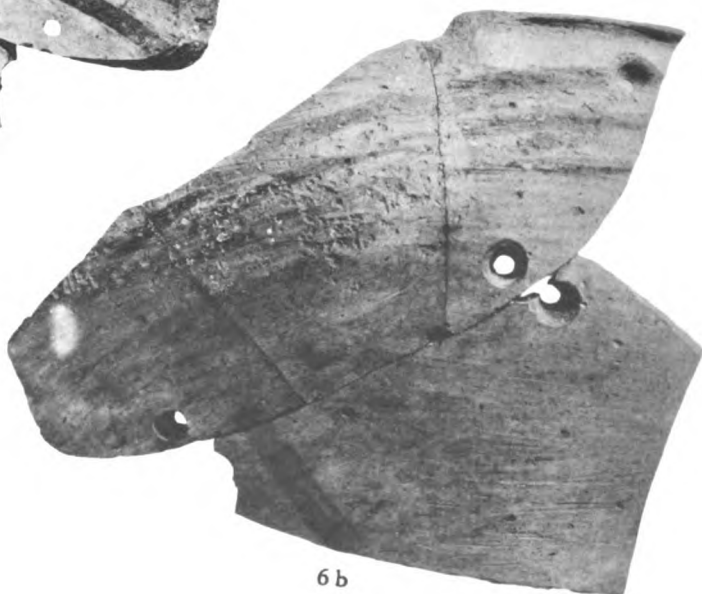
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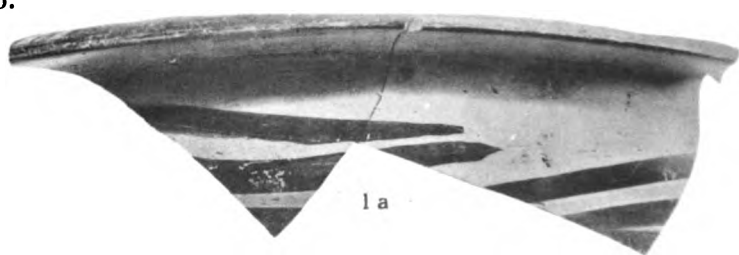
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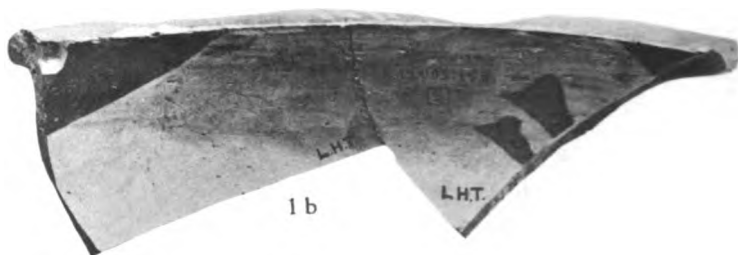
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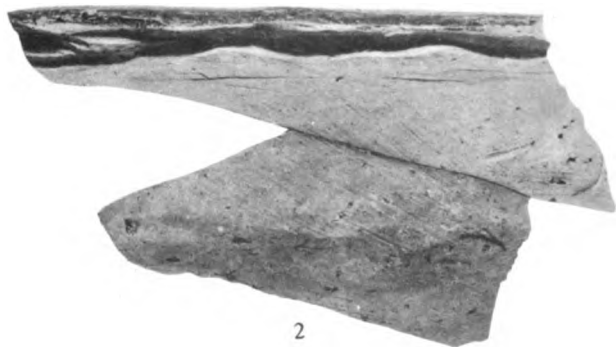
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1 a



1 b



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4 a



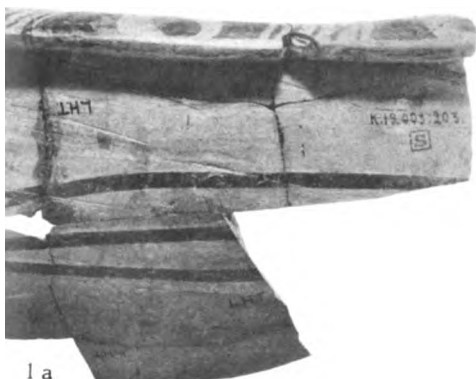
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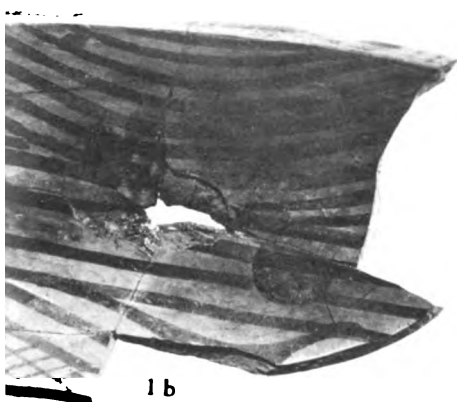
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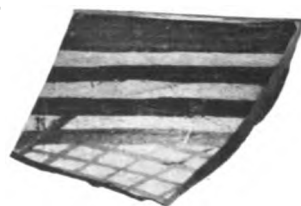
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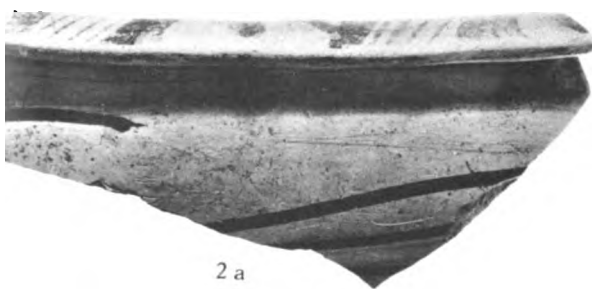
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1 b



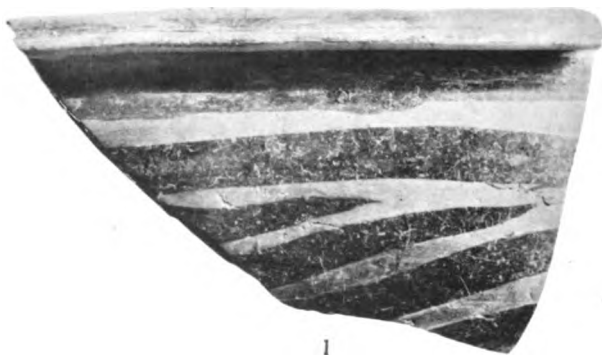
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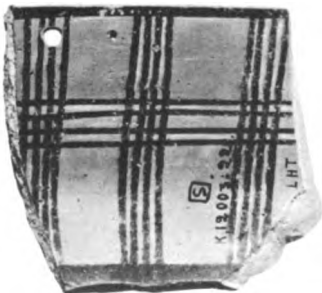
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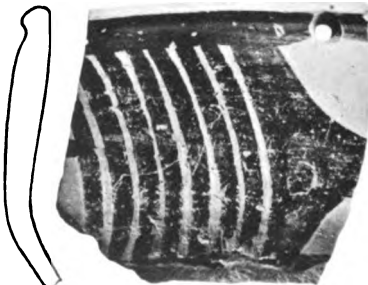
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4a



5a



5b



4b



6a



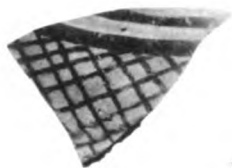
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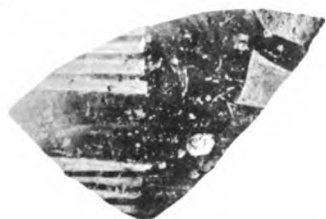
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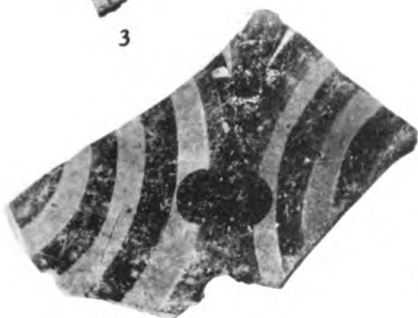
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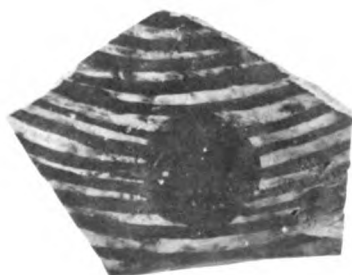
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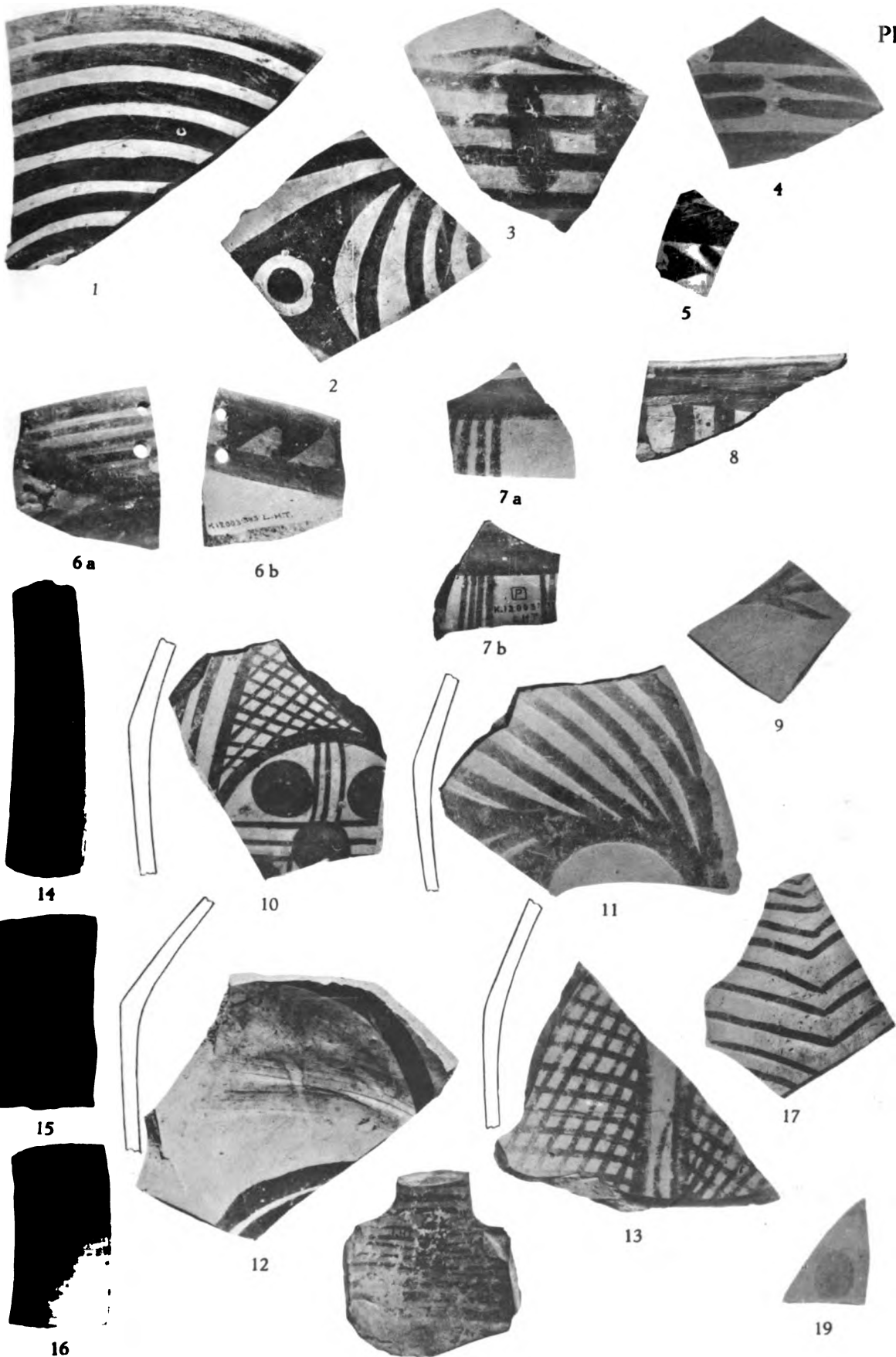


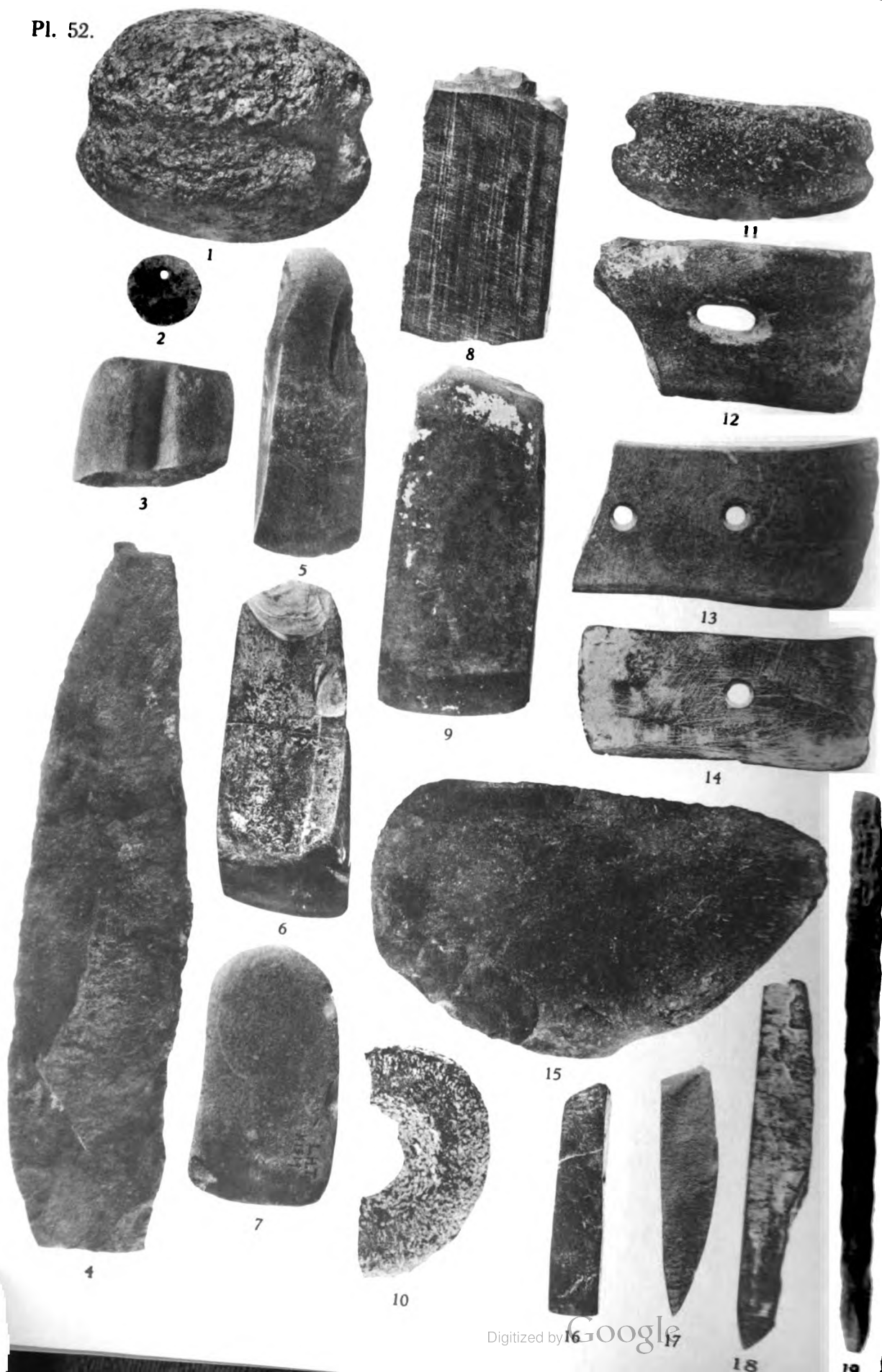
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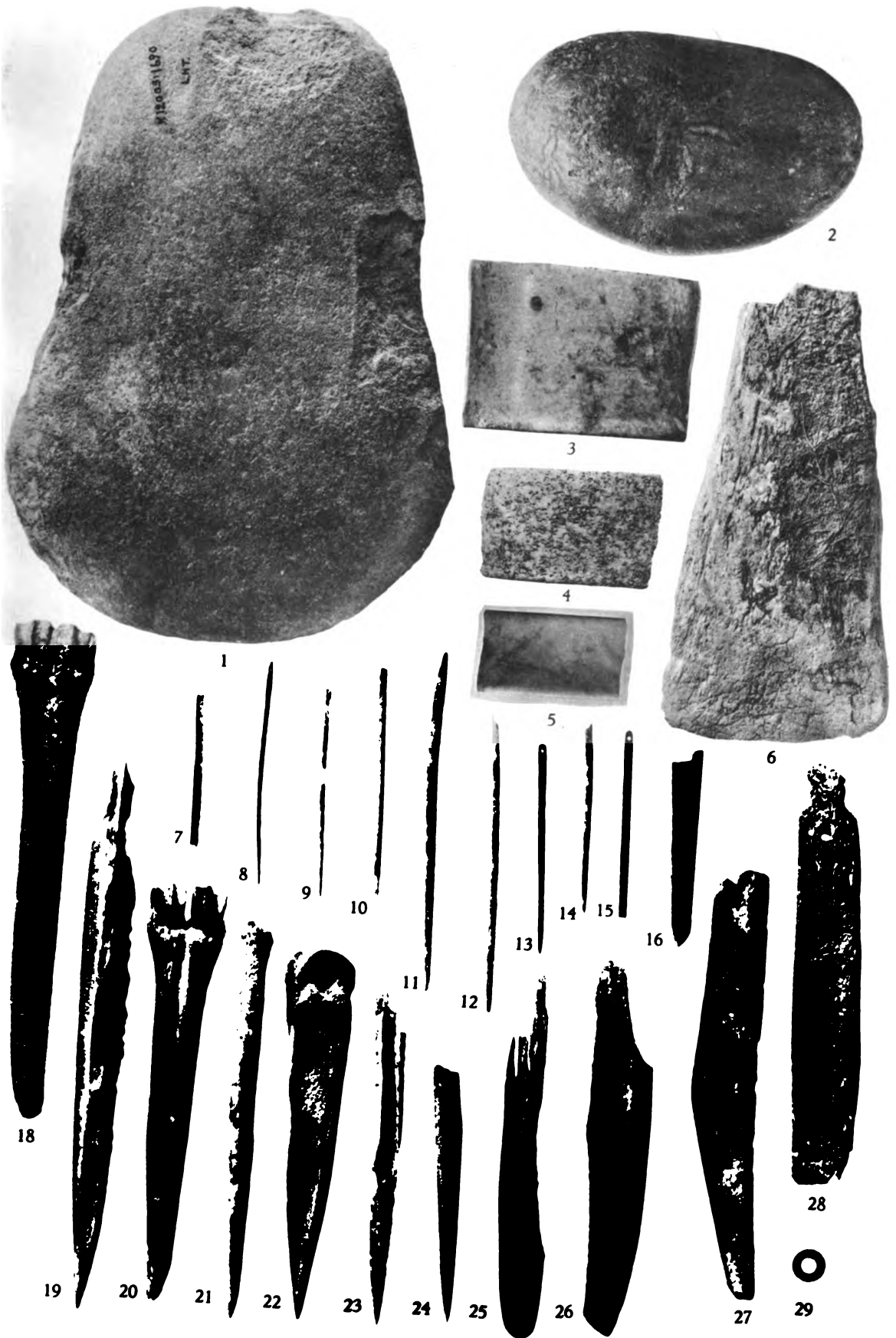


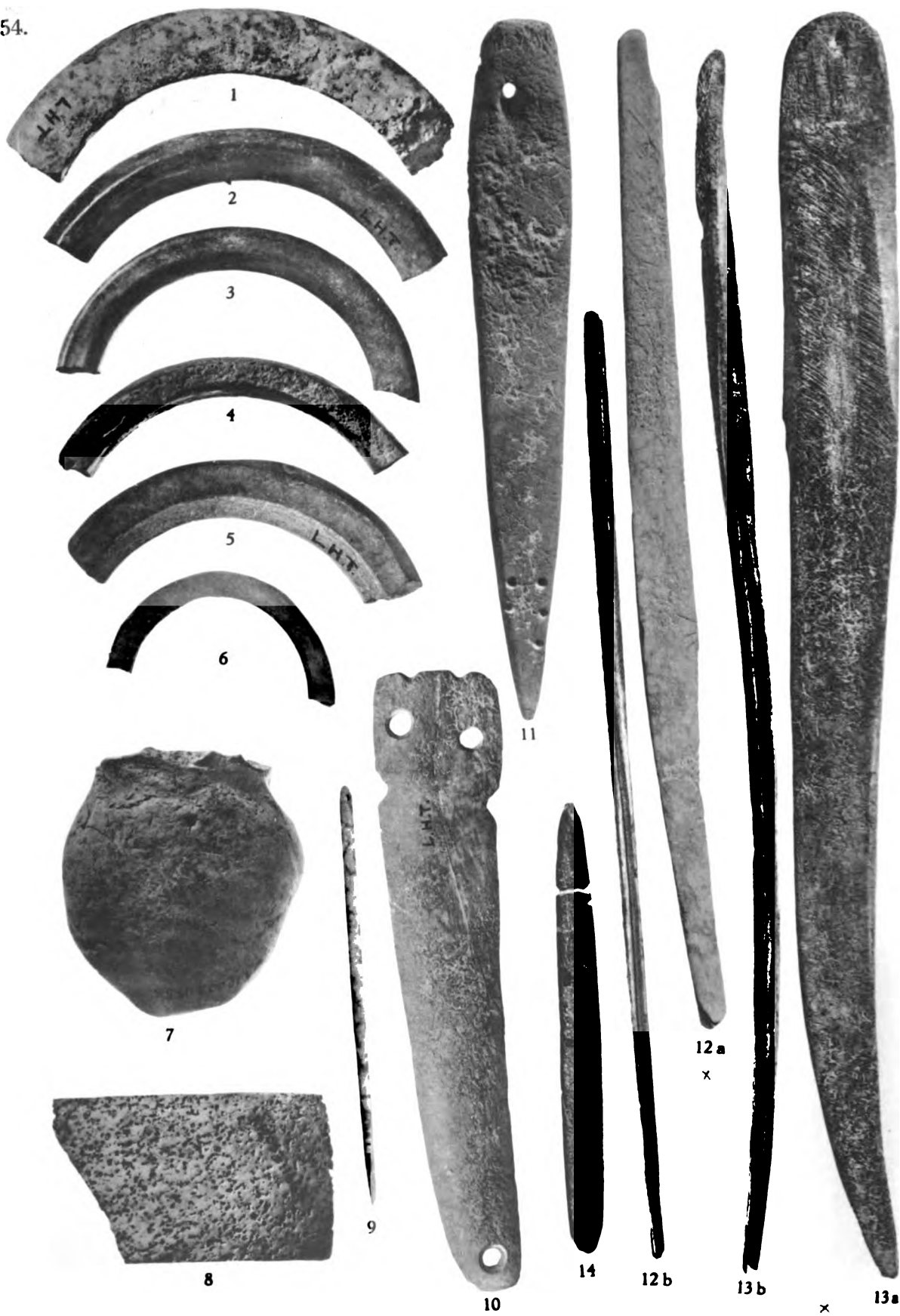
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